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RECENT EVENTS,
AND A
CLUE TO THEIR SOLUTION.

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BY

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LORD ROBERT MONTAGU.

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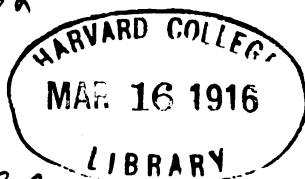
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PREFACE.

IT is now almost universally admitted that the lines of demarcation, between the old Parties in the State, have been done away. There is scarcely any difference, at this time, between Liberals and Conservatives. Party animosities should therefore be laid aside, with the watch-words and prejudices of Party.

This, therefore, is the proper time to appeal to all who are animated by love for their country, and are willing to devote themselves to the preservation of the greatness of that British Empire which our forefathers laboured and lavishly shed their blood to create.

There is a faction who have, for many years, been working to destroy that greatness, and to humiliate our country. That faction is encouraged, aided, and directed by the Papal Hierarchy and Priesthood ; but finds, arrayed against it, all enlightened Roman Catholics, and all the loyal subjects of the Queen.

The aim of that faction, is the aim of the Papal Court. It is, in the words of Cardinal Manning, to "subjugate "and subdue, to bend and to break the will" of the English race. Why ? Because "England is at the head of Protestantism ; the centre of its movements, and the strong-hold of its powers ; weakened in England, it is paralysed everywhere ;" and then "the whole world lies open to the "(Papal) Church's will ; for England is the key of the "whole position."

The Pope is using the Roman Church in Ireland, to compass that aim ; and the ignorant Irish peasants are the base of his operations, not only against the British Empire,

but also against America, against Germany, against Scandinavia. We are to be crushed under the Pope's feet, and to be used as the leverage against all the liberties of the world, and all that is pure in the religion of Christendom. Hushed must be the watchwords of Party, if that infinite evil is to be repelled, and if the reimposition of the most grinding despotism, over the bodies and souls of men, is to be averted.

When I became convinced in my own mind of the real aims of the faction before referred to, I left the Roman Church, and wrote to Cardinal Manning, on June 11, 1882 : " The conduct I allude to,—or the policy which you and " the leaders of both Parties in the State have adopted,— " has been justified on the ground that benefit will accrue " to the Church by dispossessing the Landlords, and so " creating an independent (Roman) Catholic State of " Ireland ;—a policy which, as you know, is identical with " the policy of the Jesuits and Tyrconnel in the reign of " James II."

The greater part of this book appeared in the form of letters, signed " M." and entitled "*History repeats itself*," addressed to the editor of the *English Churchman*. The interest they excited, and the desire, which was widely expressed, that they should be republished in a compendious form, is sufficient warrant for the publication of this book.

NOTE BY THE PUBLISHERS.

THE Publishers think it is due to the Author, as well as to themselves, to state, that they do not accept any responsibility for the conclusions drawn, nor for the somewhat startling interpretation given of the motives influencing certain leading statesmen when dealing with Parliamentary obstruction and other vital national questions. Apart from this, however, the Publishers feel that the question of the Jesuits in England, and their ceaseless political intrigues, is a sufficiently wide and important one to deserve more attention than it has hitherto received. As, therefore, Lord Robert Montagu has enjoyed unusual opportunities for observation, his book is published with the hope that unprejudiced Protestant readers will accord an impartial hearing to one who has, at least, industriously collected his facts, and then drawn his own inferences from them with no less courage than ability.

27, *Paternoster Row*,
April, 1886.

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No. I.

WHEN Napoleon III. took Chablis and Faucigny, I happened to be reading the Political Testament of Cardinal Alberoni. There I came upon a report, by that statesman, of a plan which the French king entertained, for seizing those very Provinces; the reason for desiring them; and the steps which must be followed in order to make the seizure successful. I was astounded at finding Napoleon had followed the old plan in all its details; and I mentioned the circumstance to Mr. D'Israeli. Mr. D'Israeli answered, "Of course! All such plans are kept in the archives of "the various Foreign Offices, until circumstances occur "which are favourable to their realization." As the configuration of the ground remains the same; as the position of the towns and cities is unaltered; as the character and condition of the inhabitants differ but little in the lapse of centuries, the reasons in favour of those political plans, and even the details of them, remain unchanged. Thus it is that the political prophet is merely one who is acquainted with all such plans, by different Governments, which have ever been devised in the past.

In the same way the schemes of the Russians in the north, in the Balkan Provinces, and in Eastern Asia, were all laid down in the will of Peter the Great; and have been developed in detail by various Russian statesmen, in the *mémoires* they have addressed to the Czar, since that date. A similar realization has occurred in our day. Mr. Gladstone has been realizing the policy of Tyrconnel, in Ireland. It was the old policy of the Jesuit party, which Tyrconnel carried out. Tyrconnel was Lord Lieutenant

of Ireland, under King James II. His nick-name was "Lying Dick Talbot" (Macaulay: Hist. II., p. 144). He "swore savagely at the Act of Settlement, and called the "English interest a foul thing, a roguish thing, and a "damned thing," while he "at first pretended to be convinced that the distribution of property could not, after "the lapse of so many years, be altered." Gradually, however, he took another tone, and tried to persuade the Council *to deprive the English Protestant landowners of their property, and place it again in Catholic hands.* In making a progress through Ireland, he found to his surprise, that the Roman Catholic secular priests "exhorted "their congregations to withhold from him all marks of "honour." But the Irish peasantry followed the lead of the Jesuits, and crypto-Jesuits, and the Regular priests of the other Orders, and "sang Erse songs in praise of Tyrconnel, who would, they doubted not, soon reappear *to "complete the humiliation of their English oppressors."*

Another historian, Armand Carrel, wrote, in 1827, a book on "the Counter-Revolution in England." It was translated into English, and published by Bogue in 1846. Carrel traces the action of Tyrconnel directly to the Jesuits; and he wrote with the papers of the French Foreign Office at his command. To the Jesuits he ascribes great power, during the reign of James II., because James "never ceased to conspire with them. The orders which "he dictated to the Council, were those which the directors "of his conscience had previously sanctioned; these were "the true Ministers, who had practical cognisance of all "public affairs; through the obscure medium of their police, "which everywhere superintended and influenced the "authorities, high and low." There was, in fact, "a secret "Government," which overrode the real Government of the country. Even the Courts of Justice were prostituted, and made mere engines of the well-known revenge and spite of the Jesuits against all those who had thwarted their projects, or passed censures on their acts.

Such a state of things might, in one respect, be more easily brought about in those days than in these. For (as we learn from certain letters, from the Jesuits at Liège to the Jesuits at Fribourg, which had been intercepted in Holland, and sent over to England) James II. had been "*received*" as a member of the Society of Jesus, and had vowed that the interests of the society should be his one end and aim; and that he would complete the conversion of the three kingdoms, or else earn a blessed martyrdom in the attempt. Nor was it necessary for him to go abroad every Easter, to make his confession and obtain advice from his Jesuit superiors; for Jesuits and crypto-Jesuits in plenty had been placed about him; and he had a Jesuit confessor and "Spiritual Director."

In 1686 and 1687, Lord Tyrconnel pushed forward, with all the energy of his character, that part of the Jesuits' plan which consisted in turning Ireland into one vast camp. He took the ancient charters from the towns, so that there might be no law in Ireland but such as he approved; he put an end to the Corporate bodies, and dismissed all the Protestants who had been employed under the Duke of Ormond, or the Earl of Clarendon. By various acts of cruelty, he managed to worry out and extirpate the Protestant landlords, so that he might have at his command a Catholic Ireland to assist King James, if a struggle should ensue between the Catholic throne and Protestant England (Armand Carrel, p. 233).

In 1687, King James (Macaulay, II., p. 306) entertained, the intention of leaving his crown at the disposal of Louis, the King of France—that Louis XIV. who had a Jesuit confessor, and was a willing tool of the Jesuits; that Louis who could not be got to listen to any complaints from the other side, "because he had so much of (Père) Coton "in his ears." The original paper, according to Lord Macaulay, exists in the archives of France and Holland, and runs as follows:—"Que, quand pour établir la Religion Catholique et pour la confirmer ici, il (*i.e.* King

"James) devoit se rendre en quelque façon dépendant de "la France, et mettre la décision de la succession à la "couronne entre les mains de ce Monarque là ; qu'il seroit "obligé de le faire, parcequ'il vaudroit mieux pour ses "sujets qu'ils devinssent vassaux du Roi de France, étant "Catholiques, que de demeurer comme esclaves du Diable " (*i.e.* Protestants). This paper was "handed about from "Jesuit to Jesuit, and from courtier to courtier, till some "eminent Roman Catholics, in whom bigotry had not "extinguished patriotism, furnished the Dutch ambassador "with a copy."

In the meantime "Tyrconnel had, with his master's "approbation, made arrangements for separating Ireland "from the Empire (an aggravated Home Rule), and for "placing her under the protection of Louis, as soon as "the Crown should devolve on a Protestant Sovereign. "Bonrepaux had been consulted, had imparted the design "to his Court, and had been instructed to assure Tyr- "connel that France would lend effectual aid to the "accomplishment of this great project. Je sçay bien "certainement (wrote Bonrepaux) que l'intention du Roi "d'Angleterre est de faire perdre ce royaume, l'Irlande, "à son successeur, et de le fortifier en sorte que tous ses "sujets Catholiques y puissent avoir un asile assuré."

That account was written in 1827, not in 1881. Tyr-connel proposed it in 1687 ; and Gladstone realized the scheme in 1881. "There was (wrote Carrel, p. 237) a "wholly different system for that country (Ireland) than "for England. The affairs of the Catholics were there "so advanced, that it was in immediate contemplation to "destroy what they called *the Establishment of Cromwell*, "that is to say, the arrangement of property, founded "upon the great Protestant colonisation, which had pacified "the country in 1652, and had held it in check during the "whole reign of Charles II." It was in 1652 that "the "Upas tree of Protestant ascendancy," had been planted. In October, 1868, Mr. Gladstone announced his intention

to cut off "the three branches of that tree, the Church, "the Education, and the Landlords." The tree flourished till 1869, when that woodman, so fond of the axe, came and hacked at the three branches of the plant which he was pleased to style "a Upas tree ;" because he regarded Protestantism, and every other *ism* except Ultramontanism, as a poisonous influence. Carrel continues : "The King "thought that at least five years would be necessary to "complete this revolution. Lord Tyrconnel proposed "that, somehow or other, it should be accomplished within "a year ; that then Ireland, wholly separated from England "by religion, should be placed under the protection of "the King of France, so as, whatever happened, to offer "to the Catholics of England an asylum entirely free "from the presence of Protestants."

NO. II.

I HAVE explained so much of the Jesuit plan as consisted, first, in defrauding Protestant landlords of the ownership of their estates, and handing them over to the Roman Catholic tenants ; and secondly, in attempting to effect the legislative independence of Roman Catholic Ireland. Before applying those facts to the events of our day, I continue the consideration of the Jesuit plans.

During the latter years of the reign of King Charles II., —who was a Roman Catholic, but neither so bigoted nor so hot-headed as James—all that James had been able to perform was to get public employments, or commissions in the army, for young men whom he conceived favourable to the Papist cause ; and to push them on to higher and higher posts, so as to increase the wealth and influence of the Roman Catholic party. "Now that he was himself "master," says Armand Carrel, "he saw before him a revolution to be effected. . . . He resolved to raise the "Irish Catholic race from its abasement ; to recruit the

“English army from among its youth, now grovelling in ignorance, fanaticism, and misery ; and thus to create for himself, under the orders of Popish officers, an entirely “*national*” army [so early did the *Nationalists* appear on the scene in Ireland !], a powerful reserve for him, should the English some day become less docile ; he would then “*expel*” from Ireland the proprietors who held their right from Cromwell, and who formed, in the great towns, a citizen-class infected, like that of England, with ideas of political liberty, and still more hostile even than the latter, to Popery.”

We must not suppose that the persons to whom James confided political places, or high posts in the army, were all Roman Catholics, like the Marquis of Ripon, or Judge Day in our times. There were some who, while Romanists at heart, would have indignantly denied that they were Papists ; and who would have betrayed their true character to the vigilant, who observed that they let a Popish conspirator escape at a critical moment, when they might have brought him to justice ; or perceived that they conducted a cause in the law courts in such a way that justice should be wrested, in order to give vast riches to some adherent of the Roman Catholic cause.

Nor was it always advantageous to James to appoint Roman Catholics, whenever he could obtain professing Protestants whom he could manipulate and get to “roll the log” for the Papists. He replaced the Duke of Ormond by the Earl of Clarendon in the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. “He did not, however, confide his projects to Clarendon ; he rather, indeed, made use of him to conceal them ; for the attachment of the Earl of Clarendon to the Anglican religion being well known, his nomination would reassure the Protestants of Ireland ; and it “*was important that their suspicions should not as yet be aroused*.” The person entrusted with the preparation of the Popish revolution in Ireland, and with organizing the troops who might come when the proper time arrived,

"was a Popish officer named Talbot, created Earl of "Tyrconnel by the King." He was the Parnell of that day! May we, in this day, have our eyes opened and our energies aroused after the example of our forefathers two centuries ago! The history of that day is repeating itself so exactly in this day that we must be crass indeed if we do not understand the recondite meaning of events; and then but a little energy will be required to speak out what we see; and that will suffice to stop the Jesuit schemes for the present.

In reading Armand Carrel's book we turn back frequently to the title-page, to assure ourselves that we are not perusing contemporary history. "To obtain or to "retain certain employments, it was necessary to be of the "same religion with the King." A famous crypto-Jesuit used to say to me, even in the days of the Protestant Lord Palmerston, that there were two sides in the House; but that the division was not between Whig and Tory, Radical and Conservative, or any other political parties. Then, he added, "*rest assured that no one ever gets on in the House "except either by Palmerston or by me.*" Armand Carrel continues: "The mysteries of Catholicism became the "common topic of conversation at Court and in the "upper circles of society. . . . Lay converters went "about making proselytes amidst fêtes and frivolous "amusements. Those who had favours to obtain were "eager to listen and to seem to profit; men, notorious "for the irregularity of their lives affected to be struck "with sudden illumination." There are even those in England who consent to work in the Romanist cause at the bidding of their superiors, and yet profess to be Mahommedans. An earl said to me the other day: "Be "an Atheist, be a Freethinker, be a Mahommedan, be "anything you like, but do not belong to the Church of "England." He had just told me of one, who is extremely high in the land, who poses as a Protestant and as one of the chiefs of the Freemasons, and yet had received a dis-

pensation from the Pope to remain so, even after having been received with great though secret pomp into the Roman Catholic society of the Knights of Malta!

A very few years ago, the ancient Ecclesiastical Courts of the Church of England were abolished, and a new court was established with Lord St. Leonards at the head of it. At the time when this was accomplished the Jesuit reviewers, as we shall hereafter show, took it upon them to explain that this was done in order to destroy the Church of England by the internal dissensions which it would permit. Suffice it here to remark that, in the time of James II., Lord Jeffreys "advised the re-establishment of "an old ecclesiastical tribunal, the Court of High Commission, which had been abolished by the Parliament of "1640." Of this court Jeffreys was president. This court, instead of being a shelter for Ritualistic abuses, by shutting out the action of others, "was to inquire into all abuses "punishable by the censure of the Church, and to summon "before it ecclesiastics, of what rank soever, and to judge "them without appeal." Dr. Sharp preached against Romanism, and the Bishop of London was ordered to suspend him forthwith for that "abuse." The bishop pleaded that it would be against the law to do so, and was tried before the Court of High Commission for disobedience. "At that period the preponderance of the "Catholic party in the Ministry, in the Privy Council, in "the Administration, and in the higher ranks of the army, "was no longer contested. . . . Tyrconnel wrote that "it was *time to restore their political rights to the Irishmen* "who professed the religion of the King; that he was "about to introduce them into the Municipal Corporations, "or to remove the charters of recusant bodies, and that "the only obstacle to the execution of this measure was "the presence of the Earl of Clarendon;" and then the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was removed. The people began to see the turn affairs were taking, but the Court of High Commission "shackled and

"depressed the opposition of the Anglican clergy," who dared not open their lips in the pulpit against the Romanizing action of the King's Government.

"In order to secure the rising generation, it was necessary "to have the direction of education. Not content with "having founded colleges where the Catholic youth might "be brought up secure from Protestant seductions, they "determined to invade the Universities themselves ;" and so they obtained the election, to fellowships of the colleges, of persons who would be content to work in their interest. The letters from the Jesuits of Liège exulted over the prosperous state of the Romanist religion in England, and explained all that the Society was doing to remove education out of the hands of heretics ; they continued in these words : "We have got chairs of humanity at Lincoln, "Norwich, and York ; and at Worcester, a public chapel "under the protection of the soldiery. Our brethren are "about to purchase some houses at Wigan, in Lancashire. "Our interests are advancing most powerfully. *Fathers "of our Order preach before the Royal Family, and in the principal churches.*" These letters also announced the future elevation of Father Petre, the Jesuit, to the dignity of Cardinal ; and the placing of Father Warner, the Jesuit rector of St. Omer, about the King, as his confessor and spiritual director. Father Petre was also sworn of the King's Privy Council, and Monsignor d'Adda was publicly received as Papal Nuncio at Windsor, just as Cardinal Manning was, last year, received at Marlborough House to the Prince's garden-party, at which the Queen was present. The Papal newspaper, the *Journal de Rome*, exulting over this fact as a proof of the progress of Romanism in the highest ranks of society, explained that Cardinal Manning had been received as "the Papal Nuncio at the Court of "St. James's." As such he ranks on the Commission for Housing the Poor, immediately after the Prince of Wales ; the Marquis of Salisbury and the Anglican Bishop of Bedford consenting to be placed after him. Verily Sir

Robert Peel's warning to a Scotch deputation will be found true : "The time is coming, and is very near, when we shall have to fight, over again, the battle of the Reformation." Truly also Archbishop Manning wrote ("Essays on Religion," second series, p. 12-14) : "In the last thirty years (*i.e.* since 1837) there has sprung up in the Anglican establishment an extensive rejection of Protestantism, and a sincere desire and claim to be Catholic. . . . Protestantism is recognised as a thing intrinsically untenable and irreconcilable with the (Roman) Catholic Faith. The school, of which I speak, claim to be Catholic, because they reject Protestantism with all its heterodoxies. . . . At this time, the doctrine of the Sacraments, their nature, number, and grace ; the intercession and invocation of the saints ; the power of the priesthood in sacrifice and absolution ; the excellence and obligations of the religious life ; are all held and taught by clergymen of the Church of England. . . . Add to this the practice of confession, and the works of temporal and spiritual mercy, in form and by rule borrowed from the (Roman) Catholic Church, all are to be found among those who are still within the Anglican communion. I must also add the latest and strangest phenomenon of this movement,—the adoption of an elaborate ritual, with its vestments, borrowed from the (Roman) Catholic Church. . . . The multitude worshipping in churches which might almost be mistaken for ours . . . is very great. They are coming up to the very threshold of the (Roman) Church. They have learned to lean upon it as the centre of Christendom, from which they sprang, and upon which their own Church is supposed to rest. They use our devotions, our books, our pictures of piety. They are taught to believe the whole Council of Trent, not, indeed, in its own true meaning, but in a meaning invented by their teachers." The plague infects also the evangelical clergy and people. Cardinal Manning says (p. 10) : "Thousands who would not for the world set foot in a Romish Church,

"read photographic descriptions of High Masses, and Requiems, and consecrations, processions, pilgrimages, and canonizations. The air is full of it." That is indeed a curious phenomenon of Queen Victoria's reign. The cause of this will become plain in the following numbers.

NO. III.

I HAVE endeavoured to unfold the plan devised by the Jesuits, and committed to Earl Tyrconnel to carry out in practice. The main features in that conspiracy were: (1) To weaken the Protestant Church in Ireland; (2) To destroy the influence of the Protestant landlords, by worrying them out, and depriving them of their lands; (3) To separate Ireland from England, and put it under the protection of some Roman Catholic Power; (4) To get all the education of the Irish into the hands of the Jesuits and their adherents; and (5) As means towards those ends, to substitute in Ireland, for the law of the land, an unwritten law of the agitators, backed by terrorism; and to promote to places in the army, to offices in the State, and to other lucrative and influential posts, only those Roman Catholics who would work at the beck and bid of the Jesuits; or those Protestants who had so committed themselves, as to be entirely under the power of the Jesuits.

Committees of Parliament were, by the Romish bishops, assured, in the strongest and most decisive language, in 1824 and 1825, that under no circumstances would they ever disturb the Irish Church, and the settlement of Irish landed property; and yet we might turn over the files of the daily papers and cull hundreds of examples, during the last decennial period, to prove how rigidly statesmen, of both parties, have adhered to the Jesuit plan in all its details. The difficulty is to know where to begin. But at hap-hazard, take a speech which Mr. Gladstone delivered at Southport on Dec. 19th, 1867. After complaining that

the ecclesiastical endowments in Ireland are enjoyed by the minority (*i.e.* Protestants), he said, "Now I must express to you my firm conviction that *principles of religion must be ESTABLISHED in Ireland*. . . . As to the modes "of giving effect to this principle, I do not enter upon "them. I am of opinion they should be dictated, as a "general rule, by that which may appear to be the mature, "well-considered, and *general sense of the Irish people*." In England the principles of religion are established; for we have the Established Church, in accordance with the general sense of the English people. In Scotland the Presbyterian Church is established in accordance with the general sense of the Scotch people. In Ireland Mr. Gladstone advocated the *establishment* of the Romish Church in accordance with the general sense of the Irish people. He continued, as to education: "Ireland has not received, up "to this hour, equal treatment in that matter; and I will "tell you how. In this country you are aware that the "great bulk of parents are in the habit of sending their "children to be trained *in schools and colleges where the "inculcation of the religion to which they belong forms an "essential and fundamental part of the instruction that is "given*." He then mentioned the secular colleges and undenominational schools established by Sir R. Peel in Ireland, and said: "Now we would not bear that ourselves. "I own that if I were prohibited from sending my son to be "trained in a school where his religion was taught, I should "think it a great grievance." Next is a speech of Mr. Gladstone, delivered at Wigan, in South Lancashire, on October 23rd, 1868. Quite ancient history! I hear some adherent of the Jesuits exclaim. Yes; you seek to work on the frivolity of the present day, and pretend that everything which tells against you is ancient history! But what if Mr. Gladstone, sixteen years ago, declared the secret of his future policy? What if he, by making that declaration to the people of England, and getting returned to power, what if he made the people of England accomplices in his

work? Here is the speech: "I beg you to attend carefully to that which I am about to say. The statesmen of two generations ago, with Mr. Pitt at their head"—You see that Mr. Gladstone finds no harm in resorting to ancient history, when it suits his purpose!—those statesmen, Mr. Gladstone said, "were parties to investing the Roman Catholics with a portion of their political rights, in the shape of the elective franchise, and knew perfectly well what they were doing; they knew perfectly well that that must be followed, and ought to be followed, by their admission into Parliament; and likewise that it must be followed by the concession of religious equality. The difference is this, and the only difference is this: at that period the intention undoubtedly was to grant religious equality, not by disestablishing the Established Church, but by creating Roman Catholic and Presbyterian Churches by its side. There is no doubt at all about that. The mode of attaining the end was different; the end itself was the same." He seems to have wrested ancient history and perverted Pitt's policy in order to make out that Pitt entertained the same end as himself.

There can be no doubt, as we shall see, about the modern history of 1868, and Mr. Gladstone's policy from that day to this. He continued: "What I want you to observe is that the Roman Catholics' claim to religious equality is no new claim; it was recognised by Mr. Pitt, and by Lord Castlereagh too, shortly after the Union, and recognised as a necessary part of the policy on which that Union was based." The very words of the Act of Union seem to disprove Mr. Gladstone's assertion. Besides, if Pitt and Castlereagh, who "knew perfectly well what they were doing," did not recognise that pretended principle until "shortly after the Union," how could it have been "a necessary part of the policy on which that Union was based?" Mr. Gladstone continued: "It is clear the Church of Ireland offers to us indeed a great question; but even that question is but one of *a group of questions*."

"There is the Church of Ireland; there is the land of Ireland; there is the education of Ireland. There are many subjects, all of which depend upon one greater than them all. They are all so many branches from one trunk; and that trunk is the tree of what is called PROTESTANT ASCENDENCY. Gentlemen, I look, for one, to this Protestant people to put down Protestant ascendancy. . . . It is upon that system that we are banded together to make war. . . . Although, as I said early in these remarks, we have paid instalments to Ireland, the mass of the people would not be worthy to be free if they were satisfied with instalments; . . . we, therefore, aim at the destruction of that system of ascendancy, which, though it has been crippled and curtailed by former measures, yet still it must be allowed does exist. It is still there, like a tall tree of noxious growth, lifting its head to heaven and darkening and poisoning the land, so far as its shadow can extend. It is still there, gentlemen; and now at length the day has come when, as we hope, the axe has been laid at the root of that tree, and it nods and quivers from its top to its base. It wants, gentlemen, one stroke more—the stroke of these elections. It will then, once for all, totter to its fall; and on the day when it falls, the heart of Ireland will leap for joy."

In that speech Mr. Gladstone distinctly warned the English nation of his policy. He most unmistakably proclaimed his determination to make war upon and destroy the whole system of Protestant ascendancy. He avowed his conviction that Protestantism was a tall tree of noxious growth, which darkened and poisoned the whole land. He stated his intention to follow in the footsteps of Tyrconnel, and work out the Jesuit plan, by sapping the foundations of the Established Church of Ireland, by striking repeated blows at the land system of Ireland, by confiscating the property of Irish landlords, and by putting the education of Ireland into the hands of the Roman Catholic priests and their obedient slaves.

Three days previously (October 21st), Mr. Gladstone had made another speech, at Southport, which further unfolded his policy: "If large sums were given for the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, there would be an expectation that, in return for that endowment, concessions should be made by the Roman Catholics, and a power of interference be allowed by the British Government in the internal affairs of that Church." That was, then, the ground of Mr. Gladstone's objection to the "concurrent endowment," or "levelling up" system (as it was called), which was the policy of Mr. D'Israeli, and which, Mr. Gladstone would have us to believe, was the policy of Pitt also. Mr. Gladstone objected to that policy, because it would be "injurious and mischievous to them" (the Roman Catholics). He said further: "I am of opinion that the plan of all endowment which the Government (of Mr. D'Israeli) choose as the proper method of dealing with the Irish Church, while it cannot be adopted, is a plan which ought not to be adopted." Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to quote from the Pope's newspaper the *Roman Observer*, of March, 1868, which he described as "giving an opinion expressed in Rome, under authority." He added: "The person who wrote that paragraph did not do so from his own opinion, but from inspiration conveyed through other channels and from higher quarters." The quotations were as follows:—"Mr. D'Israeli recognised the necessity of endowing the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland; and that it might not be supposed that he wished to give stipends to the Catholic priests, he declared that he rejected the idea of what is commonly called paying the clergy. He declared accordingly that the Catholics should have the right of property in Ireland as elsewhere." The other quotation, after referring (he said) to the Pope's Syllabus and Encyclical Letter, continued thus: "Among the speeches pronounced on this occasion is conspicuous that of the First Minister, Mr. D'Israeli, who pronounced so many noble truths in

"defence of the propositions set forth in the Syllabus and Encyclical of Pius the Ninth, as should raise a blush on the faces of those pigmies in Italy and elsewhere, who pretend to be great men, while they resist decisions of the Pope which have been justified, acknowledged, and proclaimed, even by one of the highest genius and the widest reputation, such as is the First Minister, Mr. D'Israeli." Mr. Gladstone then taught us the conclusion which might legitimately be drawn from those words: "Now, gentlemen, I am going to put to you a question:—Suppose that out of that paragraph you strike the words *First Minister, Mr. D'Israeli*, and put *Opposition speaker, Mr. Gladstone*, and suppose the Roman newspaper under the Pope's authority had written of me that I had pronounced so many noble truths in defence of the Encyclical and of the Syllabus, as to make those pigmies blush, who refused to admit truths acknowledged by a heretic like myself,—suppose there had been such a paper, I ask you whether it would not have been placarded on every wall in this country, as a damning demonstration of the Popish intentions of myself and the Liberal party."

At Warrington, on October 12th, he had already pronounced this eulogy on the Roman Church: "I must say that it does the Roman Catholic Church some credit, when I consider their readiness and determination to rely on their ancient and unbroken traditions, and on the zeal and perseverance of their subordinates."

Thus we learn, from Mr. Gladstone himself, that he did not stand alone in his anxiety to cut down the tree of Protestantism; but that Mr. D'Israeli, while in pretended opposition and simulated hostility, had in view "the same end," although the means he proposed were slightly different. Thus was revealed to the people of England the truth which was avowed to me by an eminent Jesuit, on the death of Lord Palmerston, in these words: "*At last we have got England between the upper and nether*

"*millstone*,"—that is, between Gladstone and D'Israeli. This point opens a large field of inquiry, which I must not do more than touch very sparingly before proceeding to notice the abscission of the various branches of the Upas tree of Protestant ascendancy.

No. IV.

WHEN an orator and subtle master of fence pleases to make a confidant of a subordinate, then we frequently arrive at the plan existing in the statesman's mind, and revealed in a gushing moment to a garrulous Irishman. Such was the result when Mr. Gladstone took the late Sir John Gray into confidence. On this ground, Sir John Gray's speech in 1868 was well worthy of attentive study.

In reply to the Roman Catholic Bishop and electors of Kilkenny, Sir John Gray took credit to himself for having converted Mr. Gladstone. He said on August 21st, 1868: "I felt that the question (Disestablishment of the Church) had arrived at a point when it was essential that it should pass from the hands of a private member to those of the leader of a great party; and I resolved to open direct communication with the man who, above and before all others, seemed suited to the Herculean task of redeeming the fame of England by doing justice to Ireland. The result you know. The future Premier of England now has the charge of the Irish Church Question. But you never can know, for even were I at liberty to detail what occurred at the several private interviews with which I was favoured, I would not have the power adequately to convey to you a just impression of the generous, earnest and hearty devotion with which Mr. Gladstone determined to pledge his future as a statesman to the redress of this great wrong."

These interviews took place in March, 1868, and on the 26th, Sir John Gray's newspaper, *The Freeman's Journal*,

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wrote: "The debate (on the Irish Church) will be one of "the most memorable that the present generation has witnessed, and the issue will involve not only the fate of the "Ministry, but the fate, sooner or later, of the dominant "State Church, *not only in Ireland, but in England also.* "The great Liberal party are determined to deal a death-blow at *all* State endowments; and the new constituencies, "which the Reform Bill has called into existence, will fully "endorse that policy."

After those repeated and confidential interviews with Mr. Gladstone, on October 7th, 1868, Sir John Gray said to the electors of Kilkenny: "But I do believe that there is something more than the mere fidelity of the man to be looked "at in a typical office, as this office (Lord Chancellor of "Ireland) has been made; and that it is essential, to win "the confidence of the (Irish) people, for any man who "seeks to come into power upon the overthrow of the "present Ministry—and their overthrow is certain—that he "should look to this typical office of Chancellor, and take "care, on the first opportunity afforded,—*in order to indicate to the whole people a total change of policy as well as "law, a total change of system,*—that a (Roman) Catholic "should, for the first time these three hundred years, fill "the first office of justice in Ireland. I hope, if you send "me again as your representative, that you will commission "me to say, in your name, that no party coming into "power will acquire the confidence of this country, unless "they recognise the typical character of that office, and "take care that the present opportunity shall be availed of, "to put a (Roman) Catholic of high position into it." In 1868, Mr. Gladstone came into power, and made Mr. O'Hagan, a Roman Catholic, a Baron, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Mr. Gladstone had avowed that he would cut down "the upas tree of Protestant ascendancy;" Sir John Gray promised that Mr. Gladstone, on coming into power, would put Roman Catholic ascendancy in its place. He said, further: "And the beginning of the new system will

"be the uprooting,—the annihilation of every trace of
"ascendency,—the total disestablishment and disendow-
"ment of that alien Church which has been the curse of
"Ireland for three centuries,—which has been, during the
"same period, the opprobrium and disgrace of England,
"and the scandal of the world. Well; I know there is
"great opposition to that project, and there will be great
"opposition to it. . . . I have as much faith in the
"sincerity, in the devotion, in the earnestness, and
"enthusiasm, and in the triumphant success, upon that
"question, of William Ewart Gladstone, as I have in the
"fact that the sun shines at noon-day, and will set to-night
"and rise to-morrow to shine upon us again." He also
knew of Mr. Gladstone's intention to destroy the Protestant
Irish landlords, as another step in Mr. Gladstone's policy
to annihilate Protestant ascendency: "The Protestant
"gentry have got the (Church) lands throughout your
"Diocese. They have those broad and fertile lands, at an
"average of 3*s.* 1*d.* an acre. They are giving £4,000 a
"year to their Bishop. The system and law . . . have
"robbed you. . . . I believe the land question has
"been impeded and obstructed by the delay of the settle-
"ment of the Church question; and that we will not be in
"a position to insure a perfect and satisfactory solution of
"the land tenure question, until that great obstacle to
"all progress,—the existence of a political Established
"Church,—shall be put an end to. . . . Everything
"that the tenant adds to the soil should be the tenant's.
"Everything that the tenant's skill, his industry, his sweat,
"his capital adds to the soil, should be his." Such were
the revelations of a member of Parliament, who had been
made the repository of Mr. Gladstone's confidences.

On the 5th of November, in the same year, Mr. Bright
said at Edinburgh: "In Ireland, the land really is not in
"the possession of . . . natives. It seems to be an
"essential thing for the peace of every country, that its
"soil should at least be in possession of its own people.

"I believe that, in Ireland, it will be necessary to adopt "some plan,—*and I believe there is a plan* which can be "adopted without injustice or wrong to any man,—by "which gradually the land of Ireland may be, to a considerable extent, transferred from foreign, or alien, or "absentee, *Protestant proprietors,—transferred into the "hands of the (Roman) Catholic resident population* of the "country."

As Mr. Bright was in Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, we may suppose that he knew something of Mr. Gladstone's inner mind. Sir John Gray had enjoyed the advantage of confidential conversations with Mr. Gladstone, and learned his secret plans. Their voices were unheeded at the time. Now the parts of the scheme which they foretold have been realized, and we have confidence that Mr. Gladstone intends to put the rest in execution. The Protestant Church in Ireland, to be disestablished and disendowed: that has been effected. Its destruction was to be but the prelude to the disestablishment of the Protestant Churches in England and Scotland: that is near at hand. The Protestant landlords of Ireland to be ruined: that feat Mr. Gladstone has achieved. The lands to be given over to the Roman Catholic Church and Roman Catholic peasant proprietors: that will soon be accomplished. The whole Protestant system—the monarchy, the nobility, the ecclesiastical hierarchy—doomed ultimately to fall, by the secret machinations of an unseen power. And yet the people of England, seeing these things partially accomplished, are still inert!

Mr. Gladstone's Bill for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, which was framed—not on Mr. D'Israeli's principle of "levelling up," or giving endowments to all religions in proportion to their respective adherents, but on the principle of "levelling down," or taking all endowments from religious purposes—that Bill nevertheless proposed to give the sum of £364,000 to the Roman Catholic Church, and no less than eight millions sterling

to "separate institutions," which were under the sole charge of the "Christian Brothers," nuns and monks. So much for Mr. Gladstone's adherence to that principle which he so loudly expressed in order to beguile the Liberals and Radicals into giving him their support!

Cardinal Manning's organ, *The Weekly Register*, wrote, when Mr. Gladstone had opened the campaign against the Irish Protestant Church (Oct. 31st, 1868), "It is felt that *religious licence, and possibly even the very existence of Protestantism, are staked upon the issue of this final struggle.*" . . . *The hour has arrived for the resuscitation of Catholicism.*" And yet Liberals and Radicals supported Mr. Gladstone! Why did they not consider the character of that Roman Catholicism, already free, which they were helping to resuscitate? Let them learn it from Cardinal Manning,¹ "If England is ever to be reunited to Christendom, it is by *submission to the living authority of the Vicar of Jesus Christ.* The first step of its return must be *obedience to his voice, as rebellion against his authority was the first step of its departure.*" Nor are those doctrines confined to Cardinal Manning. They were and are taught by all the theologians and casuists of the Romish Church. Take for example, "Perrone's Dogmatic Theology,"² "*Tolerantia religiosa est impia et absurda.*" Knowing the intentions of Mr. Gladstone, and being aware of the doctrines of the Romish Church, yet the Liberals and Radicals of England and Scotland and Wales were beguiled into supporting him!

Let us pause here and take a retrospect of former legislation, in order the better to perceive the direction of its course for the last sixty years.

¹ "Essays on Religion," p. 19.

² Vol. iii. p. 345. Ed. Louvain, 1838.

No. V.

It was through "the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act," in 1829, that the Romish Hierarchy first obtained an open and avowed Parliamentary power. O'Connell was the agent of the Church of Rome; and the priests selected the members who were to support him, and collected the "rent" which paid the expenses of the elections. The Papal party amounted to thirty members,—about the same number as supported Parnell up to the Reform Acts of 1885. O'Connell threatened and made himself obnoxious, and so furnished an excuse to the English Ministry to yield the demands of the Romish Bishops and fall in with their plans. The Romish bishops set on foot two movements: one against the Irish Protestant Church, the other for the Repeal of the Union. The attack on the first was commenced by a crusade against the payment of tithes to a Church which was proclaimed as "alien," and therefore unjust; although it was one of the conditions on which the tenants got their farms. Against the second the Fenian Society was specially organized. The Fenian oath betrays its character. It is¹:—"I do solemnly swear "that I renounce all allegiance to the Queen of England, "that I will do all that may be in my power to make "Ireland an independent democratic Republic, that I will "implicitly obey all the orders of my superiors, and will "take up arms on the first opportunity."

It was by the direct influence of the priests that hatred of the Sassenach, who was termed an unjust conqueror, and bloody oppressor of the Irish, was first engendered. It was by the Romish emissaries that this feeling was encouraged in 1641; it was during the time of James II. that it was nurtured by the priests, until it culminated in the conquest of 1688; it was by the priests that the hatred was fanned into an all-absorbing passion in 1798; it was through the Roman priests, as Wyse informs us,² that the

¹ Senior, ii. 36. ² History of the Catholic Association.

Irish people, in 1828, were induced to cry out, "When will O'Connell call us out?" It was through them that the passion was revived in 1842, 1843; and through them it has been urged on in 1880 and the subsequent years. In every instance the hatred of England was most intense at the time when England was prepared to yield most to the demands of the Irish, and English ministers were pandering to the wishes of Rome. Was that hatred a scourge from God on the Romanizing tendencies of England? or was it the result of the contempt, engendered in a quick-witted nation, for a people which deviated, through weakness, from the path of rectitude and pure religion?

In 1845, the recent scourge sent by God, in His Providence, on the Irish people, had left them greatly reduced in numbers, and prostrate in spirit. The Romish bishops adapted their tactics to the spirit of the people. They determined meekly to approach, and cunningly to deceive the Government of England. They posed as suppliants, and appealed on behalf of their flocks, *in formâ pauperum*. They desired education and enlightenment for poor students; but poverty precluded their affording it. The annual grant to Maynooth led, each year, to bitter attacks from bigoted Protestant newspapers; and those attacks wounded their feelings and humbled their laudable pride. Make the grant permanent, and do away with this bitterness; increase it, and relieve our poverty. Thus will the everlasting gratitude of the Irish insure for ever a love and support for the English Government. That will be a message of peace to Ireland, which will assuredly bring its reward; and nothing more will ever be desired or asked.

Such was the prayer of the Romish bishops. The Government were deceived and seduced. The House of Commons also pictured the crumbling walls, and starving professors, and virtuous students, which existed only in imagination. The British people disbelieved, and were resentful; but, nevertheless, the Maynooth Endowment Act was forced upon them.

The scene was then changed. For gratitude, there was again a grievance ; instead of peace, there was the cry of oppression. But the recent folly of Parliament enabled the Romish bishops to educate their students at the expense of England, to hate everything English, and to believe that rebellion would be the highest of virtues.

In 1846, an Irish member, of the name of Watson, acted as the instrument of the designs of the Romish Hierarchy, and introduced a Bill, which was thus described by Sir James Graham : " The present Bill consists of four enactments : the first enables the archbishops and bishops of the Roman Catholic Church to assume the titles of the Sees of the Protestant Church ; the second, sanctions the appearance of Roman Catholic prelates and priests in pontificals in public places ; the third allows a judge, mayor, or sheriff to attend mass in his robes of office ; and the fourth removes all restrictions on the Regular Orders so as to allow the country to be filled with Jesuits and monks." This Bill was introduced just a year after the message of peace,—the Maynooth Endowment Act. Sir R. Peel and Sir J. Graham resisted the Bill ; but the House accepted it. The events of that momentous year however, caused the Bill to fall through.

The bishops, who were to have been satisfied for ever with the Maynooth Act, were now not satisfied with besieging the Commons alone ; they also told Mr. D'Israeli's great friend, Lord Lyndhurst, to make an assault on the House of Lords. In all countries it has been the rule of Law that no bishops might receive, as authoritative, any Bull from the Pope, until the secular Government had seen and sanctioned it. That was quite reasonable ; because Bulls frequently declared the thrones of kings to be vacant, and absolved all subjects from their allegiance, and called on faithful Romanists to kill the adherents of such excommunicated kings, and possess themselves of their thrones.

In 1846, however, Lord Lyndhurst said that the common law was strong enough to prevent all Romish encroach-

ments, and to keep out every Bull of the Pope. On this ground he consented, on the part of the Government, to repeal all the prohibitions on the free communication between the Pope and the Romish bishops. The eyes of some, in regard to the insidious nature of this concession, have been opened by the Committee of the House of Commons on the Ecclesiastical Titles Act (1868), when the real aim of the Pope was brought to light. The Romish bishops admitted that, if any law of England should not agree with any decree of the Pope, the latter only would be binding on Roman Catholics. Thus the Pope regards himself as the supreme sovereign of the kingdom, and looks on the Queen with her Parliament as merely his vassal.

In the same spirit, the Jesuit *Univers*, of March 28, 1868, laid it down that: "A Catholic should never attach himself to any political party composed mainly of heretics. No one, who is truly at heart a thorough and complete Catholic, can give his entire adhesion to a Protestant Leader, be he Whig or Tory; for in so doing he divides the allegiance, and in some cases destroys altogether, the allegiance which he owes to the Church. A Catholic cannot give himself up to any party in a Protestant country."

In the year 1846, the Conservative Ministry was overthrown on the question of Free Trade. Up to that time, under a Conservative Government, the cause of the Pope had made steady and continuous advances in Parliament. This the Papacy had accomplished by means of the deception practised on the Prime Minister, and the agitation concerning pretended grievances which had been carried on throughout Ireland.

When Lord John Russell came into office, in the summer of 1846, in conjunction with Lord Palmerston, Romanism received a severe check; and the foreign policy of the Government was in strong antagonism to the intrigues of the Pope. It was Lord Palmerston who, at the time of the

Sonderbund war in Switzerland, defeated the Jesuits ; and the crypto-Jesuit member for Shrewsbury attacked him with much bitterness for it, in the House of Commons.

"Intrigues of the Pope?" Was he not a gentle, guileless old man? That may be ; but yet he must do the bidding of the Curia of the Vatican. The Curia is a Cabinet of long standing, great practice, experience, and knowledge of affairs. It never "goes out" by the action of an adverse majority in a representative Chamber. It never suffers change, except as one member or another drops off by old age and death. Like the Russian Cabinet, it comprises all the best intellects of Europe and the New World. It combines the astuteness of the Italian, the solidity of the Englishman, the inventive genius of the American, the clear subtlety of the Frenchman, the dogged perseverance and persistence of the German, the duplicity of the Oriental, and the falsehood of all. All those varied intellects have been carefully trained for their work, and been experienced in diplomacy ; while from the intimate reports derived from priestly confessors all over the world, the best and most detailed knowledge of the characters and intentions of statesmen, and the passions of people, are ready to their hand. The Vatican is the centre of all the intelligence and information of the world ; and every bishop has periodically to visit Rome, in order that his inmost soul may be probed, and his continual reports may be tested. Such is the Cabinet with which Protestant statesmen hope on equal terms to cope !

NO. VI.

THE great engine of the Romish Hierarchy is education. They set themselves to mould the future generation, and to implant in their youth all the ideas which they desire them to be governed by in their manhood. Rome subdues their intellects ; she stops all independence of thought ; she stunts every tendency to free inquiry ; while

she stuffs their minds with legends of the saints, marvels, fictions, formularies, symbolisms, and rituals; until, crushed under the burden, and subdued by frequent "examinations of conscience" and confessions, they resign themselves, *tanquam cadavera*, to their Spiritual Directors. With such a system of education, the Protestant schools, which strive to enkindle free inquiry, can never coalesce.

The Romish bishops, in answer to their demands, were offered their choice of a national system, free of all sects; or a purely secular system. They chose the former, in the assured hope that in a short time they would be able to mould it to suit their own views. Archbishop Murray was put on the Education Commission of the National Schools in Ireland. Throughout Ireland, the priests became patrons of the National Schools; they attended them daily; they managed to put them under masters subservient to themselves. They ignored all remonstrances from the Central Board, and winked at the irregularity of attendance of the children. The rules of the Board were disregarded, and Romanist catechisms were taught at all times, and Roman Catholic emblems were continually displayed. False returns were made to Parliament, to deceive the anxious inquiring eyes of members, and to obtain larger grants from the Treasury.

Yet something was taught; and a demand for the Bible was the result. Cardinal Cullen took fright; and after various ruses, he, in 1866, presented a memorial to the Lord-Lieutenant, which was signed by all the Romanist bishops. This memorial denounced the National system, and demanded that the National Schools, above all the model schools, should be placed entirely in the hands of the Romish priesthood,—as far, at least, as they dealt with Roman Catholics.¹ Such a demand met with the failure that its audacity deserved. Foiled, but not beaten, the Cardinal drew back, and directed his energies to a new point of attack.

¹ Papers on University and National Education, March 5th, 1866.

After a long correspondence, which ranged over the months from August, 1865, to January, 1866, the Cabinet agreed with the Romish Hierarchy. Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet agreed that they "will advise Her Majesty to grant a charter of incorporation to the College founded in Dublin, by the Roman Catholic Archbishops, for the higher education of youth," and are ready "to grant a sum for the purpose of bourses."¹ The House of Commons was indignant at this bargain ; but Mr. Gladstone calmed them by a formal undertaking not to carry it out until members had had an opportunity of discussing it. That engagement Mr. Gladstone evaded ; that promise, Mr. Gladstone broke, During the autumn recess he caused Her Majesty to sign a charter of incorporation for a Roman Catholic College ; and he designated a large sum of money for its use. But the instrument was found to be illegal ; and the faithless scheme was frustrated.

In the midsummer of 1866, Mr. Gladstone was beaten in committee on the Reform Bill, and Lord Derby, with his superior and master Mr. D'Israeli, came into office. Archbishop Leahy² avowed that the bishops insisted always on the largest demands, and took as much as they could get. A secret committee to frame a scheme of education agreeable to Rome, was appointed by Mr. D'Israeli, consisting of Archbishop Leahy, Lord Mayo, Archbishop Manning, and Mr. D'Israeli himself. The scheme was framed ; Cardinal Manning took it to Rome ; and it was approved by the Pope !

Hear how Archbishop M'Hale vaunted himself on this point, when referring to the English Government and Irish Landlords, at Castlebar, on August 8th, 1868 : "We come here to tell these gentlemen to content themselves with the exercise of their own power ; and we are resolved that they must not interfere with us in the exercise of our duties, nor transgress their limits. . . . What are

¹ Papers on University and National Education, March 5th, 1886.

² "Further correspondence with Lord Mayo," the Irish Secretary.

"these interfering gentry doing at this very hour? Have we the freedom of education that belongs to us? It was not said to emperors, or kings, or queens, that they should teach,—an office that exclusively belongs to the Catholic Hierarchy. Yet these presumptuous people have usurped this office; for they have advocated and supported Anti-Catholic and Anti-National Education! Consequently they have attempted the ruin of the faith and the morality of the flocks committed to our charge."

There was, at the same time, another Papal attack going on. Cardinal Manning wrote,¹ that the Queen's supremacy is the essence of heresy, and "the Reformation *in concreto*"; and that the English Government "has headed the unbelief and the sedition of Europe, and directs the full power of England against the Catholic Church, and, above all, against the Holy See"; and is "essentially a denial of the Divine institution of the Church, and represents a population not only in schism and heresy, but traditionally hostile to the spiritual authority of the Church and the Pontiffs."² Again ³ he said: "If ever there was a land in which work was to be done, and perhaps much to suffer, it is here. I shall not say too much if I say that *we have to subjugate and subdue, to conquer and rule, an imperial race. We have to do with a will which reigns throughout the world, as the will of old Rome reigned once.* WE HAVE TO BEND OR BREAK THAT WILL WHICH NATIONS AND KINGDOMS HAVE FOUND INVINCIBLE AND INFLEXIBLE. . . . Were heresy conquered in England, it would be conquered throughout the world. All its lines meet here; and therefore in England the Church of God must be gathered in its strength."

That this was a fixed determination with Cardinal Manning, is shown by the fact that in his "Address to the Third Provincial Council of the Archdiocese of Westminster," he reverted to the same subject: "This XIXth

¹ "Essays on Religion."

² Sermons, 1863, p. 63.

³ *Tablet*, Aug. 6th, 1859.

"Century will make a great epoch in the history of the Church. . . . It is good for us to be here in England. "It is yours, Right Reverend Fathers, to subjugate and "subdue, to bend and to break the will of an Imperial "race; the will which, as of Rome of old, rules over "nations and peoples, invincible and inflexible. . . . "You have a great commission to fulfil, and great is the "prize for which you strive. Surely a soldier's eye and "a soldier's heart *would choose, by intuition, this field of "England for the warfare of the Faith.* None ampler or "nobler could be found. . . . It is the head of Protestantism; the centre of its movements, and the strongest hold of its powers. *Weakened in England, it is paralyzed everywhere.* Conquered in England, it is conquered "throughout the world. Once overthrown here, all is but "a war of detail. All the roads of the whole world meet "in one point; and, this point reached, *the whole world "is open to the Church's will.* England is the key of the "whole position of modern error."

And therefore all the efforts and energies, all the duplicities and dissimulations, of which they are masters, will be directed to bending and breaking the will of the English people, and to subjugating and subduing Englishmen to the will of the Pope. If this cannot be done by means of Home Rule agitations in Ireland, and if dynamite explosions and socialist riots in England do not suffice to accomplish their purpose, then other measures will be resorted to.

Further, Cardinal Manning said¹: "There is only one "solution of the difficulty,—a solution I fear impending, "—and that is, the terrible scourge of a continental war, "a war which will exceed the horrors of any of the wars "of the first Empire."

That is the aim of the Papacy, to weaken and to humble England; to dismember the Empire; to render her the prey to her enemies in a great Continental war. Mr.

¹ *Tablet*, Jan. 24, 1874.

William Monsell¹ was selected in 1865 to make the very small beginning of this project. He demanded that the Roman Catholic oath of 1829 should be repealed ; and Mr. Gladstone, his fellow servant, was ready to help him and Rome. The Bill was passed through the Commons, but failed in the House of Lords. Not defeated, the Romish prelates set agoing the chatter of brainless persons in fashionable saloons, and all began to say that oaths were useless ; oaths were even a scandal. During the autumn and winter, enough persons had committed themselves to this doctrine—their vanity binding them to uphold what they had once asserted—to constitute a most formidable phalanx. Mr. Gladstone's Government was therefore able, in February, 1866, to introduce a Bill to sweep away oaths. Mr. Dillon, an ally of Cardinal Cullen, now well known as a prominent Land Leaguer, published a letter in the *Tablet* of April 21st, 1866, saying that a bargain had been struck, a Kilmainham Treaty signed, by Mr. Gladstone and the Pope's adherents in the House of Commons. These were his words : The Pope's brass band were " to give an unconditional support of the extension of " the Franchise Bill. I say unconditional in this sense, " that we have not gone to Mr. Gladstone and demanded " formal pledges from him in respect of Irish measures, as " the price of our votes ; but *not in the sense that we are* " *entirely in the dark as to what the Government are likely to* " *do.* The relations of the ' National Association ' towards " the Government may be thus shortly stated :—The " Association has put forward four claims : the Reform of " the Land Laws ; the removal of obnoxious oaths ; free- " dom and equality of education ; and the disendowment of " the Established Church. *The Government concede the first* " *two at once ; they will give an instalment of the third ; and* " *as to the fourth, they ask us to wait a little, as its hands* " *are full, bidding us in the meantime God speed !*"

When the Oaths Bill reached the House of Lords,

¹ Lord Emly.

a Roman Catholic deputation had an interview with Lord Derby, and Mr. Wegg Prosser, a Roman Catholic, sent an account of the interview to the *Tablet* of April 14th, 1866. The deputation told Lord Derby that Archbishop Manning would not endure any reference to the Act of Settlement being put into the Bill ; and as to admitting, in any way, the Queen's supremacy, that was altogether impossible. Mr. Prosser then stated that Archbishop Manning was consulted, after the interview, and that the Archbishop had determined to lay the matter before all the Roman Catholic bishops. The result, as stated by Mr. Prosser, was that : " No good Catholic could "take part in enacting such a measure as the Act of "Settlement of the Crown, *because it expressly excludes a "Catholic from the succession on the very ground of his "religion* ; and it follows that no Catholic can share in "enacting an oath to maintain and support the Act of "Settlement ; but it does not follow that a Catholic may "not take such an oath when already enacted by those "over whom he has not control."

Lord Derby, who was always too much a puppet in Mr. D'Israeli's hands, gave way ; and Mr. Gladstone, at Liverpool, thus explained the nature of the Oaths Bill : " All "persons holding positions of political trust in either "House of Parliament, for civil purposes, will be wholly and "individually released from the necessity of making any "religious profession. I cannot but congratulate you on "this most signal triumph that we have achieved. I am "bound to say that *I have been surprised myself at the "facility with which the Bill has progressed in Parliament.*"

It was, therefore, not a matter of wonder that Archbishop Manning, in the *Tablet* of October 24th, 1868, should have lavished encomiums on Mr. Gladstone and his services to the Roman Church ; and no surprise that Cardinal Cullen should have boasted of having received an assurance from Mr. Gladstone that he would promote the schemes of the Irish National Association.

NO. VII.

THE Bill of Rights and the Act of 1829 excluded Roman Catholics from filling the offices of Regent, Lord High Commissioner in Scotland, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Lord Chancellor of England, and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The holder of each of those five offices is an immediate representative of the Sovereign; and as the Sovereign must, by the Act of Settlement, be a Protestant, so must the holders of those offices. But Cardinal Cullen had said, in 1851, that the primary object on which the Catholic Defence Society insisted, was the repeal of "the Coronation Oath and the Act of Settlement, which limit the possession of the Crown to Protestants." Against the outworks of Protestantism,—against the Protestant character of the representatives of the Sovereign, Cardinal Cullen and Archbishop Manning now directed their attacks, in order that they might seize the citadel, and that the Sovereign might openly profess Catholicism. Sir Colman O'Loughlen who was selected to introduce the Bill on March 20th, 1866, said: "He did not desire to make any change whatever in the law which excluded Roman Catholics from those offices; he merely wished to put an end to the necessity, at present imposed upon Protestants, under certain circumstances, to make the declaration that they were Protestants. The declaration was a relic of barbarism which ought to be immediately erased from the statute book."

On the 8th of May, on the second reading of the Bill, Mr. Cogan said: "The Bill contained a proviso that nothing contained in it should be construed as giving the Roman Catholics a right to fill the offices either of Lord Lieutenant or Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The simple object of the measure was to remove a declaration which was at once offensive and useless." A month later (June 8th) Sir George Bowyer and Sir Patrick O'Brien used similar language. The simple-minded English members, thinking that they

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were merely doing a kindness to Roman Catholics, without any injury to Protestantism, carelessly passed the Bill.

In the House of Lords, on July 16th, Lord Derby showed that no security whatever was given for the security which really was abandoned. The House of Lords were guided by him, and rejected the Bill. Sir Colman O'Loughlen, and Mr. Cogan had, however, acted their parts, and were rewarded by Mr. Gladstone by being raised to the dignity of Privy Councillors of Her Majesty. Yet Sir Colman O'Loughlen was one of the secretaries who had issued a most seditious declaration in favour of the repeal of the Union of England and Ireland in April, 1848.¹

On Feb. 27, 1867, while Lord Derby was Prime Minister, Sir Colman O'Loughlen brought in a Bill "to supplement the Offices and Oaths Act," "the object of which was to open to Roman Catholics the offices from which they were excluded. It was therefore a Bill of considerable importance. At the time when Catholic Emancipation was carried, there were five offices expressly kept from Roman Catholics," etc., etc. Sir George Bowyer, Mr. Cogan, and Sir Patrick O'Brien, then joined with Sir Colman O'Loughlen, in committee on the Bill, for the insertion of the following clause: "All the Queen's subjects, without reference to their religious belief, shall be eligible to hold the offices of Lord Chancellor and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland." So much were their protestations of the last year worth!

Moreover the provision of Sir R. Peel and Sir J. Graham, of the year 1846, that judges, mayors, and sheriffs should not attend mass in their robes of office,—that is, as representatives of the Sovereign,—was repealed by the following clause: "Every judicial and corporate officer shall attend his place of worship in his robes of office."

At the same time when this Bill was introduced, a Bill was also presented to relieve all who hold office from making the Declaration against Transubstantiation, the

¹ *Times*, April 24.

Invocation of Saints, and the Sacrifice of the Mass. In March, a Bill was brought forward to repeal the Ecclesiastical Titles Act. In April, a Bill to throw open to priests the churchyards of the Established Church; and a Bill to provide glebe lands for Roman Catholic churches and schools, which were to be held in perpetuity by the Roman Catholic bishops. The Bill to relieve office-holders from the Declaration was allowed to pass both Houses. The Bill which granted lands to the Romanist bishops was thrown out by Mr. Newdegate, on the ground that it made the laity become mere slaves of the bishops. As to the Office and Oaths Bill, the fourth clause was altered and framed so as to extend Mr. Gladstone's Oaths Bill to all persons holding office under the Crown. It swept away the oath of the Queen's Supremacy, and substituted a mere oath of allegiance; while, to make this go down with the House, a clause was inserted, recognising the Protestant succession. Thus, in 1867, was the recognition of the Queen's Supremacy got rid of.

In the year 1868, Cardinal Manning adroitly managed that the Government of Mr. D'Israeli should accept a simple oath of allegiance to the Queen, her heirs and successors, without any reference whatever to the Protestant succession. There only remains now to repeal the Acts of William III. as "obsolete and offensive," so that the English crown may, in the words of Cardinal Manning, be openly and avowedly "reunited to Christendom by submission to the living authority of the vicar of Jesus Christ."¹ In that same book² Cardinal Manning observes: "If an 'heretical prince is elected or succeeds to the throne, the (Roman) Church has a right to say, '*I annul the election,*' or '*I forbid the succession.*' Or again, if the king of a 'Christian nation falls into heresy, he commits an offence against God. . . . Therefore it is in the power of the 'Roman Church, by virtue of the supreme authority with which she is invested by Christ over all Christian men,

¹ "Essays," p. 18.

² P. 458.

"to depose such a prince, in punishment of his spiritual crime, and to preserve his subjects from the danger of being led by his precept and example into heresy or spiritual rebellion." Such are the colours of Cardinal Manning and the Roman Church! And those colours are nailed to the mast; or, as Cardinal Manning expressed it: ¹ "The Church cannot yield a jot or a tittle of its Divine laws of unity and truth. The world may renew its ten persecutions, but the pontiffs will be inflexible to the end. They have counselled, warned, and entreated princes and legislators. *If rulers will not hear their voice, the people will (i.e. rebel). The pastors know their flocks, and their flocks know them. . . . The Church is nowhere more vigorous than where it is in closest sympathy with the people, as in Ireland and Poland, in America, Australia, and in England.*" That is, powerful in proportion to its Radicalism, Socialism, Fenianism, and Nihilism.

One more quotation from Cardinal Manning's essays ² where he vaunts himself of his achievements: "THE ROYAL SUPREMACY HAS PERISHED. . . . THE UNDYING AUTHORITY OF THE HOLY SEE IS ONCE MORE AN ACTIVE POWER IN ENGLAND. THE SHADOW OF PETER HAS FALLEN AGAIN UPON IT." He spoke there as if the Queen were already a vassal of the Pope, and had submitted, like King John, King Charles I., King Charles II., and James II., to the Pope's nuncio!

Mr. D'Israeli was leader of the House of Commons in 1867 and 1868, and Prime Minister in 1868. The year 1868 was prolific in incidents and Bills in aid of the Roman Church. On one occasion, in reference to the Poor Law, Mr. Villiers and Sir Michael Beach, on opposite sides of the House, "vied with each other in deference to Cardinal Manning," and Sir Michael was highly indignant because a Scotch Protestant should have ventured to petition the

¹ "The Centenary of St. Peter: a Pastoral Letter to the Clergy," p. 100. Longmans, 1867.

² "Essays on Religion," 2nd Series, 1867. P. 20.

House adversely to his emirence's views. As to the Bills—one was to alter the words of the Coronation Oath ; but Mr. Rearden was indiscreet and showed the Papal hand, and Sir Colman O'Loughlen at once withdrew the new clause which he had proposed to insert in the Promissory Oaths Bill.

On March 21, 1867, Mr. McEvoy brought in a Bill, at the bidding of Cardinal Manning, which the Irish prelates thought premature. It proposed to give to the Pope the power which is exercised by the Sovereign of England, of determining the limits of dioceses, assigning them to bishops, granting offices of authority, and of conferring titles of honour. Mr. Gladstone sided with the Irish bishops in thinking the introduction of the Bill to be premature and imprudent, and he held that the caution evinced by the Irish bishops did them the highest honour ; "Nevertheless," said he, "as far as this side of the House is concerned, the hon. member will find little difficulty in the prosecution of his enterprise to a successful conclusion." Mr. Gladstone promised his support to a measure enacting that which no English sovereign since the days of the Norman Conquest had brooked, and which William the Conqueror had successfully resisted. Mr. Gladstone further expressed a hope that Mr. D'Israeli would also help the Pope's intrigue : "If only the Government will support the hon. member, by all means let us go forward with the Bill."

The House of Commons, however, began to be uneasy and suspicious of Mr. Gladstone's Romanizing tendencies, and were not so docile as usual. A committee was appointed, and evidence was taken. The Right Hon. Spencer Walpole drew up a report, which was not of an un-Protestant character, and it was only lost by the casting vote of the chairman, Mr. McEvoy, who was a Romanist.

In the year 1868, the grand attack, in comparison with which those we have narrated were but affairs of outposts, was preparing, and was led by Mr. Gladstone himself. It

was an attack planned long before by Cardinal Cullen and Archbishop Manning,—the attack on the Irish Church ; but the Irish people, and even the Irish priests, showed not the least sympathy with the movement. The Irish people liked the Protestant clergy ; for they were courteous gentlemen, which their own priests were not ; and they were always ready with their counsel, even with their money ; in which matters they were in strong contrast to the Romish priests. Even the Roman Catholic Dean of Limerick, when summing up the grievances of Ireland, was careful not to allude to the Established Church of Ireland. He said : “ We demand the liberation of our country from the domination of the people of England. We claim the land of our forefathers for the benefit of the people whose birthright it is, who have earned by the sweat of their brows the right to live upon, possess, and enjoy it.”

The Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath, also, a short time before, said : “ The one, the great, the sole question for Ireland, is the Land Question. Other agitations, such as that against the Established Church, are got up for party purposes.”

The grievance was, that the Irish “ coveted and desired ” their neighbours’ land. The Irish Church was not a grievance. On the contrary, the quick-witted people knew well enough that the Romish priest is always a coarse-minded and rapacious tyrant ; and that the presence of the Protestant clergyman, with his eyes upon the Romish priest, was a check on the latter in his exactions and oppressions. It was the clergyman, not the priest, who received, from the emigrants in America or our Colonies, the sums they sent home for their relatives. For this reason it was that Mr. Gladstone called the Protestant Church “ an alien Church,” and sought its immediate destruction. Mr. Gladstone, in addressing his constituents, said : “ Those who endangered the Union of Ireland, were the party that maintained there an alien Church.” On

being asked for an explanation by Mr. Rankin, of Midlothian, Mr. Gladstone wrote that his "expression was "strictly accurate, because the Irish Church was of alien, "that is, of English growth, . . . and had been "absolutely forced upon the country by the strictly alien "power of England."¹ Mr. Gladstone forgot that Romanism had been forced upon them by the Bull of Pope Adrian, by which he bestowed Protestant Ireland on England, at that time Papist. But we must revert to a previous year.

It was in March, 1865, when all the preliminaries between Archbishop Manning and Mr. Gladstone had been completed (as we shall subsequently show), that the Liberation Society and Mr. Dillwyn, the member for Swansea, brought forward a motion against the Irish Church, which was seconded by The O'Donoghue. It was this occasion that was used by Mr. Gladstone for declaring that he had broken loose from all the principles that had hitherto been supposed to have governed his conduct. Sir George Grey opposed Mr. Dillwyn's motion, on the part of the Liberal party; but Mr. Gladstone, who followed him in the debate, declared himself in favour of abolishing the Established Church. On June 20, The O'Donoghue proposed a motion for assistance to a Romish College in Ireland which was governed by Romish bishops. The Liberal party were averse to the proposal, and even denounced it. Mr. Gladstone supported it in vehement and passionate language, as if he were the leader of the Pope's Brass Band.

In 1866, the Fenian sedition was brought to the front, in order to prepare the way for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and the confiscation of the properties of the Protestant landlords. Mr. Bright presented a petition in favour of the Fenian prisoners; and the petition which he read, "described Ireland as kept in a state of hopeless "subjection, in order to maintain the interests of the Irish

¹ *Times*, March 26, 1880.

"Church Establishment, and a system of land tenure at variance with the feelings and interests of the people ; and, in consequence of the utter hopelessness of a remedy for the evils under which they suffer, honourable Irish-men, however mistaken, feel justified in resorting to force ; and, in a word, there are legitimate grounds for the chronic discontent of which Fenianism is the expression ; and, therefore, some palliation for the errors of the Fenians."

NO. VIII.

ON May 6, 1867, Sir John Gray, who owed his popularity in Ireland to his conviction and imprisonment for treason, was designated to propose a motion to the House of Commons, in favour of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church. Sir John Gray explained the circumstances in a letter to the Bishop of Kilkenny, dated Aug. 21, 1868. He said that the Irish Roman Catholic members "were good enough, at their Conference in 1865, to confide the Church question to my care." He then proceeded as I have already mentioned : "I resolved to open direct communication with Mr. Gladstone. You never can know, for even were I at liberty to detail what occurred at the several private interviews with which I was favoured, I would not have the power adequately to convey to you a just impression of the generous, earnest, and hearty devotion with which Mr. Gladstone determined to pledge his future as a statesman to the redress of this great wrong ;" and so forth. On that occasion, Mr. Gladstone again spoke the principles of a Romanist, with the bitterness of a pervert. Mr. Gladstone had formerly upheld the Established Church, and refused to endow Maynooth. He now turned upon those who continued to hold those principles, and asked how they could support the Protestant Church on the ground of truth, while they paid a priesthood whom they regarded as teachers of

falsehood, and who certainly taught that no truth was to be found in the Protestant Church?

How was it that Mr. Gladstone lent himself to this scheme of disestablishment? Was it through inadvertence or through ignorance? No! The previous year the Duke of Argyll (June 24, 1867) quoted the words of the Romish Bishop Moriarty, of Limerick: "We must bear in mind that the Catholic Church is the rightful owner of all ecclesiastical property in this country (Ireland), with the exception of what the Protestant Church may have acquired since its separation." He added that "there was no power to alienate it, or to demand its secularisation, unless with the sanction of the Pope, who is by Christ appointed the supreme ruler of our great spiritual Commonwealth."

The next year (1868), the great attack on the Church was delivered. Mr. Bright announced at Limerick, on July 14, the next move to be made by Mr. Gladstone after the Irish Church should have been disestablished: "The only true and lasting remedy for Irish discontent is to be found, either in the repeal of the Act of Union, or in absolute independence. I blame nobody for holding this opinion. . . . I am willing to admit, that any nation, believing it to be its interest, has a right both to wish for and to strive for national independence."

There are but two more preliminary considerations to which it is necessary to allude before we pass to a detailed examination of the course of legislation in recent years: the first bears on a characteristic of the Irish Roman Catholic people and priests; the second relates to the Vatican, which uses people and priests as its instruments and tools, in the prosecution of its secret designs.

Let us go back to 1843, and see the characteristic trait of the Irish people and priests. It was the same then as history shows that it had been for two hundred years before; the same as contemporary facts prove it to be now. On May 14 of that year, Dr. Higgins, the Romish Bishop

of Ardagh, said : " I have every reason to believe—I may "add that *I know*—that every Catholic bishop in Ireland, "without any exception, is an ardent repealer."

Sir Charles Trevelyan¹ wrote : " There cannot be a "doubt that the great body of the Roman Catholic priests "have gone into the (Repeal) movement in the worst, that "is, in the most rebellious sense ; some, more hardy and "enthusiastic than the rest, might even lead their flocks to "battle."

Dr. M'Hale, the Romish Archbishop of Tuam, and one hundred and five priests² " Resolved : That we commence "the New Year by enrolling ourselves members of the "Repeal Association." The bishop and clergy of the extensive diocese of Cloyne and Ross took up the same rebellious policy ;³ and their address was signed also by the bishop and one hundred and forty priests of the County Cork ; by the bishop and priests of the County Waterford ; and by the bishop and priests of the diocese of Meath. Well did the *Times*⁴ announce that : " The "Roman Catholic clergy have resumed their old position "of political as well as spiritual pastors of the people. "They are to be found at every meeting. At Derry nearly "every second speaker was a priest. The same may be said "of Limerick, Tipperary, and Galway, where the most "inflammatory language was uttered by those reverend "gentlemen, in the presence of monster assemblages, ripe "and ready to commit themselves to open insurrection "against the Queen's authority." For an example of the current opinions of the Romish priesthood, we may quote what the Rev. Mr. Birmingham wrote in the *Nation*,⁵ a newspaper read by most of the Irish people : " When the "day of your struggle shall come, when your liberties as well "as your lives shall be invaded, then let it not be a turning "out of two or three counties, but let Ireland *rise to the* "contest as one man, and let every man make a vow to the

¹ *Morning Chronicle*, Oct. 18, 1843.

² *Times*, Jan. 3, 1848.

³ April 15, 1848.

⁴ April 8, 1848.

⁵ April 14, 1848.

"following effect : '*I vow, before God and my country, to 'lessen, if I can, by one man at least, the enemies of my 'native land, and to die.'*" That is, I vow before God to murder at least one Englishman and to swing for it. Pass down the stream of time for twenty years. The same characteristic presents itself. Archbishop M'Hale and his priests met at Castlebar, County Mayo,¹ and "Resolved : "To give our strenuous support to those candidates only "who can advocate the fullest measure of tenant-right, un-qualified freedom of Catholic denominational education, "the disestablishment and disendowment of the Protestant "Church, and, *above all, the Repeal of the Legislative Union.*"

A few years before,² Dr. Butler, the Romish Bishop of Limerick, said : "We have neither love nor liking for the "English Government in its dealings with the Irish race ; "and we would look on any struggle which would raise "Ireland to the dignity of a nation as an effort that "every good man is bound to aid and encourage."

The Roman Catholic Archdeacon O'Brien, the founder of the Young Men's Catholic Associations, preaching in the Roman Catholic Chapel of Newcastle West, County Limerick, on Feb. 12,³ said : "We say, we do not alone "look for the abolition of the Church temporalities ; but "we are looking for *the power of making our own laws.* I "say, we are far in advance of the Dublin Association ; *we "go for Repeal of the Union. We have the sanction of the "primates and prelates ;* and we have the approbation of "the Bishop of Limerick, whose heart is with us. Resolved : "That we take measures for a great aggregate meeting "in Newcastle West, on Sunday, the 5th of March ; and "on that day we will once again have flung the ancient "standard (of England) to the winds for God and our "country."

On Dec. 23, 1867, we find Dr. O'Brien, Vicar-General and Dean of Limerick, heading a declaration of upwards

¹ *Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 8, 1868. ² *Munster News*, April 6, 1864.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb. 15, 1865.

of thirty Romish priests in favour of "*a restoration of the blessings of domestic legislation*"; and adding, "We believe solemnly and sincerely that this concession, which is perfectly within the constitution, and fully compatible with the integrity of the Empire and the security of the Crown, would have the like happy results in Ireland that have signally attended a similar adjustment recently in Hungary." If they thought it "perfectly within the constitution," it is a curious fact that, in the spring of 1848, a loyal declaration in favour of the constitution was signed by the clergy of all the Protestant denominations, while "every Catholic priest in Kerry, except two or three, declined to sign it; and it was sent to the County Cork, and only one priest signed it"; while not a single Roman Catholic priest in Ulster would sign it: so said Father Sullivan.

At the Rotunda meeting in Dublin, on Jan. 25, 1869, in favour of the Fenian prisoners, Mr. Butt fully admitted that *they were rebels*; but he pleaded that *their wrongs excused revolution*. To this meeting one Roman Catholic archbishop and five bishops sent letters of sympathy and adhesion. Lastly, the famous Father Lavelle, when lecturing in Dublin, "on the Catholic doctrine of the right of revolution," explained the principle of action and conduct of the Romish prelates and priests to be the principles of the Jesuits, which Pascal so ably exposed,¹ namely: "Oppressive rulers may be deposed by their subjects;" he added his opinion that "no subjects are more oppressed than the Irish; therefore, we have the indisputable right to set the English Government aside; but at this moment it would be madness or wickedness to make the attempt, because resistance to that Government would be useless."

So much for the aims which have for so many years been steadily kept in view by the Romish Hierarchy in Ireland. Neither Mr. Gladstone nor any one else could

¹ *Tablet*, Aug. 8, 1863.

plead ignorance of their intentions ; and if he can be shown to have, for more than a score of years, been their steady supporter and ardent fautor, what are we to think of him or his policy ? Let him not shield himself behind a proposition, that he “ desires to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas,” and that it is a ruler’s duty to give to a people all that the majority ask for ; because he does not hold that general proposition in any but the particular case of the Irish. Great Britain rules many nations and peoples, black and white, Africans, Indians, and New Zealanders ; and men of many religions, Brahmins, Buddhists, Mahommedans ; but not to any of those peoples or religions does he apply that principle, except to the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

Now consider the other point—the character of the Roman Curia, to which the Romish bishops all over the world have sworn implicit obedience, just as the priests also have sworn entire submission to their bishops. The Church of Rome is, in fact, not a body of theological doctrine or belief, but a huge and intricate system of government. It is an empire ; it is an absolute monarchy, with its College of Cardinals or Privy Councillors—a monarchy which rules not only by means of force, and which governs not only the bodies and outward actions of its subjects ; but which rules the conscience by means of spiritual terrors, and insures the most abject obedience by means of superstitious feelings. As a study of the Syllabus of Dec. 8, 1864, will show, the Papal Government is a conspiracy of the subtlest and best informed minds, against the fortunes and liberties of mankind. It has agents in every land and every nation ; for every priest, every monk, every nun, every member of a religious confraternity, is an agent of that Government. And every one of these—the whole body indeed of the Romanists—move as one army, in accordance with the orders from the Vatican. By all the allurements of sense ; by the feigned terrors of the unseen world ; by artifices nicely calculated on an intimate

acquaintance with each man's idiosyncrasies, tendencies, antecedents, and present frame of mind ; by the power acquired through the knowledge of some secret crime ; by enticing young persons of mark to commit themselves, in perpetrating some disgraceful act, so that their fair name and fame, their honour and their liberties are placed in the hands of the agents of Rome ; by memories of the past, and poignant stings of remorse ; by offers of preferment, office, glory and fame, with assurances of safety and secrecy in exchange for services rendered clandestinely to Rome ;— by all these means, and many others, the Vatican is ever increasing, in every land, its body of adherents, who must implicitly obey, while they hate her. Nor can honour or patriotism, or even family affection, intervene. Conscience is goaded, and oaths compel them to discard the laws and the welfare of their nation, with the love of kindred, the entreaties of a wife, the paternal instincts of a father for his children, in order to submit to and obey the mandates of the Pope.

The system of the Church of Rome is a wonderful mechanism. Its centre is the Pope. Yet it is independent of the Pope. Many a Pope has been a dotard ; very many have been debauchees. Yet the machine works on, irrespectively of his idiosyncrasies. It is the Cabinet, the Privy Council, the College of Cardinals that governs. That body never dies. One old man and another falls away, like a sere and yellow leaf, but the tree remains ; the traditions and the knowledge of centuries are still there. The records of the past are added to the daily experience of the present ; and that experience is being ever gathered in every corner of the earth, wherever there is a priest or a missionary. From every race, from every land, from every people, nay, from every family, there stretches a telegraphic wire of secret intelligence to the central station of the Vatican. There the intelligence is used by free minds, who are destitute of family, without all the affections which are natural to man, without a country or a home,

without patriotism ; without restraint of obligations, oaths, moral principles or Divine laws ; because the word of the Pope is supposed to tear those holy fetters away as gossamer webs, and priestly absolution is held to wash out even the slightest taint of sin. That is right which is done to advance the power of the Pope. That is true which the Pope may please to assert *ex cathedrâ*. That which favours the interest of the Church is good. Even crime is commendable if it be done for the Church. Coleridge, the poet and philosopher, said that there are two kinds of strong persons, who must always prevail over men that vary in their aims, and sometimes move in one direction and sometimes in another : he is strong who acts always in accordance with the will of God, and allows no consideration, no passion, and no interest to make him deviate from the path of rectitude and simple justice ; and he, too, is strong who puts before himself one end, to which he constantly aims without swerving to one side or the other, allowing no considerations of right and wrong, no soft or benevolent feeling, no passion, no natural affection, to intervene or deter. *Forti nihil difficile*. The latter succeeds in this world, the former lives for eternity. Hence the success, for centuries, of the Vatican. Emperors have resisted it, and fallen. Ministers have framed their policies to curb the pretensions of the Pope, and have been overcome. The devices of premiers are weak, in opposition to the intrigues of the Curia. The advance of the Papacy has always been as the advance of the plague, irresistible, unsparing, remorseless, and deadly. Its myriads of secret agents overmatch armies and dispose of their generals. Its purposes are "fathomless as the sea, and silent as the grave." Its action is in every state, setting nation to hamper nation, and exciting one statesman against another ; breaking up, dividing, crumbling its enemies ; while its own party is always united, conspiring everywhere towards one object. Ever victorious, it will triumph until the great hour for the doom of the harlot, which sits upon the nations of the earth, has

struck ; until the warning voice has been heard through the world : "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not
"partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her
"plagues, for her sins have reached unto heaven, and God
"hath remembered her iniquities. . . . For she saith
"in her heart : I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall
"see no sorrow. Therefore shall her plagues come in one
"day, death, and mourning, and famine ; and she shall be
"utterly burned with fire, for strong is the Lord who
"judgeth her. And the kings of the earth, who have com-
"mitted fornication and lived deliciously with her, shall
"bewail her and lament for her, when they shall see the
"smoke of her burning, standing afar off for fear of her
"torment."

NO. IX.

I HAVE shown that the same end was pursued by Mr. Gladstone and Mr. D'Israeli, for the benefit of the Roman Catholics of Ireland—namely, the Disestablishment of the Church of England in Ireland. But there was a divergence between those statesmen, in the means by which they proposed to attain that end : Mr. D'Israeli's plan found favour with the Jesuits and the Court of Rome ; Mr. Gladstone's was powerfully supported by Cardinal Manning, Cardinal Cullen, and the Irish bishops. Mr. D'Israeli intended to begin by putting all the education of Ireland, higher and lower, on "a religious basis ;" that is to say, he wished to put it into the hands of the adherents of the Jesuits. Then he intended to abolish the Protestant Church in Ireland, by the process of "levelling up ;" that is to say, he wanted to hand over to the Roman Catholic Church its due proportion of the revenues, the tithes, the lands, and the buildings which had been devoted to the furtherance of the Protestant religion. After Mr. D'Israeli's plan had been submitted to the Pope and approved, Mr. Gladstone, Cardinal Manning, and Cardinal Cullen, persuaded the

Irish bishops that Mr. D'Israeli's mode of disestablishment would result in turning the Irish priests into "paid servants of the State." This was not true. As the priests were to have had the revenues, lands, and buildings *secured* to them, they would not have been dependent on the will of the State for the receipt of their stipends. It would, however, have had another effect ; it would have made the priests independent of the will and favour of their congregations ; it would have enabled the priesthood to have set a resolute face against all revolutionary projects. It would have made it the *interest* of the priests to resist all disturbances and revolutionary agitations. The priests are now entirely dependent on the will of their congregations for receiving anything at all ; and they are therefore, to a man, the abettors of the Nationalist party. The priests are the paid servants of the people ; that is, they are the lackeys of the revolution. The bishops and the priests have to go in for all the revolutionary projects which the Fenians persuade the people to embrace ; because the priest that hangs back receives no more fees, nor offerings, and has to starve. Therefore the priests are the foremost revolutionists ; and it is not without reason that Dr. Nulty, the Romanist Bishop of Meath, has warned the Pope that "grave and dangerous complications and misunderstandings might at any moment crop up between the Irish nation and the Holy See." He reminded the Pope that "great Catholic nations" have, from time to time, "apostatized from the faith," and he professed his inability to "see any solid grounds for believing in a special exceptional Providence which would save Irish multitudes, any more than Irish individuals, from renouncing their allegiance to the Church." On those grounds he cautioned the Pope to side with the people, in furthering the revolutionary projects of Nationalism.

There was, at the time of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, an instructive letter published by a Roman Catholic, who was on terms of considerable intimacy with

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Mr. Gladstone. The writer said :—"At the very time Cardinal Cullen was thus praising his Liberal leader (Mr. Gladstone), the Holy See entertained the utmost distrust of Mr. Gladstone's Liberalism. Both Cardinal Cullen and Archbishop Manning were warned that the support they were giving, as ecclesiastics, to the great Liberal scheme of secularizing religious property in Ireland, was a mistake, and that the language some Catholics used on behalf of Gladstone's disendowment measure, was almost heretical. In extenuation of the conduct of these two prelates, it was represented at Rome that they were not acting as ecclesiastics, but simply as politicians ; that Archbishop Manning was born and bred a Liberal ; that he was one of the most intimate friends of the Liberal Leader (Mr. Gladstone), and that on this question he could not break from him and his party. Similarly it was alleged in defence of Cardinal Cullen, that he was a Liberal by birth and connections ; and that there were exceptional reasons, of a purely Irish character, why religious property should be secularized in that country. . . . But beyond an article in the *Osservatore Romano*—which indeed Mr. Gladstone quoted as a proof that the Pope preferred concurrent endowment—no public utterance was made in Rome." Of course Mr. D'Israeli's plan of levelling up would have put vast wealth into the hands of the Roman Catholics. On June 29th, 1872, Cardinal Manning wrote, in reference to Mr. Gladstone's scheme for the Disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland, the following letter :—"The more I think of it, the more I am convinced that it *was* the right way to *begin*. But it is now both formally and morally too late [for levelling up]. I am sorry."

The fallacy, which had been invented in order to thwart Mr. D'Israeli's plan of Disestablishment—namely, that the priests would become the paid servants of the State—was eminently successful. Mr. D'Israeli had introduced into the House of Commons, in 1868, the plan of University educa-

tion in Ireland which had been approved by the Pope; and had stated his intention of "levelling up," in accordance with a plan settled between Lord Mayo, Bishop Leahy and Cardinal Manning and himself. Mr. Gladstone met this by resolutions in favour of an immediate disestablishment of the Irish Church and the secularization of the Protestant ecclesiastical property. Mr. D'Israeli was defeated; and the general election of December resulted in a minority for his party. Mr. D'Israeli was naturally much incensed that Cardinal Manning should have ejected him from power, on a measure which had received the Pope's and his own sanction: and Mr. D'Israeli allowed his indignation to be known. Cardinal Manning then sent the Duke of Norfolk and another Roman Catholic to pacify Mr. D'Israeli. The incensed Achilles spoke angrily, and complained that he had been doing all he could for the Roman Catholics, and "had, by them, been stabbed in the back." The deputation, perceiving the inutility of their mission, withdrew. As they descended the stairs, Mr. D'Israeli came out of his room, and looking over the banisters, cried out, "You know whom I mean, gentlemen; I mean Manning." Subsequently Cardinal Manning requested me to "make up the quarrel;" but as the Cardinal's terms involved absolute "submission" on the part of Mr. D'Israeli, it was plainly useless to attempt it. Mr. D'Israeli then, on March 22, 1871, commissioned me to go to Rome and see Cardinal Antonelli and the Pope upon the subject. The following notes which I took, of that which Mr. D'Israeli directed me to say, will suffice to indicate Mr. D'Israeli's views:—"While Mr. D'Israeli was in office up to the beginning of the year 1859, he directed his energies to defeating the plans of the Italian revolutionists; and that was the cause of the adverse motion of Lord Hartington, which ejected Mr. D'Israeli from power. On that occasion the Irish members voted against Mr. D'Israeli. In the general election which succeeded, the Roman Catholics likewise went against Mr. D'Israeli and supported Lord Palmerston

"The result was the unity of Italy. In 1868 Mr. D'Israeli, as Premier, and Lord Mayo, the Irish Secretary, had repeated interviews with Archbishop Manning and Bishop Leahy, and arranged a scheme of education for Ireland which Archbishop Manning took to Rome. It was fully approved of by the Pope and Court of Rome. Mr. D'Israeli, then, with great labour in educating his followers, made sure of the support of all his party; Archbishop Manning, on the other hand, saw Mr. Gladstone every day, and arranged with him concerning the support of the Liberal opposition. Then Mr. D'Israeli launched the Bill. With what result? Not an Irishman spoke. Mr. Gladstone refrained from raising his voice in favour of the Bill. For fourteen days Mr. Gladstone sat in silence, and Mr. D'Israeli waited for the promised support. In the meanwhile Mr. Bright and the Secularists, accompanied by Mr. Monsell, went to Mr. Gladstone and said: The only thing to be done to save the Liberal party is to destroy the Protestant Church in Ireland. Mr. Gladstone then went to Archbishop Manning, and the view of the Secularists was adopted as the policy of the Romanist party. The result was that Mr. D'Israeli was turned out of office, and the property of the Irish Church was secularized." Mr. D'Israeli added, at this point, the following words:—" *And yet the Catholics obtained nothing of the Irish Church revenues, which were really theirs; nor yet did they get into their hands the education of Ireland; and they broke faith with me, and disestablished the Pope.*" He continued: "*If they had trusted to me they would have first obtained Denominational Education, and a Catholic University; and then the Irish Church would have given way to what was called levelling up, in accordance with my speech of the year 1844.*"

On the 2nd of April I had an audience of an hour and a half with Cardinal Antonelli, and said to him what Mr. D'Israeli had directed. Cardinal Antonelli surprised me by the warmth with which he spoke of Mr. D'Israeli, and of

his policy in supporting the temporal power of the Pope, and of his speech on the Irish Church in 1844. I pointed out to him that the Irish Church had been so disestablished as to give place to atheism, and without restoring to the Roman Catholic Church the endowments which had been taken from her at the Reformation; and I said that Mr. D'Israeli would have done all this, had he not been betrayed, and stabbed in the back by Archbishop Manning and Cardinal Cullen. He then said to me:—"You are surely not desiring us to pass a definite condemnation on those who assisted in disestablishing the Protestant Church?"

NO. X.

WHAT was Mr. D'Israeli's speech of 1844, to which he made allusion, in his message to Cardinal Antonelli, and with which Cardinal Antonelli showed that he was intimately acquainted? In the third edition of Mr. D'Israeli's speeches, published in 1873, there will be found his speech of March 16, 1868, in which he twice drew attention to his speech of 1844. First he said, "in my conscience the sentiment of that speech was right;" and then he said: "in my historic conscience I say it was true." That was while Mr. D'Israeli was in office, in 1868. In the same volume, his speech of 1844 will be also found. On that occasion he used these words: "I ventured to lay down, *as a principle*, that the Government of Ireland should be on a system the reverse of England, and should be centralized (*i.e.* in Dublin). . . . These are Tory principles,—the natural principles of the *Democracy of England*. They may not be the principles of those consistent gentlemen whose fathers bled in England for Charles I., and who now would support, in Ireland, the tyranny established by Oliver Cromwell. . . . Let us recur to the benignant policy of Charles I.; then we

"may settle Ireland with honour to ourselves, with kindness to the people, and with safety to the realm." Mr. D'Israeli had just before explained that, in the time of Charles I., "there was a parliament in Dublin, called by "a Protestant king, and presided over by a Protestant "viceroy. . . . Yet the majority of the members of "that Parliament were Roman Catholics." Charles I. was a Protestant only in name. A Jesuit¹ has published some of the archives in the Vatican, proving incontestibly that he was a Roman Catholic; and Charles determined that his son Charles II. should be married to a Romanist. Mr. D'Israeli continued: "the Government was, at that "time, carried on by a Council of State, presided over by "a Protestant Deputy; yet many of the members of that "Council were Roman Catholics. The Municipalities were "then full of Roman Catholics. Several of the Sheriffs, "also, were Roman Catholics; and a very considerable "number of magistrates were Roman Catholics." Mr. D'Israeli then quoted from Sir W. Brereton's travels to prove that: "the social and political features of Ireland ". . . exhibited the most perfect civil and political "equality, the Government of the country being in general "carried on by Roman Catholic subjects." He continued: "Did not Mr. Pitt, the last of Tory statesmen, propose "measures for the settlement of Ireland, which, had they "been agreed to by Parliament, would have saved Ireland "from her present condition?" The measures to which Mr. D'Israeli alluded, were those which Mr. Gladstone also mentioned,—the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church, and of Roman Catholic seminaries. Mr. D'Israeli continued: "You would have had the Roman Catholics "of Ireland emancipated at a very early period; and you "would have had *the Church question, too, settled at a very "early period.*" Having remarked that any one would

¹ Istoria della conversione, alla Chiesa Cattolica, di Carlo II., Re d'Inghilterra. Giuseppe Boerio, S. J., 1863; and see Cabbala sive Scrinia Sacra. London, 1691, p. 203.

think and exclaim that "*The Remedy is Revolution*," he added : "What, then, is the duty of an English Minister ? "*To effect, by his policy, all those changes which a Revolution would do by force. That is the Irish question in its integrity.* It is quite evident that, to effect this, we must "have an Executive in Ireland, which shall bear a much "nearer relation to the leading classes and character of "the country than it does at present." The effects of that Popish Revolution, which Mr. D'Israeli made his policy, have been accomplished by Mr. Gladstone.

It was not long after the publication of those speeches (on September 27, 1876), that an Irish Roman Catholic gentleman, who was profoundly versed in politics, and intimately acquainted with the aims and workings of the Jesuits and their adherents, announced to me that Mr. Gladstone was "as good a Catholic as Mr. D'Israeli;" that Mr. Gladstone had written his "Vatican Decrees" and other pamphlets, as a blind (so he said)—just as he had made three appointments, of Protestant gentlemen, two of whom now hold offices, as a blind ; that Mr. D'Israeli had been much hampered by the Protestantism in his Cabinet, and party ; and that Mr. D'Israeli's aim was to break up the Conservative party, just as Mr. Gladstone's effort was to break up the Liberal party ; so that a new party should be formed. As an example of this, he pointed to the then recent speech of Mr. D'Israeli on September 20, 1876. Thus was explained the slow process of the disintegration of both parties, which has been going on for many years, and to which further allusions will be made hereafter. The Tory party has been broken up by the Tory leader, and the Liberal party has been discomfited and disgraced by the Liberal leader.

In that speech of 1844, Mr. D'Israeli spoke of his "Tory Democracy." What was that Tory Democracy, and what was the "Young England" party, but a scheme for re-introducing Romanism ? It is all explained in "Coningsby" and "Tancred" and "Sybil," for those who

take the trouble to read between the lines. There he inveighs against "the Parliamentary Church which has "made religion disbelieved." There he complains that "Holy Church has been transferred into a National Establishment." There he advocates "the divorce of the "Church from the State;" although he subsequently expressed his firm belief that the divorce of the Church from the State would be the destruction of Protestantism. The Protestantism of some of Mr. D'Israeli's Parliamentary *professions*, must not blind us to the implied Romanism of his fictions. In his fictions he could successfully urge arguments in favour of Romanism, which still remain in the minds of his readers; in his Parliamentary professions he could announce principles and save his credit. In his novels he urged the destruction of the English Church and its "mitred nullities," as he called the bishops. In a public speech on June 17, 1868, he could "venture to "say this:—That if the Church of England were to fall, "the Protestant Church of Europe would receive a wound "from which it would probably never recover." On June 24, 1872, he proclaimed his principle to be the following:—"The principles of Liberty, of Order, of Law, and "of Religion, ought not to be entrusted to individual "opinions,"—a denial of the right of private judgment,— "nor to the caprice and passions of the multitude,"—the objection against a Parliamentary Church,— "but should "be embodied in a form of permanence and power,"—on the principle of Papal Infallibility.

Before pursuing this subject, let us return for a moment to Mr. Gladstone's disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland. He had for some time entertained the intention of accomplishing that feat, and yearned for the glory of success. He could not bear that another should carry off the palm of victory. On December 30, 1879, Mr. Gladstone wrote to Mr. Irving: "In 1865, I denounced "it (the Anglican Church in Ireland) in the House of "Commons, but saw no preparation in the public mind to

"entertain the question. The two signal outrages in 1867, (the Manchester murders and the Clerkenwell explosion,) drew attention to it. That attention was the only thing lacking." As his own determination to destroy that Church was not lacking, he hurried to the accomplishment of his purpose. In his Midlothian campaign he confessed that his desire to destroy the Protestant Church was not shared by the Irish nation. He said, on Nov. 26, 1869: "What happened in the case of the Irish Church down to the year 1865, and the dissolution of that year? *The whole question of the Irish Church was dead. Nobody cared for it.* Nobody paid attention to it in England. Circumstances occurred which drew the attention of the people to the Irish Church. I had, in 1865, said I believed it was out of the range of practical politics. Now it came to this—a gaol in the heart of the metropolis was broken open in circumstances which drew the attention of the English people to the state of Ireland; and when a Manchester policeman was murdered in the execution of his duty, at once the whole country became alive to the question of the Irish Church. It came within the range of practical politics; I myself took it up, and proposed resolutions to the House of Commons declaring the view of the House that the Irish Church should no longer exist as a national Church."

But Sir John Acton, now Lord Acton, a Roman Catholic, said to his constituents at Bridgenorth, on Nov. 2, 1868, that Mr. Gladstone had not "suddenly changed his views upon the Irish Church question when he saw his opportunity"; and Sir J. Acton added that "he had been perfectly aware of this change in Mr. Gladstone's views, as early as 1864." Mr. Gladstone's friend, Sir Roundell Palmer, now Earl of Selborne, speaking at Richmond on Aug. 21, 1868, said: "In the year 1863, at a time when no one was bringing forward this question, or seemed very likely to do so, Mr. Gladstone told me privately that he had made up his mind on the subject."

Sir John Pope Hennessy, the Governor of Hong-Kong, a Roman Catholic, and a staunch friend of the Jesuits, wrote in the *Contemporary Review* of July, 1875, the following words: "The present paper does not propose to deal with current controversies, but one cannot help remarking that the history of the agitation of 1868-69 is in itself an *exposé* of the strange hallucinations about Vaticanism, of which so much is heard now. The Catholics were arrayed in bitter hostility against the Protestants. This was done, not for a Catholic object. It was not done in accordance with any suggestion from the Vatican. On the contrary, it was done in opposition to the principles of the Catholic Church, and the declared wishes of the Vatican. Mr. Gladstone himself, with characteristic honesty and courage, did not conceal this then. In one of his speeches, previous to the General Election of that time, he quoted, from the authoritative Papal organ published in Rome, the disapproval of his projected Church disendowment in Ireland. Even some of his Liberal Catholic supporters openly boasted that, on this subject, they were acting in direct antagonism to the expressed sentiments of Rome." We must remember that it was a Romanist who wrote these words. Doubtless the Pope desired to receive the lands and funds of the Irish Church; and doubtless he desired to figure as an opponent of Mr. Gladstone's measure; but if he really opposed it, he could have commanded the English and Irish bishops to have opposed it, and in virtue of their oath, they must have obeyed. Probably the power of Revolution, and the permanent agitation created in Ireland by Mr. Gladstone's measure, were more valued at Rome than the Irish Church funds. Sir John Pope Hennessy continued: "But the leading Catholic prelates in England and Ireland resolved, nevertheless, on the grave step of zealously supporting Mr. Gladstone and the Liberals in secularizing Church property. After his public announcement that Rome disapproved of his Irish Church scheme, and after his denunciation of

"the Encyclical and Syllabus in 1868, these prelates still urged Catholic voters to support him as 'a great Liberal statesman.'" No doubt they did; because he was doing the work of Rome. In writing those pretended attacks on Rome, Mr. Gladstone was also doing the work of Rome, as we shall subsequently see from the testimony of Jesuits themselves.

This time let me conclude with one extract from the Pope's organ, the *Journal de Rome*, of Nov. 21, 1882. The paragraph may have been inserted in order to discredit the suspicion that Mr. D'Israeli had been a Romanist—or perhaps a crypto-Jesuit—ever since the winter of 1835; for such an assertion had been made in the House of Commons. However that may be, the passage is as follows: "Lord Beaconsfield on his death-bed begged one of his friends to go for Father Clare, S.J. (the Rector of 111, Mount Street), with whom the illustrious statesman had, for a long time, had friendly relations, during the time that this father was attached to the Jesuit Church in Farm Street. But as Father Clare was absent from town, in Liverpool, another Jesuit Father, Father Clarke, hastened to the bed-side of the sick man, and had the happiness of receiving his abjuration and embracing him as a member of the Catholic Church."

NO. XI.

I HAVE already made allusion to Mr. Gladstone's "Expostulation," and his "Vaticanism,"—two pamphlets which had a very anti-Catholic appearance; and I have rehearsed what a Roman Catholic gentleman had said to me with regard to them; namely, that they had been written "as a blind." In support of that view, I may quote what a Father Provincial of the Jesuits in France wrote, on Nov. 24, 1874:—"What a service Mr. Gladstone has rendered us! Not only he has given occasions [*sic*]

"to the manifestations of truth, but he has disconnected the English and Irish Catholics from any political party. How strong they will be when they have an existence of their own, and give their support in the measure as they can expect assistance for their faith." In the reply, these words occur:—"Those many in England who are bitter against the Church (of Rome) will be united under Gladstone, as their leader; and he, as such, will take care that they shall do nothing really baneful to Catholic policy."

With respect to a statement regarding Mr. D'Israeli, I may quote from the letter of a Jesuit, dated Sept. 13, 1861:—"You have sat down to count the cost of the warfare—to sum up the penalties for being honest. . . . No one comes to me except by renouncing himself, that is, the world. A letter of D'Israeli's, a quarter of a century ago, turned up the other day, which, by the context, was written in answer to one of mine, making *the condition of receiving him* a pledge to use honestly the knowledge he might acquire. . . . Now you will be in fellowship with all *who have gone before us*, who have become good, and beloved by all those, in our day, who may be esteemed such." Let us, however, pass from this necessary explanation of two points in my last letter.

The session of 1874 saw the introduction of two Bills affecting the status of the English and Scotch Established Churches. They were really Bills of Mr. D'Israeli's Government. Ostensibly they were brought in by private members. The one was supposed to have for its object "the putting down of Ritualism," and was called "The Public Worship Regulation Act, 1874;" the other measure was intended to democratize the Established Church of Scotland, and was termed "The Act for the Abolition of Patronage." In support of the former Bill, Mr. D'Israeli said—alluding to a speech in which Mr. Walter had quoted a number of Popish doctrines from

books published by Ritualists :—"Whether those doctrines, "which were quoted from their authoritative writings, by "the Hon. Member for Berkshire, are or are not adopted "by them (the Ritualists) as doctrines held by members of "the Roman Catholic Church, *I am prepared to treat those "doctrines with reverence.* What I object to is, that they "should be held by ministers of a Church, who, when they "enter that Church, make a solemn compact with the "nation that they will utterly reject them." Every one remembers the eloquent attack which Monsignor Capel made on the Ritualists, in two sermons which he preached about this time. The Monsignor's object was to drive the Ritualists into the Church of Rome, or at all events to prevent Ritualism from becoming a permanent resting-place for those who had Romanizing tendencies. Mr. D'Israeli continued :—"What I do object to is the *Mass "in Masquerade.* To the solemn ceremonies of our "Roman Catholic friends, I am prepared to extend "that reverence which my mind and conscience extend "always to religious ceremonies sincerely believed in."

It will be borne in mind how Mr. Gladstone assisted Mr. D'Israeli in passing the Bill. He occupied the ground, on the motion for going into committee, with a notice of six long and very wordy resolutions. Having shut out every other amendment, he withdrew his Resolutions. If the object of the Bill had really been to "put down "Ritualism," neither of those eminent statesmen, perhaps, would have had anything to do with it. The Jesuits, as we shall presently see, looked on the Bill in a very different light. In commenting on Mr. Gladstone's line of action, the *Tablet* remarked :—"The conduct of their "leader has greatly disconcerted the Liberal party. He "has put forward those resolutions which Mr. D'Israeli "pronounced to be '*fatal to the continuance of that "religious settlement which had prevailed in this country "for more than two centuries, and on which much of our "civil liberty depends, to wit, the supremacy of the State*

“‘over the Church.’ Mr. Gladstone has done this, setting ‘all his party by the ears. . . . Mr. Gladstone is continually reminded of the way in which he has *split up that party, and rendered it utterly powerless. It may be that posterity will consider this to have been one of Mr. Gladstone’s greatest achievements.*” Those were the words of the *Tablet*, edited by Bishop Vaughan. We shall be able to trace, on both sides of the House, in the action of those leaders who were nominally opposed to each other, the laborious and long continued attempt to break up the two great parties, in the interest of the Roman Catholic Church. For the present let us rather fix our attention on the Bill for putting down Ritualism, or “The Public Worship Regulation Bill, 1874.”

The Jesuit reviewer, Father Forbes, S. J., thus wrote of it in the *Etudes Religieuses*, of March, 1876:—“In endeavouring to appreciate the scope and probable consequences of the Bill against Ritualism, we saw reasons for saying that the first effect of the application of this law would be to lay bare the frightful anarchy which exists in the Anglican Church, and to force even the most illogical to take up a more decided ground.” By that Act the Ecclesiastical Courts were abolished, and the English clergy were made to depend, for their doctrines, their liturgy, and their ritual, on a layman, nominated ostensibly by Parliament, but really by Mr. D’Israeli. The clergy have, under the Bill, no appeal to any Synod of the Church, nor to any ecclesiastical authority. They cannot apply to any but a civil court,—to the Privy Council, whose doctrines are irreformable; to the Privy Council, which is destitute of any doctrinal guarantees, and whose composition and *personnel* is such as the Prime Minister determines. Even the Bishops,—whom Mr. D’Israeli designated as “the mitred nullities of the Anglican Church,”—even they have to submit to this lay authority; and the Anglican Hierarchy at once became a blind instrument in the hands of lay functionaries. Moreover, the judicial

procedure of the Anglican Church was altered without her consent ; ay, against the remonstrances of Convocation. The Bishops were thus deprived of all jurisdiction. Moreover, there was introduced into the Church a principle in contradiction to the fundamental principle of every Church. Therefore, humanly speaking, her decay and destruction is merely a question of time ; for, as Aristotle remarks : "all decay is the result of contradictories existing together in the composition of a thing." Such was the view which was taken, by the acute Jesuit reviewer, of the Bill for putting down Ritualism. It was a Bill for causing decay in the Church of England. Thus was the axe laid at the root of the "Upas-tree" in England, by Mr. D'Israeli, as effectively as Mr. Gladstone, with his axe, cut off the three branches of "the Upas-tree of Protestant ascendancy," in Ireland.

Mr. Gladstone's argument, in his pretended opposition to the Public Worship Regulation Bill, was as follows : As the Anglican Church admits all kinds of contradictions, therefore Ritualism should be allowed to remain there beside Evangelicalism ; the High Church should be fostered with the Low Church, and the Broad Church with the No-Church ; the wolf should be permitted to lie down with the lamb. Mr. D'Israeli, in reply, did not even pretend to refute this position. On the contrary, he admitted that the Anglican Church had always been divided into parties ; and asserted, further, that it should comprehend *every* party, and should receive contradictory doctrines and principles into its body of dogma. The High Church, he said, is representative of the taste for rites and ceremonies ; the Low Church stands for religious enthusiasms ; and the Broad Church satisfies the aspirations of Rationalism. There is, therefore, he said, no place left for a Ritualistic party ; and for this reason he introduced the Bill "to put down Ritualism." That was Mr. D'Israeli's argument.

There certainly was the following dilemma in the mind of the House : The cause of the existence of parties in the

Anglican Church is that she took her stand on the Protestant principle of the right of private judgment ; and whatever is done to limit the existence of any party is *pro tanto* a denial of the principle of the Church of England, and a blow struck at its *raison d'être*—namely, the inherent right of persons to differ in opinion as to doctrines and practices.

While the Act has been effective in introducing a contradiction at the very basis of the English Church, it has been cleverly contrived so as to let the Ritualists escape. Mr. Dale, the Rector of St. Vedast's, was, with difficulty, convicted ; and another Ritualist escaped altogether. Whatever was done, with the intention of attacking Ritualism, was sure to be encumbered with some blunder which was fatal to success.

Mr. Tooth was tried in Lambeth ; and at once it was decided that, in accordance with the Act, he should have been arraigned either in the City of London, or in Westminster, or else in the diocese of Rochester.

The writs against Mr. Dale and Mr. Enraght should have been opened in the Court of Queen's Bench ; but they were opened in the Crown Office.

Lord Penzance's deprivation of the Vicar of Prestbury was invalid, because sentence was pronounced in a Committee-room of the House of Lords, which was not legally in the Province of Canterbury. In every case, some minute blunder against the intricate provisions of the Act, like a grit in the wheels of some fine complex machinery, served to put the whole out of gear ; and the Act, while successfully introducing a fell virus into the life blood of the Anglican Church, has always most signally failed "to put down Ritualism."

As I have said, a private member, the Recorder of the City of London, had been prevailed upon to take charge of the Bill in the House of Commons. Yet, in July, Mr. D'Israeli fully acknowledged that his Government were "morally responsible" for it. They, in fact, had thrown over their Judicature Bill, their Land Transfer Bill, and

their Endowed Schools Bill, to make room for the Public Worship Regulation Bill ; and, at the close of the Session, Mr. D'Israeli, at the Mansion House dinner, included the Public Worship Regulation Bill amongst the measures for which he took credit to himself. In the House of Lords, the Lord Chancellor spoke of that Bill with approval, as a result of the legislation of his Government.

In the same year (1874) the " Church Patronage, Scotland " Bill," was introduced and passed. It placed the election of the clergy in the hands of the congregations, and made all the parishioners the judges of the doctrines preached by their ministers. Here, too, there was introduced a principle which is contradictory to the nature of a Church ; and, in a different way, the same result has been brought about in Scotland by this Bill, which was achieved in Ireland by Mr. Gladstone. For, in both countries, the Protestant clergy have been made the servants of the people ; and if the people are revolutionary, the clergy must necessarily be the chief revolutionists, or starve.

NO. XII.

IT is not only by the institution of a court of law, to judge of ecclesiastical affairs, that the destruction of the Church of England is to be brought about. Traitors have been introduced into the councils of the Church, in order to vulgarize the very offences which that court of law should put down. An adherent of the Jesuits, if he was not himself a Jesuit,—a man who has received very lucrative and high Colonial appointments,—explained to me in the year 1867, that, " the High Church clergy are the net which " they employed to bring the Church of England over to " the Roman Catholic Church." The occasion of that *confidence* (to use a French term) was this. He asked me what I thought of the Ritualists. I replied, " They are

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"volunteers ; they are neither the regular army nor the "mob." On my saying so, he confided in me the fact which I have narrated. It was then that I perceived why Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone always gave important livings and places of trust to the High Church clergy and Ritualists.

It has always been, for forty years, a most remarkable fact, that the Ritualists and High Church clergy, while professing absolute submission to "the Church," have always resisted, to the uttermost, the authority of their ecclesiastical superiors in the Church of England. Did not that patent fact suffice to prove, to any reflecting man, that the Church of the Ritualists, to which they owed obedience, was not the Church of England? Another remarkable fact is, that the Ritualists and High Church clergy do not, as a rule, receive livings in quiet country parishes, where their influence would not have so wide an extent. They are, somehow, always appointed to cures in populous town districts, where the area is great on which their influence may be exerted, although the endowments may be pitifully small in respect to the work which they perform.

Forty years ago—nay, less than forty years—Ritualists were ignored or laughed at. But it is always the case that the "eccentricity" of last year, has become the common practice of this year. The "eccentricity" has become stale, and we have ceased to laugh ; the falsehood has become somewhat respectable, and no longer gives a shock to those who were wont to blame it. Archbishop Sumner truly said of the Puseyites, or High Churchmen of his day : "They have gone on from one Romish practice and one "Romish tenet to another, until all that is distinctive of "Protestant doctrine and Protestant worship has well-nigh "disappeared." If he could use such terms of the Puseyites of that day,—the first tentative conspirators,—what would he have said of the Ritualist traitors of this day? The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol (Bishop Ellicott), in a

pastoral at the beginning of last year, 1885, said that, "sinister practices are being pushed silently on ; and where discord next shows itself it will be found to have become more formidable ;" and further: "Practices are now being quietly introduced, compared with which, lights and vestments are innocence itself." He specified: "Reservation of the Sacrament;" "celebrations of the Eucharist that are repulsive even to advanced High Churchmen;" "a studied avoidance of the use of the New Testament in the religious teaching in the parish schools;" and "admissions to confirmation only on condition of regular and periodical confession." These practices, the Bishop says, "are furtively increasing." Or let us take the testimony of enemies. The *Tablet* of Feb. 28, 1885, said of Canon Liddon's book, "Some Elements of Religion," that it is a work "containing arguments which must, if logically followed, lead to the Catholic Church." In the same paper we find the experiences of a Ritualist who became a Romanist, and who confessed that at a certain stage, he went to his Ritualist confessor and laid before him the condition of his mind. What was the advice which he received in the "Protestant" confessional? That if he was honestly convinced of those opinions which he had expressed, the only course open to him was to join the Church of Rome! The so-called Protestant confessor thereupon gave, to his penitent, a letter of introduction to a Roman Catholic priest, who was to achieve the perversion of that deluded self-accuser.

The appointment of Ritualists to populous parishes is the rule ; but there are exceptions. They are occasionally sent to Low Church parishes, where their appearance gives a great shock to the parish, and causes a great excitement. Such was Mr. Gladstone's appointment of Mr. Ommaney to St. Matthew's, Sheffield, in October, 1882. It was a very Low Church parish, and Mr. Ommaney was a Ritualist. Mr. Ommaney quickly invited a mission preacher from Bristol,—a Mr. Ives,—who advocated auricular confession,

and asserted the power of a priest to forgive sins and absolve penitents from guilt. Disturbances ensued. There were even altercations in the church ; and the controversy ran to such a height that "a body of police" had to be present during the services, to keep order. Reflecting persons have often asked themselves why Mr. Gladstone, if he must appoint a Ritualist to a cure of souls, should not send him to some parish where the congregation had already been led into Ritualism ? A Ritualist might be in keeping there. But why send a Ritualist to a Low Church parish, where he only serves to inflame rancour and disturb the peace ? Is it to be supposed that Mr. Gladstone is not aware that the clergymen he appoints are Ritualists ? Can he be ignorant when a parish is a Low Church parish ? Or can it be that he selects the Low Church parish precisely because it is Low Church ? And is it his object to spread Ritualism over the whole country, and to discredit the Church of England by destroying its peace ?

This baleful action is not confined to clergymen. It extends to bishops also. Not only parishes, but sees come under Mr. Gladstone's fostering care. The Pope's organ, the *Journal de Rome*, of January 24, 1883, remarks : "The three prelates, recently appointed by Mr. Gladstone, "all belong to the High Church, and two of them, the "Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Truro, are "political adversaries of his, and members of the Conserva- "tive party ; which shows that the Prime Minister gives "more weight to his policy regarding the Church, than to "his personal predilections." The same journal, the next day, published a translation of the pastoral of Dr. Fraser, the Bishop of Manchester, from which the following is an extract. The capitals are found in the Pope's organ. Dr. Fraser says : "There exists among us an extreme party, "the Ritualists, which entertain opinions on the Com- "munion, the Invocation of the Holy Virgin and Saints, "and Absolution, WHICH IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO

"DISTINGUISH FROM THE DOCTRINES PRO-FESSED BY THE CHURCH OF ROME. I cannot (says Bishop Fraser) give my approval to such doctrines; and when I turn to the principles of the Prayer-book, *I foresee, for the Church of England, a period of troubles in the near present; while, for the future, which is very menacing and very near, I foresee a series of disasters, and ultimate destruction.*"

The Pope's organ regarded the Archbishop of Canterbury as a High Churchman. He was made Bishop by Lord Beaconsfield in 1877, being forty-eight years old; and Archbishop by Mr. Gladstone in 1882. *Sic itur ad astra.* It is true that Dr. Benson's appointments have indicated a decided preference for Ritualism. Mr. Thornhill Webber, the new Bishop of Brisbane, for example, was, to say the least, an associate with Ritualists. Mr. Cox, curate of Enville, near Stourbridge, who has urged every one to practise auricular confession, and caused his own children to set the example, was made, by his Grace, a Doctor of Divinity. Let those instances, out of many, suffice. The *Journal de Rome* (June 23, 1884) again triumphed in the fact that the new Bishop of Ripon "keeps the festivals of the Saints," and uses the "Hymns Ancient and Modern," and, in other words, completely follows the practices of "the Church of Rome." The new Bishop of Chester, who was appointed by Mr. Gladstone in the same year (*Times*, September 23, 1884), went against the ancient customs of his cathedral, in introducing the eastward position, and other Romanist practices. The new Bishop of Lincoln, whom Mr. Gladstone appointed last year, 1885, has affirmed the doctrine of transubstantiation; has advocated a visible communion between the Church of England and the Church of Rome; and, in the "Communicant's Manual," has recommended a number of Romish works, as suitable for meditation and devotion. He also insists on Confession and Absolution "as a substantial part of elementary instruction"; and teaches the practice of praying

for the dead. He, as Canon King, was principal of Cuddesdon College; and Mr. Gladstone entrusted the education of his son to Canon King's care—that son who is a “Priest—Associate of the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament,” and a member of the English Church Union. One extract from the “Communicant's Manual,” published by the Bishop of Lincoln, will suffice: “The Consecration is . . . the “central act of the service, by which *the Bread and Wine are made . . . verily and indeed, the Body and Blood of Christ*, and are *offered to God* the Father as the Eucharistic *Sacrifice*,” and therefore he teaches his people to say, to the bread after consecration, “My Lord and my God,” and, “Devoutly I adore thee, Deity unseen,” etc. The “eastward position” is now adopted in the Cathedrals of St. Paul's, London; Chester, Lincoln, Lichfield, Liverpool, Manchester, Norwich, Oxford, St. Albans, Truro, Worcester, and York.

How can any one who reads such things, and considers them, easily refrain from concluding that such appointments, by Mr. Gladstone, are parts of a deep-laid plan to fill the Church with partisans of the Roman Church, in order to accustom the laity to accept the doctrines, and follow the practices, and adopt the symbols of the Roman Church; so that, at last, the Church of England may be absorbed by the Church of Rome? Nor is this plan confined to the bishops and clergy alone. Last year, Mr. Gladstone expressed himself warmly in favour of a society, for working men, of an advanced Romanizing character—“The Church of England Working Men's Society”;—and by his countenance and encomiums, he has done all he could to extend the influence of that society among the working classes. As he does his best to shield the Ritualistic clergy from adverse tribunals, by the appointment of sympathising bishops; so he seems anxious to support the Ritualistic clergy in their practices, by Romanizing their congregations. I have often heard, from the Jesuits, that their hope of Romanizing England

lies in the upper classes and working men; not in the middle classes.¹

I will conclude this letter by quoting unimpeachable testimony to the fact that this Romanizing conspiracy has been carried on already for forty years. Lord John Russell, in 1850, wrote his famous protest, called "the Durham Letter," at which Mr. D'Israeli sneered in his latest novel. Lord John Russell said: "There is a danger which alarms me much more than any aggression of a foreign sovereign. *Clergymen of our own Church*, who have subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles, and acknowledged in explicit terms the Queen's Supremacy, *have been the most forward in leading their flocks step by step to the verge of the precipice. . . . I have little hope that the propounders and framers of these innovations will desist from their insidious course.*" No, they have not desisted; for, in the words of the Jesuit, "they are the net which the Church of Rome employs to bring the Church of England over to herself."

NO. XIII.

IN December, 1882, I received a letter from a very learned Canon of the English Church, in which he said: "I am surprised at nothing the Jesuits have ever done or planned. They are like a cancer on the Church of Rome, or rather, like the wen, in Milton's parable, which quarrelled for supremacy, with the head. . . . I dread their influence in this diocese; for the supineness of our clergy and people is simply deplorable. They were very dangerous when they were in the front of their generation; but then we were better able to detect their plans of evil. They are more so now that their ignorance

¹ We learn (*Morning Post*, May 23, 1885) that Mr. Charles Powell, the Secretary of the "Church of England Working Men's Society," has left for America, carrying with him Letters Commendatory from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the American Church.

"compels them to follow up in the rear of civilization ;
"for we can less see what they are doing, or discern their
"plots. . . . I imagine that *the way they insinuate them-*
"selves into families, and become masters of the history of
"family life, must render them as dangerous to society as
"they were, even when they led the education of the great.
"This kind of work can be done by very inferior minds ;
"and this very inferiority makes it more dangerous and
"odious in its character. Lord Russell told me that he
"believed that there were Jesuits in the Church of England,
"and (but for the stupidity of our Ritualists, which makes
"them more imprudent even than the modern Jesuits) I
"could well believe it. Will you believe that, at —
"Parish Church, on Sunday last, the curate asked the
"congregation for their prayers for the repose of the soul
"of the Archbishop?"

In a subsequent letter, the Canon said: "Lord John
"Russell distinctly expressed his belief that there were
"Jesuits among the clergy of the Church of England ;
"which I almost think must be, in some form or other,
"true. I cannot say how, unless, like John Inglesant, they
"are permitted by their Spiritual Director, to remain in
"the Church, doing the work of Roman Apostles. When
"I asked Mr. —, what was the meaning of the closet
"behind his altar, his reply was : 'That is with a view to
"‘better times.’ He said the same to the Bishop of —,
"when he made a like inquiry." The clergyman men-
"tioned by the Canon said to me one evening : "My great
"ambition is to die a Jesuit brother." He did not say "a
"Jesuit priest," nor "a Jesuit father," be it remarked ; for
"he was a married man, and referred, doubtless, to the
"Third Order" of Lay Jesuits. There are many who
"approach very near that clergyman. The members of the
"Society of the Holy Cross," for example ; and they are
"very numerous. According to their statutes, they "say
"mass for their departed brethren" ; they "say mass for
"the Intention of the Society," and they "say mass daily" ;

they "frequent the Sacrament of Penance," and they are "sworn celibates." Numbers of books are annually published to do the same work as those Ritualists are commissioned to perform. The "Irish Church Almanack" for last year, speaks of the Reformation as having been completed when Henry VIII., "that unscrupulous monarch, "threw off his allegiance to the Pope."

It does not seem that the Jesuits in the Church, and the Ritualistic appointments by Prime Ministers, have met with all the success that was looked for. For bribes, and even terrorism, threats, and menaces have been resorted to for the spread of Romanist practices. The *Times*, of April 10, 1882, furnishes us with an example of that method. The Vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Liverpool, alleged that "threats and promises had been freely used to induce him "to surrender the simple and faithful worship of the Reformed Church of England." He said: "The utmost "pressure was brought to bear upon me to adopt the "'*Ancient and Modern Hymns*,' which, in my opinion, "teach, among other questionable doctrines, Transubstantiation and the worship of the Virgin Mary. . . . "From December to the middle of March, strong and untiring efforts have been made to get me to introduce the "foregoing Hymn-book, and to make the Church service less "and less congregational. . . . I was also strongly urged "to have the Communion table (called in this case 'altar') "covered with black on Good Friday; and to have, on "Easter Sunday, on the same table, a cross with flowers," and so forth.

With all such practices rampant throughout the kingdom; with rewards and menaces, from high quarters; with the favour shown to Ritualists, and the aversion evinced towards simple Christians, by those in authority; with the continual appointments of Ritualists to Bishoprics and rich Canonries; how can we wonder at the triumphant tone of the Pope's newspaper, the *Journal de Rome*, on February 17, 1884, when it exclaimed in joy: "The

"Ritualistic movement in England towards the establishment of Catholic institutions continues without ceasing. . . . The setting up of images in the cathedrals which have been profaned by Protestantism, is most consoling. Nor is it only in the setting up of the images of the Saints that the tendency of Ritualism towards the Catholic Church, is manifested. The practice of Auricular Confession among Protestant Ritualists is now nearly universal. . . . Even the formula of confession is couched in Catholic language. Here it is: '*I confess to Almighty God, TO THE HOLY VIRGIN MARY, AND TO ALL THE SAINTS,*¹ *and to you, my Father, that I have sinned.*' After an explanation of the mode in which all the particular sins have to be enumerated, the formula continues: '*I humbly crave pardon of God, and of you, my Father, and I ask for a penance, for counsel, and for absolution, and I PRAY THE HOLY VIRGIN AND ALL THE SAINTS, and you, my Father, to pray for me to God, our Master ; Amen.*' Is not that advance a matter of the highest import? It is the first time that the Ritualists have prayed directly to the Holy Virgin and to the Saints." So says the Papal organ, in its triumph!

The same Papal journal, on April 27, 1884, not only shows to what an extent Jesuits and Jesuited persons have been surreptitiously placed in the Church of England; but also proves the activity with which those persons have been pushed forwards, and advanced in honour and power, by the treacherous Government in England: "Ritualism, that is to say, the imitation of the forms and usages of the Church of Rome, is introduced more and more into the Church of England. The days of Holy Week have given renewed proofs of this fact. . . . They organized the following devotions: The Three Hours; the Stations of the Cross, with the usual pictures; and the Tenebræ. Moreover, it is no longer simple clergymen who give themselves up to Ritualism, but also the highest

¹ The italics and capitals are not mine.

"dignitaries of the Church. At Saint Paul's, Canon Scott-Holland preached the Three Hours, assisted by the Archbishop of Canterbury. At Upper Clapton, it was the Bishop of Bedford ; and again at Saint Paul's, it was the Bishop of Rochester who conducted the Spiritual Exercises. The movement has also been extended to the Provinces. At Lichfield, Bishop Maclagan ; at Worcester, Canon Knox-Little led those devotions in the Cathedrals of those cities ; while the strains of Catholic music were heard. . . . In the church of St. Alban, they lit a Paschal Candle on All Saints' day ; they burned an immense number of candles, and they decorated with particular care the altars to the right and left of the High Altar ;¹ and the Reverend Vicar, Dr. F. G. Lee, after his sermon, made a procession round his church. . . . At Prestbury, a clergyman was deposed by his bishop, because of his Ritualist opinions ; and at once set himself in open rebellion against the decision of the Bishop, and declared to his congregation, with their approval, that he would not diminish one jot from his Ritualistic practices. . . . It does not require to be said that *we witness with delight how Ritualism is bringing back the prodigal Church of England to her Mother Church* ; and we await, from that movement, the greatest benefit to the cause of Truth." So wrote the Pope's journal on April 27. Two days after, it made the announcement, with what truth I cannot say, that "the Monarchy of England, represented by the Prince of Wales, assisted on Good Friday, at the *Three Hours*, in "one of the most important churches of London."

These facts are sufficient of themselves to open the eyes of any thoughtful man as to what is being plotted and manœuvred in the Church of England by the wire-pullers of the Romanist Church. I have mentioned enough, surely, to confirm, in our minds, the statement of the Jesuits, that they have Ritualists in the Church of Eng-

¹ The altars of the Virgin Mary and of Joseph.

land, as "the net with which they hope to bring the Church "of England over to Rome." When we remember that the leaders of political parties were only in simulated opposition, while they were really co-operating and working together to advance the Papal cause in England; when we see the Ritualists in the Church, as well as those who have Romanizing tendencies in Parliament, advanced and pushed up to the top of affairs, so that England may be ever kept between "the upper and nether millstone" of Popery; when we remember, moreover, that there are many, who, in their hearts, abhor this Papist conspiracy, but yet have to labour for it and hold their tongues, because, by the adroitness of Jesuit friends, or by a dishonest recklessness, or, perhaps, by the strength of youthful passions, they have become "committed" to the Jesuits—by the commission of some crime—to remain their slaves for ever after; when we think of that, and reflect that if even one man has been kept by a Divine power from falling into the trap, yet he will never be believed when he opens his mouth to reveal the conspiracy, because of the thousands of interested persons, and many thousands of their slaves, who are ready and waiting to scoff him down; when we think of all that, do we not feel overwhelmed by the threats of impending disaster? do we not lose all hope, all confidence, all energy in endeavouring to avert the evil?

No! There is one thought which can support us and give us courage for the coming conflict,—the thought that the Lord Jesus is King; that He is the Ruler and Judge of the whole earth; and that nothing is done upon the earth but He doeth it altogether; and further that "there is no evil in the city, but lo! the Lord hath done it." When nerved by that thought for the struggle which is near, we must yet bear in mind what a potent and unscrupulous factor the Roman Church is! It is the largest secret society in the world, beside which Freemasonry is but a pigmy. Think of even a part of it—the Jesuit Society—with its Nihilist adherents in Russia, its Socialist

allies in Germany, its Fenians and Nationalists in Ireland, its accomplices and its slaves in its power ; think of that Society which has not scrupled to stir up the most bloody wars between nations, in order to advance its purposes ; and yet can stoop to hunting down a single man because he knows their secret and will not be their slave—hunting him down, discrediting him, and thwarting him at every turn, with the cool calculation that they will either drive him mad or make him put an end to himself, so that the secret may be buried with him. Think of a Society which can devise such a diabolical scheme, and then boast of it ; and say whether a desperate energy is not required in us, like that of a man who wakes in the night and finds the house in flames around him ? It is hard, I know, for poor honest, simple-minded Protestants, without guile themselves, to realize, or even to credit the existence of such an intricacy of iniquity, and such a thick defence of lies ; but yet *experto crede*.

If you had been behind the scenes, without committing yourself, it would even then have taken you years to realize the extent of the iniquity, and to consider the course you should pursue ; and then you would still have found before you the labour of unravelling all that is being done by our Government, and of tearing off the tissue of lies by which their acts are concealed. Repeated attempts will have taught you that there is not a public man on whom you can lean. Because, as England is “between the upper and “nether millstone,” none but adherents or slaves are now advanced ; and it stands to reason that the Jesuits, who have got that far, have prepared new millstones, for the time when the present ones shall have passed away ; and then, again, younger millstones to come on after, and wield the power of the nation.

No. XIV.

WE may pass by, without remark, Lord Sandon's Education Bill of 1876, on which Cardinal Manning bestowed the qualified praise that it was "*not hostile* to Religious Education and to Catholics." Neither is it necessary to dwell on Sir Richard Cross's Prison Bill of 1877, which took the patronage away from the local magistrates, and secured the appointment of Roman Catholic Chaplains to gaols. We may well leave them on one side, and come to the subject of Irish Education,—the second branch of "the Upas-tree of Protestant ascendancy."

On the "Ministerial explanation" of March 20, 1873, while Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister, Mr. D'Israeli spoke of the "Irish members, who might fairly be described as representing the Roman Catholic interest," and continued: "I stated that they would act, and most honourably act, with a view to effect the object which they wished to accomplish,—namely, the establishment of a Roman Catholic University; and that, in my opinion, that question had been definitively decided by the nation at the last general election; but that, totally irrespective of that national decision, events had occurred in Parliament since, which rendered it quite impossible for me to listen to any suggestions of the kind; because, since the last general election, the endowments of the Protestant Church of Ireland had been taken away from it,—a policy which I entirely disapproved, which I had resisted, and which they had supported, and which having been carried into effect, offered, in my mind, a permanent and insurmountable barrier to the policy which they wished to see pursued." That was in 1873. Mr. D'Israeli came into power in March, 1874; and at the end of June, 1879, what happened? The O'Connor Don was endeavouring to carry through the House an Irish University Bill. The measure was producing, and had almost produced a most serious split in the Liberal party.

The *official* Liberals had determined to support the O'Connor Don. This was to be expected; for, with Mr. Gladstone on one side, and Mr. D'Israeli on the other, hardly any except those who agreed to support the Roman Catholic cause, got appointed to any office, or were allowed to advance, or gain credit in the House. The Scotch members and the Radicals, on the other hand, were about to oppose the O'Connor Don with all their energy. If, then, Mr. D'Israeli meant what he said in 1873, if he really and truly had taken his stand on the Protestant feeling of the country, as he had so often announced, there was presented to him a certainty of increasing and consolidating his power. To oppose the O'Connor Don, would draw to Mr. D'Israeli's side all the Protestant Nonconformists, Radicals, Tories, and Conservatives throughout the country. That would veritably have been a winning card! Did Lord Beaconsfield take advantage of it? What step did he take? He took the wind out of the O'Connor Don's sails, by suddenly announcing that the Government themselves would at once introduce an Irish University Bill! Lord Cairns introduced it into the House of Lords.

On the 15th of July, while the Bill was in Committee in the Lords, Lord Emly (*i.e.* William Monsell) said that: "What the Government ought to do in the present case, was to apply to University Education the principle which they themselves had laid down last year for Intermediate Education in Ireland. *A proposal had been made by the Irish Government, and had been agreed to by those who represented the Roman Catholic party.*" Lord Beaconsfield at once jumped up and angrily denied the statement; saying that, as for himself, he was entirely ignorant of any proposal referred to by Lord Emly, as having been made by the Government; it was "a Romance," he said. Lord Emly replied that he himself had seen the written proposal, in Dublin, early in the spring. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the Duke of Marlborough, was present;

and said to me afterwards, that it was "awful" to hear the fibs (he used a stronger word) which Lord Beaconsfield told ; for the negotiations, which were protracted, had been conducted by Lord Beaconsfield himself.

Lord Beaconsfield was anxious to go further in the matter of Roman Catholic Education ; but found that the opinion of the Houses and the country was for preserving at least a remnant of this branch of "the Upas-tree of Protestant ascendancy." Therefore, on July 21, the now stale trick of getting up an "Obstruction" by the Irish members, was resorted to. Of course the *Times* contained, the next morning, an inspired leader : "A timely concession may still secure the success of the measure. The principle of such a concession is ready to hand in the provisions of the Intermediate Education Act of last year. . . . If, as we trust might be the case, the Catholic party were ready to accept a compromise on such terms as would give colleges, schools, and places of private tuition, an indirect endowment by the payment of result fees, there is good reason to think that it would also prove acceptable to Parliament." The Government of Mr. D'Israeli were anxious to endow the Roman Catholic colleges and institutions, all the while that they pretended to support Protestant principles and to be altogether averse to all Catholic endowments whatever. They ran with the hare, and hunted with the hounds. No one could have spoken against "Endowment by result fees," more decisively than Lord Cairns ; and yet the Conservative press was, all the while, assiduous in advocating that form of endowment which was called the "grant of result fees."

It was indeed widely held at the time, that the Government were Janus-faced. That feeling was exacerbated by the end of July (1879), when, at the very end of the session, there suddenly appeared a Government Bill for applying a sum of £1,300,000, out of the Irish Church Surplus Fund, to the creation of a Pension Fund for the Irish school teachers. Those teachers were nearly all Roman Catholics ;

at all events, 98 per cent. of the money went to the Roman Catholics. The intentions of the Government, in this respect, were kept a profound secret, until the Bill had actually passed its second reading, at two o'clock on the morning of July 24. The country then heard of it for the first time. It was the end of the session. There was no time to get up an agitation. Most members of Parliament had, moreover, already run away from their posts, and were out of reach of the call of their constituents. The Government felt safe in practising their double-faced game. On the evening of July 24, therefore, in the debate on the Irish University Bill, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, said: "We are asked, Why are you going to endow,—as the expression is, although we do not use it,—Why are you going to endow by annual votes, and not out of the Church surplus? Of course there is a great temptation to endow out of a fund like the Church surplus, and to put the matter quietly out of the control of Parliament. But that is exactly what we think ought not to be done. We have, no doubt, done it in the case of Intermediate Education; and I think, on the whole, we were justified in making the experiment. But the House will feel, considering the thorny nature of the subject, that there is much more delicacy in dealing with a great University question, than with a system of Intermediate Education." Those were the professed intentions of the Government,—to endow certainly; but by annual votes of Parliament; to introduce only the thin edge of the wedge, and that with apparent reluctance.

Of course Mr. Gladstone was there to play his part; and he rendered assistance in forwarding the Roman Catholic cause. He wielded his sledge hammer, and at once drove home the wedge, which Sir Stafford held in the cleft for him. Here are Mr. Gladstone's words: "There are other important points,—the whole scheme of the proposed subvention, the giving it by annual vote, and the announce-

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"ment that no recourse is to be had to the Church Surplus Fund,—which appear to me to call for considerable discussion. *I entertain great doubts whether it is wise to expose the scheme to annual discussion in Parliament, seeing what prejudices and passions and interests may gather round it. . . . It appears to me that the public subvention ought to go beyond that which was described by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as contained in the clause which he has mentioned. . . . I should be very sorry to take the responsibility on myself, having failed in the attempt to settle this great question, of interposing any obstacle in the way of its settlement; but the rule I desire to adopt for my guidance is that, this being pre-eminently an Irish question, I do not wish to separate myself, on such a matter, from those who represent the general and well-considered feelings of the Irish people. I will not lightly, and without much consideration, separate my path from theirs. This is their question more than ours; and they are making efforts, which are evidently conciliatory, to adjust it. It is my duty to co-operate with them as far as I can secure the attainment of that object. That co-operation I cheerfully offer. But there is one thing I could not do: Having been myself a party to proposals of a larger kind than this Bill contains, I could not urge, on the representatives of Ireland, the acceptance of a measure which I believe to be inadequate. That is the principle by which I shall endeavour to be guided in the future proceedings on this matter. It would afford me, as I have no doubt it would to all members of the House, the most sincere satisfaction, if, out of the imperfect proposal now on the table, a measure could be shaped which would tend to give Ireland the fulfilment of her just expectations on a question to her of such vital interest."*

There were others, also, with their lesser hammers, to strike their little blows on the top of the wedge. Mr. Goschen expressly pledged himself "to the principle of result fees"; while Mr. Gladstone, seeing the favourable

turn that things were taking, was careful not to limit himself, or cumber his advance towards greater concessions for Roman Catholic Education. He condemned the proposals of the Government as "inadequate"; and left the way open, to an indefinite length, for his future advance.

The way having been cleared, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, next day, introduced a new clause, to secure the payment of result fees. Then "prominent Irish politicians, "Members of Parliament, and others, had an interview "with the representatives of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy"; and "communications, from high clerical authorities in Ireland, were received, urging that the Bill should "be pressed on, and passed."

It was plainly seen that Mr. Lowther's clause would admit those Roman Catholic claims which the Government had declared that they would never allow. It was perceived that the clause would empower the Senate of the new University so to distribute the money, that nearly the whole of it would go, not to the reward of the successful student, but to the support of the denominational colleges, which were in the hands of the Jesuits and other monks. The student was to be merely the conduit-pipe, and convey the money from the Government Treasury to the coffers of the Roman Catholic Colleges. Therefore it was that the decreed and well-organized obstruction of the Irish members was now suddenly transformed into a hearty and somewhat noisy support. The House of Commons, as usual, had been adroitly manipulated, and the Government, with Mr. Gladstone's assistance, proceeded rapidly with its work. Parliament had deliberated, and made wry faces at the draught prepared by the State Apothecaries; then it opened its mouth, and gulped down great propositions by the score, without stopping to taste them: the Pension for Irish Roman Catholic Teachers; the "grant of result "fees" were swallowed; the University of "Godless Colleges" and Trinity College thrust down into the condition of local schools; the student declared free to reside any-

where,—at Jesuit seminaries or elsewhere,—drawing his fees and mulcting the “Godless” College Professors of their wages ; all this was swallowed !

On August 7, Mr. Forster protested : “ *The object of the Government evidently was to give aid to these Denominational Colleges, and yet to be able to tell their constituents that they had done nothing of the kind.*” But what avails a protest ? No Minister attempted to repel this charge of fraud. The clauses were carried, although Sir Walter Barttelot exclaimed, before the division : “ The understanding on which this Bill was introduced was that there were to be no result fees, and it is intended to hold the Government to that understanding, and not to go beyond it.”

Does statesmanship consist in false denials, and double-faced poses ? Is the Leader of the House to excel in the adroit shuffling of a political card-sharper, and the legerdemain of a hypocritical conjurer ? Both Leaders conspired to advance the cause of the Roman Catholic Church. Why ? Did they regard it as the Church of Christ ? Then it would advance best without the devil’s help. It is a grievous want of faith which induces a man to think that God needs Satan’s help to rule the world. Even Uzzah suffered for putting forth his hand to support the Ark. If, on the other hand, the Roman Catholic Church should not be the Church of God, but the woman on the scarlet beast who rules all the kings of the earth, then how shall we designate the co-operation of Mr. D’Israeli and Mr. Gladstone ?

No. XV.

DURING the debate on the second reading of the Irish Education Bill in 1873, Archbishop Manning was in constant attendance in the House of Commons, and was continually receiving notes, in pencil, from Mr. Gladstone.

One of these was shown to me by his Grace. It was written in very friendly terms, and spoke of the embroglio which the debate had got into, and expressed a hope that, "out of the anarchy of opinions," a definite course would shape itself. The Archbishop then told me that he had advised Mr. Gladstone to give appointments to Mr. (now Sir Henry) James, to Mr. (now Sir William) Harcourt, and to Dr. (now Sir Lyon) Playfair, "in order to do away with the suspicion of Gladstone's Catholic tendencies"; because, as he said, he expected that a storm would rise against the Roman Catholic Church and against Mr. Gladstone; and that Mr. Gladstone would be wanted, *in Opposition, to take up a high Protestant position, and lead the Nonconformists*, so as to be able to govern the storm. That was, doubtless, the reason that Mr. Gladstone, shortly afterwards, wrote his pamphlets on "Vaticanism." On May 14, 1875, Cardinal Manning again gave me this information.

That policy of the Cardinal has not been very successful for the Roman Catholic Church. Both Sir Henry James and Sir William Harcourt have risen to the top of affairs, without losing their Protestant sympathies, and may prove to be too redoubtable opponents to be put down. It is, perhaps, with some justice that the Jesuits mistrust the Cardinal; although they have got to obey him, because the Pope, on May 8, 1881, issued a Bull which placed the Jesuits under the orders of the Bishops. The occasion on which I learned their distrust of the Cardinal was the following:—On June 26, 1877, a Jesuit wrote to me: "A confidential agent came to me this morning from Constantinople, and what he told me leads me to expect the very reverse of peace. I believe the Russians will have a severe *contre coups* shortly." The next day I went to see him, and he explained the *contre coup* as being "a plot for the rising of the Poles against Russia and Prussia; France and Austria are to join the Poles, and be saved; and the Temporal Power will be restored to the Pope." He then added

that "he placed implicit faith in Lord Beaconsfield." Again, on July 7, he reverted to the *contre coups*, which was preparing, and said, "The Russians have been unsuccessful in "Asia, in consequence of the Circassian rising; and they "will be defeated in Europe, by reason of the Polish rising "that is preparing. The beating they received at Biela, "has caused them to draw troops from Poland, leaving "only 20,000 men there. Prussia will not be able to help "Russia, because there are 120,000 Poles in the Prussian "Army; and besides, they will fear France. *This is to "be a Catholic rising; and yet all the Radicals and Revolutionists will be forced to help Poland to obtain freedom.* "This will also force the hand of Austria. Moreover, the "Hungarians will side with the Poles. Thus there will be "a Catholic kingdom of Poland, and Austria and France "will be forced into a Catholic policy. D'Israeli knows all "this." Subsequently he said, "Cardinal Manning is "certain to know all about it if Gladstone is in it. But "*the Jesuits do not like the Cardinal; and the Cardinal "does not understand the policy of the Vatican, although he "thinks he does."*

Let us revert to the year 1873, when I was told that Mr. Gladstone would be wanted to take, in Opposition, a high Protestant line. On the 24th of January, 1874, a Dissolution was announced. It was so sudden that every one asked his neighbour what it all meant? On Feb. 24, Archbishop Manning explained the suddenness of the step. Mr. Gladstone, he said, had done it in the hope of getting the Nonconformists out of the House of Commons; for they were unprepared for it, and would be taken by surprise; while the Roman Catholic members had, some of them, received warning; and others had nice berths prepared for them. The Tory Orangemen, he said further, would be shunted off from the one side, and the Radical Nonconformists from the other.

In the elections of 1874, Mr. Gladstone proved to be in a minority. He then formally resigned the leadership of

the Liberal party ; and ostentatiously sat in the House, on the Prime Minister's Bench, as merely a supporter, and almost as an outsider. He devoted himself to literary work. Let us endeavour to judge of the aim of his literary efforts from the character of his effusions. Here are a few examples :—In the *Contemporary Review*, of July, 1875, he wrote an article on this question : “ Is the “ Church of England worth Preserving ? ” The following were the views which he enforced : “ It may be said, What “ is this internal Union of the Church, which is professed “ to be of such value ? We have within it, men who build, “ or who *suppose* themselves to build their religion only “ upon their private judgment, unequally yoked with those “ who acknowledge the guiding value of the Christian his- “ tory and witness ; men who believe in a Visible Church, “ and men who do not ; men who desire a further Refor- “ mation, and men who think the Reformation we have “ had already, went too far ; men who think a Church “ exists for the custody and teaching of the truth, and “ men who view it as a magazine for the collection and “ parade of all sorts of opinions, for all sorts of customers. “ Nay, besides all this, are there not those who, with such “ concealment only as prudence may require, question the “ authority of Holy Scripture, and doubt or dissolve into “ misty figure even the cardinal facts of our Redemption “ enshrined in the Apostles' Creed ? *What Union com-* “ *patible with the avowed or unavowed existence of these* “ *diversities can deserve the name, or can be worth paying a* “ *price to maintain ?* ”

This article was followed up by an article “ On the “ Courses of Religious Thought,” which appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, of June 26, 1876. The following in effect were Mr. Gladstone's positions : “ Men are divided “ by their principles. In religious matters there are no “ more than two principles ; and they are contradictory : “ The Liberty of voluntarily submitting Reason and Will “ to the Divine Reason and Will ; or else, Liberty in the

"sense of man's independence of anything superior to himself. The latter is the Anti-Christian principle. It is the license to manufacture one's own belief, and one's own morality. Mahommedanism is not a species of Theism; because it appeals, not to man's Reason, but to his Faith. Mahommed founded a *positive* Religion. The Anti-Christian principle gets rid of all that has gone before, and says that each man must make his own doctrine and belief." Mr. Gladstone then enlarged, with amorous fervour, on "*the Ecclesia docens*," and said further: "*The Ultramontane system . . . derives its origin, by an unbroken succession, from Christ and His Apostles. . . . It undeniably contains within itself a large portion of undivided religious life of Christendom. The faith, the hope, the charity, which it was the office of the Gospel to engender, flourish within this precinct in the hearts of millions upon millions.*" So the ultra-Roman Catholics imagine! But Protestants know that the "succession from Christ and His Apostles" has been broken over and over again; and that Cardinal Baronius himself testifies to the fact. Even according to the principles of the Ultramontanes, there has not been for centuries a genuine Pope or Cardinal. Yet Mr. Gladstone professed his belief in the unbroken succession of Ultramontanism from Christ and His Apostles! He goes further than that, and contradicts Mr. P. J. Smyth, late Member for Westmeath; for Mr. Gladstone believes that faith, hope, and charity, "flourish within the precinct (of the Church of Rome) in the hearts of millions upon millions." Mr. Smyth, and every one who knew Ireland, looked on the Popish Church as "a repudiation of the Decalogue—an outrage on the fundamental principles of morality, and a negation of the dogmas of Christianity. The animating principle of the organization (the 'great whole,' which comprises the 'Land League, National League, Parliamentary Party, Invincible Society, and Dynamite Society') is hatred, bitter, rancorous, relentless hatred . . . an indi-

"vidual, personal hatred, which pursues the victim from the "public platform to the domestic hearth." So wrote Mr. P. J. Symth, the Roman Catholic Member, on his death-bed.

In the life of Bishop Wilberforce (Vol. iii. p. 162) there appears a letter from Mr. Gladstone to the late Bishop, dated July 21, 1865, and containing the following words: "There have been two great deaths, or transmigrations of "spirit, in my political existence: the one very slow, the "breaking of ties with my original party; the other very "short and sharp, the breaking of the tie with Oxford. "*There will probably be a third and no more.*" Mr. Gladstone did not pretend to prophesy. They were evidently rather the words of a man who was conscious of a change of belief;—of a man who was aware that he held and acted on the principles which he expressed in the *Contemporary Review*; and who knew that the day must come when he would have to declare himself openly.

In the *Nineteenth Century*, of March, 1877, there appeared a contribution from the pen of Mr. Gladstone. Here are some extracts to show his bias. By Christianity he "does "not mean the mere acknowledgment of a name; but we "mean, along with other things, *the acceptance* of a body "of truths." After mentioning the gradual embodiment of these truths in the Creeds, and in the definitions which have from time to time been published in condemnation of various heresies, he says: This Christianity "has been "handed on continuously in uniformity of life. . . . It "is in this sense what *the Visible Church* also claims to be, "a city set on a hill; not, indeed, a city within walls that "cannot either grow nor dwindle; but yet a city widely "spread, *with a fixed heart and Centre*, if with a fluctuating "outline; a mass alike *unchangeable, perceptible, and also "determinate*; not absolutely or mathematically; but in a "sufficient degree for its providential purpose—*the Educa- "tion of Mankind.* . . . The Christianity which *claims "our obedience, is a Christianity inspired, sacramental, ethical, "embodied in certain great historic documents, involving cer-*

"tain profoundly powerful and operative doctrinal conceptions. A great mass and momentum of *Authority* may be pleaded for much that lies beyond the outline I have drawn. *Nearly half the Christian world adopts the entire Roman System.*"

No. XVI.

HONEST, open-hearted Englishmen are reckoned "stupid" on the Continent! They are not stupid; but they find it hard to believe in a long-continued duplicity, and realize ingenious subterfuges. A Prince with whom I was one day conversing about the Jesuits, their intrigues in England, and their tools in the House of Commons, said: "Yes! I can well believe you; we are accustomed to such things in Austria, and know what the Jesuits are; but you will not get English people to believe a word of what is going on." Take any Englishman who has been accustomed to fair dealing, and has not contracted the habits of artifice and falsehood, and reveal to him a part of the conspiracy to Romanize England. He will smile in your face, shake his head, and turn away, thinking that you are either cracked, or trying to deceive him. Yet there are some reflecting, hard-headed, shrewd Englishmen, who have put facts together, and drawn their conclusions. Mr. Arundel Rogers stood, in the Conservative interest, for the borough of Bodmin, and, it appears, openly gave expression to his belief that Mr. Gladstone "was a Romanist and a Jesuit." He was laughed at, and failed in his election. What happened? He was silenced for the future, by receiving from Mr. D'Israeli, in February, 1879, the appointment of Judge of the County Court circuit No. 27, with a salary of £1,500 a year. Perhaps, as a lawyer, he had learned not altogether to trust to professions and assertions; but judged for himself, and drew his own conclusions from their acts.

If we judge Mr. Gladstone by his acts, and come to the

conclusion that his sympathies are with the Roman Church; then we must see what a difficult position he was placed in, even while Mr. D'Israeli was alive, and able, under the semblance of an opponent, to back him up and save him, in the interest of a common cause. Let us take an example of his difficult position. On November 16, 1868, the Rev. W. Walker Jubb wrote to Mr. Gladstone asking whether he intended to abolish the Maynooth grant? Mr. Gladstone replied: "Not only my own declaration upon every occasion, but the resolution unanimously passed by the House of Commons, bind me in honour, as I am bound in purpose and conviction, to propose that the Regium Donum and the Maynooth grant should be wound up, and should cease with the Irish Church Establishment. Can words go further?" Early in 1869, Mr. Gladstone proposed and carried a gift of more than £400,000 to the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, as a "fair compensation" for the withdrawal of the vote which the House of Commons was annually asked to pass,—a vote of £25,000, which might any year be refused; for this he gave sixteen years' purchase! Did Mr. Gladstone's honour, like Bob Acre's, ooze out of his fingers' ends? Or had he changed his views, in a quarter of a year, as to the requirements of honour?

In April, 1880, Mr. Gladstone made a speech at Dalmeny, in which he related the following narrative, and added his own comments: "There is a story, not altogether inappropriate, told about Sir Walter Scott. When he was asked if he was the author of the Waverley novels, he replied: 'No; and if I had written them, I should have made you precisely the same answer.'" That was the narrative. Honest-minded persons would have taken Sir Walter Scott's answer as a direct denial. What were Mr. Gladstone's comments? "*I do not think you can say that in making this answer, Sir Walter Scott was guilty of deceit.*" His answer was: "No, I have not," with the fair notice, on the supposition that, if he had written the

"novels, that would have been his answer. *I do not see myself how you can object to it.*" I am quite aware that Mr. Gladstone was borne out in this un-English view, by the doctrine of the great Jesuit casuists; and although plain Englishmen and Scotchmen would imagine that Sir Walter Scott told a lie, yet, according to the Jesuit teachers and Mr. Gladstone, there was no guilt attached to it. The Jesuit Sanchez, for example, wrote:—"One may be allowed to swear that one has not done a thing that one has actually done, so long as one understands within one's self that one has not done it on a certain day, or before one was born; or while secretly meaning some other like circumstance. And this is extremely convenient when health, honour, or interest are concerned." This is the well-known Jesuit doctrine of "Mental Reservation." There is another Jesuit doctrine which they find equally convenient,—the doctrine of "Good Intention." According to the Jesuit teachers, no act is sinful unless it be done with the intention to offend God thereby; so that it is not sinful to lie, or to commit murder, if the end be the welfare or the glory of the Church of Rome.

But let us leave the Jesuit teachers, with the hope that Mr. Gladstone never moulds his conduct according to their doctrines. It will be remembered that, when the General Election of January and February, 1874, terminated in the destruction of Mr. Gladstone's Government, and the utter discomfiture of the Liberal party, Mr. Gladstone formally resigned the leadership. Every politician held that the Liberal party had been irretrievably shattered by him; that it was done for; and Mr. Gladstone refused to lead it any more. Lord Hartington was elected leader in Mr. Gladstone's place. By dint of patient labour he resuscitated and reorganized his party. In December, 1879, it was known that a dissolution would soon be decreed, and a general election would take place. No one would follow Mr. Gladstone at that time: "he had ruined the Liberal party; he was rash; no one knew what he would do

"next"; and one baronet considered that "Mr. Gladstone had Romanist sympathies." Lord Hartington, on the other hand, was a moderate man; he was steady-going; "the moderate men of both sides could support him." And Lord Hartington was the accepted leader; and the future Prime Minister, if ever the Liberal party should gain the ascendancy. On December 8, 1879, for example, the *Daily News* said: "Lord Granville and Lord Hartington have, for many years, had the labour of conducting the Liberal party through a period of Opposition more difficult and more trying than any it has known since the Reform Act of 1832. The proposal to displace them in what it is hoped is the moment of victory seems wanting in generosity as well as prudence. The effect of such a measure, and even of the groundless apprehension of such a measure, *would certainly be to alienate large numbers of the Liberal party*, whose cordial support is essential in the great national struggle which is now probably but a few months distant." Thus was Mr. Gladstone carefully kept in the background. The expectation that he would be Prime Minister would have been disastrous. As I shall show hereafter, it was desired in the Papal Court of Rome that the two great parties should be very evenly balanced, so that the Irish Roman Catholic party should be able to turn the scale either way, and thus be in a position to exact any terms they liked from either party. Mr. D'Israeli's Whip, during the election, told me that the Conservatives expected to be returned with "a working majority of twenty-five." Mr. Adam, the Liberal Whip, told me that he expected the Conservatives would have a majority of twenty. In order not to interfere with that arrangement, it was necessary not to ruin the prospects of the Liberal party by the mention of Mr. Gladstone's name. He had inspired far too great a distrust.

By the middle of April the English and Scotch elections had already been decided; the Liberal electors having rallied under Lord Hartington's name, and secured, so far,

a victory for the Liberal party. The Irish elections were still pending; when (April 19) a telegram came from Rome to the *Pall Mall Gazette*, in these terms: "*Cardinal Manning has assured the Pope that large concessions to the Roman Catholic Church may be expected from the Liberals (i.e. from Mr. Gladstone).*" The nomination of "Lord Ripon as Viceroy of Ireland is devoutly hoped for at the Vatican." It must be remembered that, on the solicitation of a Roman Catholic professor, Mr. St. George Mivart, Mr. Gladstone had signed a "Declaration" consisting of seven propositions on the subject of Education, which M. Le Play (a Roman Catholic) had drawn up. Mr. Gladstone "cordially accepted" them. They were also subscribed by Lords Coleridge, Carlingsford, O'Hagan, Selborne, Ripon, and Rosebery.¹ This document had been held back; but was now published in Ireland, to Mr. Gladstone's advantage. This was done because it was now evident that Mr. D'Israeli, or rather, Lord Beaconsfield, could not obtain "a working majority." The Irish elections were now imminent. A Liberal Government must come in; and therefore Mr. Gladstone, not Lord Hartington, must be at the head of it. The struggle with Lord Hartington for the leadership was about to open. During the English and Scotch elections, the country had been continually reassured by the promise that Mr. Gladstone would not take office, and that Lord Hartington, the "safe man," would be Prime Minister. But Lord Hartington must, in the interests of the Roman Church, be deposed. Every one was now told to forget who had "wrecked his party"; who had "abandoned the wreck to its fate"; who had endeavoured, ever since 1874, to keep the Liberal party in a state of confusion and disintegration. They were told, too, to forget Lord Hartington, who had patiently laboured to reduce the wreck to something like order, and had succeeded.

From the middle of April, the *Daily News* wrote up

¹ *Dublin Evening Mail*, May 14, 1879.

Mr. Gladstone, and wrote down Lords Granville and Hartington. The instances, many and various, between 1874 and 1880, when Mr. Gladstone had suddenly emerged from his retirement, and plunged into the arena of debate, in order to renew the distractions and discomfitures of the Liberal party, were now put aside. It was to the interest of the Roman Church that, if Beaconsfield was to go out, Mr. Gladstone must come in. Nor was this tone confined to the Liberal newspapers alone. During April, Mr. Gladstone's political *opponents* employed arguments and eloquence to show that Mr. Gladstone was the only man for the situation. His unrivalled powers ; his half-century of experience ; his various achievements ; were appealed to by the journals under Lord Beaconsfield's influence. They, one and all, were nervously anxious lest Mr. Gladstone should lose the proper reward for his newly-found merits. They said, forsooth, that Mr. Gladstone's retirement from public life would consolidate and strengthen the Liberal party ; therefore he must not retire. What ! did they desire to ruin their country in order to benefit their party ? or had the Roman Catholics some writers on the staff of every paper, who could mould them in the Papal interest ? And did not the Conservative members, candidates, and journals, write and speak according to a *mot d'ordre* which had emanated from a hidden Council ? But then, why did the Liberal journals also conspire to urge so vehemently that Mr. Gladstone should seize the helm of affairs ? Perhaps the *mot d'ordre* for them, also, had proceeded from the same Council. All the public prints, from quarterlies and monthlies down to the halfpenny *Echo*, all, of every shade of politics, for once sang in unison. It was evidently a critical time. But the Jesuits were again victorious. The Queen sent for Lord Hartington, it is true. Lord Hartington and Lord Granville went together to Mr. Gladstone, and found him surrounded by mental torpedoes. "I feel how inadequate I am to fulfil the heavy task which her Majesty has im-

"posed upon me,—” said Lord Hartington. "Of course! "I am the only man, under the circumstances; but I will "give you, both, places in my Cabinet." So the two astounded Ministers returned to the Queen, and Mr. Gladstone was sent for. He came in, and showed his gratitude by making Lord Ripon, Viceroy of India; Lord Kenmare, Lord Chamberlain; Lord Herries, Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding; Lord O'Hagan, Lord Chancellor of Ireland—all Roman Catholics; while he ordered that, in future, the teaching in the Malta University and Lyceum should be purely Catholic. That was the "gratifying intelligence" of the *Osservatore Romano*.

Before the elections of 1880, the country had witnessed, again and again, what they thought to be attacks on Lord Beaconsfield's policy, by Mr. Gladstone. Those who were nearer to the fountain-head, observed that every time he pretended to attack, he trailed a red herring across the scent. He always blinked the weak points in his pretended enemy, and drew attention off from the real issues, to expend his rhetorical vehemence and ammunition on the parts of Mr. D'Israeli's policy which were invulnerable. He acquitted them of their faults, and attacked them for their virtues. This helped to keep Lord Beaconsfield at the head of affairs. When it was seen that Lord Beaconsfield must be beaten at the polls, and that the Liberal party must triumph, then every effort was at once turned to dethrone Lord Hartington, and put Mr. Gladstone in his place. Since the day that Mr. Gladstone has been Prime Minister, he has associated the Liberal party with false principles, fallacies, crude and socialistic theories as to property, and propositions which create hostility of classes. He has humbled and broken down the British Empire in the face of the world, in accordance with Cardinal Manning's programme "to subdue, to break, to subjugate an Imperial "race." He cannot be either a genuine patriot, or a true friend.

No. XVII.

I HAVE mentioned the endeavour, continued through many years, to break up the two great parties of the State, and form a new party in the interests of the Roman Church ; and, that scheme failing, or as subsidiary to that scheme, there has been an attempt for many years to get rid of the House of Commons, and the representative system, already condemned by the Pope, and hated by the Jesuits, altogether. The latter conspiracy will become apparent on the consideration of the systematic "obstruction," which has been reduced to an art in Parliament. To the former, an allusion is made in a letter to Archbishop Manning, dated December 10, 1873. "Butt is, in part at least, "doing the work of the Catholics in Ireland, as your Grace "explained to me beforehand." It is alluded to, also, in a long letter to a Jesuit rector, in January, 1874, of which I give extracts, together with his answer: "Gladstone is "in continual communication with the Archbishop (Manning), and consults him very openly as to his measures "and appointments. This I know. So there he stands "for one. Now as to the other side, namely D'Israeli's and "——. I know of their unity, both from what the latter "told me, . . . and because when, to test the matter, "I spoke, many years ago, to D'Israeli on the subject, he "turned very pale, and his teeth chattered. . . . Moreover, "as you know, Mr. D'Israeli sent me to Cardinal "Antonelli, to remind him that he (D'Israeli) had always "done what he could, and intended to do what he could "for the (Roman) Catholic Church . . . Moreover, "D'Israeli told me of his negotiations with the Irish "bishops, and said that his quarrel was only with the "Archbishop. . . . As to Butt, and Home Rule, if "Ireland were to have a Parliament of her own, and Scotland too, Irish legislation would be (Roman) Catholic ; "the omnipotence of Parliament would be reduced to in-

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"significance," etc. The reply from the Jesuit rector is dated January 24, 1874. "I shall expect to see you at two p.m. in 111, Mount Street. I have every intention of answering your letter when we meet. It shall not be my fault that you indulge in any erroneous impressions. The Dissolution has come rather suddenly on *the world*." The result of the interview was a confirmation of my surmises.

I have given these extracts ; but before proceeding to the consideration of them, it is necessary, in consequence of what has been said on the subject of Mr. D'Israeli, to strengthen that position ; and then we shall proceed to the consideration of the plot to break up both political parties, by the action of their two political leaders. On September 20, 1861, the Earl of Eglinton and Winton addressed himself to a crypto-Jesuit, and died very shortly after. That crypto-Jesuit, on October 6, wrote as follows to me : " You must have received, from the death of Lord Eglington, a painful shock ; and you can imagine how it fell upon me. The wretched night I have spent has led, however, to this, that I have resolved to let Lord Derby know his late colleague's concurrence with us. . . . He knows not how far this will have spread. He will consult. With whom will he consult ? D'Israeli. This then is what is to be considered : What D'Israeli will say, and what effect his words will have ? But first we have to consider the manner in which the question will be put, and the effect of the manner of D'Israeli when it is put. Will it be a question generally about me, concealing the occasion ? Or will it be a communication of my letter ? . . . By referring him to Mr. D'Israeli, as one completely in a position to afford evidence in confirmation of all that is inferred, appending thereto the condition that he, Lord Derby, should find means to induce D'Israeli to make candid and unreserved admissions,—I can say that, in that case he would receive from Mr. D'Israeli *assurance of his complete concurrence with me in every point, internal and*

“*external*. I here quote the words of Mr. D'Israeli himself. Those words, indeed, but cover the ground down to the period removed from the present by more than eight years. But events have flowed on in the same current since then; and each of those events is but additional testimony. *The convictions so avowed have, indeed, been confirmed by public declaration.* But, as the general course of Mr. D'Israeli's *public life* has been in an opposite sense (*i.e.* professing to lead the great Protestant party), the proposition that the confession of the truth has to be obtained from him . . . bears a show of reason on its face, which may prevent it from being cast aside as at once frivolous and offensive.” This puts Mr. D'Israeli's concurrence beyond doubt or cavil. It also shows that Mr. D'Israeli's public professions, in an opposite sense, were an acknowledged and recognised part of the intrigue. A short time afterwards (May 8, 1862), Mr. D'Israeli took occasion to proclaim his concurrence again. He said: “There is a question connected with Rome which I apprehend interests the world generally, which is, I think, peculiarly interesting to a Protestant power like England—and that is not the Temporal Power, but the independence of the Pope. They are two things entirely distinct, although they are always mixed together, partly through blundering, and partly owing to international misrepresentation.” Then, considering the case of England, “a Protestant power having many millions of Roman Catholic subjects,” he said: “We in England should look with great jealousy on the Pope's becoming a permanent resident in the dominions of a Roman Catholic State; because we know that (although as a Temporal Prince he is of no more account than any small Italian Duke) he is a Spiritual Prince, exercising great power in every country, and in every country represented by *an organized intellectual Body*. It is, therefore, a matter of very great consideration for English statesmen, that the Potentate exercising this authority should be placed in a situation in which he

"should not be unduly influenced by any other Power in "Europe." The morning after this speech, there were virulent oburgations in all the Protestant journals. The *Morning Post*, for example, asserted that the Conservative country gentlemen "writhed under the part which Mr. "D'Israeli made them play," yet they "implicitly obeyed "him. Loyola (it continued) in his dying moments dictated his inmost thoughts. They were, that the entire "system of the Order was summed up in *Obedience*; that "the true Jesuit should become, at the bidding of the "General of the Order, as devoid of individual will and "motion as a corpse,—*tanquam cadaver*,—and like the "stick of an old man,—*senis baculus*,—to be taken up or "thrown aside at pleasure. And this is the state to which "Mr. D'Israeli has reduced his puppets. . . . This is "Jesuitism. Because they do so, they are Jesuits; for, as "Carlyle truly says: Whenever you meet a man believing "in the salutary nature of falsehoods . . . and fancy- "ing that, to serve the good cause, he must call the devil to "his aid, there you have a follower of Ignatius."

On the 12th of September, 1877, a letter was written, by a Roman Catholic member, to an experienced Jesuit, in which the following words occur: "In many ways "Parliament not only stops good being done, but is also a "source of injury. To break it up into three or four bodies, "for local administration, would weaken The Omnipotence "of Parliament." The reply was as follows: "To retrieve "the political system in the way you suggest, is the only "method that can save it; and might even save it at the "eleventh hour. *I need hardly tell you that this is what "I, and others, have been working at for all these many "years."*

In that very year there was an example of the multifarious means of breaking down parties. When Lord Salisbury was at Constantinople, his "political allies and "friends," so far from supporting and defending him, did all they could to discredit him; and it was even hinted that

he was exceeding his instructions. "The line taken "with respect to him (said the *Times* of January 11, 1877) "can scarcely be misunderstood. . . . Nothing can be "more reckless than these attempts to undo what our "plenipotentiary is doing." The *Times* was puzzled at this reckless, and apparently shortsighted conduct; because, as the *Times* said, it was very evident that "it "would go far to break up the Administration." But what if the end in view was to break up the party? Then there would have been no puzzle at all. The *Moscow Gazette* of January 1st contained a confirmation of the intelligence of the *Times*. It said: "Lord Beaconsfield ". . . sent out to Constantinople a secret agent of his "own, who passed through Russia, stopping at Kishnief "on the way (to oppose and thwart the Marquis of Salisbury). Lord Salisbury, it is said, becoming aware of "his designs, and of the intrigues of Sir Henry Elliot, "telegraphed to London that if Elliot was not immediately "recalled, he would at once leave the Conference and "Constantinople; in consequence of which, Sir Henry "Elliot was ordered to go on sick leave."

Now let us take an example of similar action on the other side. Look at the *Times* of May 5, 1877. "Mr. "Gladstone's resolutions *threaten to do something more "than throw the Liberal party into confusion*. In ordinary "times, the breaking of party bonds, whether Liberal "or Conservative, might, no doubt, be borne with serenity; "but these are not ordinary times." It then charged Mr. Gladstone with "*destroying the effective force of "the Liberal party at this critical moment*," and added, "thus *the Liberal party is split into factions*, some of "which will vote for Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, and "others for the Previous Question. *The rent may too "easily grow wider*." After two days of thoughtful consideration, the leading journal reiterated its indictment: "By a curious perversity, *Mr. Gladstone has framed a set "of resolutions which will do the maximum of evil, by divid-*

"*ing the party* which is in favour of peace, and strengthen-
 "ing that which inclines to war. . . . As a considerable
 "number might be expected to vote with him, *the first effect*
 "*would be something like a disruption of the party.* Lord
 "Hartington will thus be placed in a very difficult position.
 "After Mr. Gladstone insisted on resigning the leadership
 " . . . Lord Hartington was chosen by a unanimous
 "vote. . . . Now all his calculations have been defeated
 "by Mr. Gladstone's raid." The day fixed for the debate
 was Monday, June 11. On Sunday, Mr. Bright called on
 Mr. Gladstone. He pointed out that a division on the
 resolutions must break up the Liberal party; and urged
 on Mr. Gladstone the necessity of avoiding the threatened
 rupture. Mr. Gladstone adhered to his intention. "Do
 "you *wish* then to break up the Liberal party?" At a later
 hour, Mr. Bright took Lord Granville with him to the tent
 of Achilles. The result of the negotiations was the Tre-
 velyan farce. Mr. Trevelyan asked an appointed question;
 and Mr. Gladstone acted in a way which proved that his
 histrionic powers were such as to place him in a higher
 rank, as an actor, than Conway, Coghlan, or Irving. But
 why did Mr. Gladstone agree not to kill the Liberal party?
 Was it not because his game had been divined, and been
 made the subject of rebuke in the public journals? The
 game had become too dangerous. It might recoil on him-
 self. The Liberal party might escape from being broken
 up, and Mr. Gladstone himself might be broken on the
 torturing Ixion wheel of exposure and angry public
 criticism.

Let us for a moment return to the other side. On Jan-
 uary 24, 1878, a Jesuit wrote thus: "A letter came to me
 "last night from a man who has been working with me,
 "and had just had a long talk with Beaconsfield." The
 result of that long conversation was thus given: "My
 "belief is that this Eastern Question will break up the
 "present (Conservative) Government; *that the old parties*
 "*are already broken up*, and, having neither of them any

"basis of principle, must both go down before a NATIONAL Party. . . . In fact, I believe there is a chance now, "if ever, for the higher principles to be asserted." In Mr. D'Israeli's "*Coningsby*," published as long ago as 1844, the advent was foretold of a New Party that should abjure the stupid statesmanship of Conservatives and Liberals, of Tories and Whigs, and should constitute a *National Party* on the principle of a TORY DEMOCRACY.

No. XVIII.

IT is some years since a Jesuit said to me: "We have "abolished the distinction between Whig and Tory; the "Government of the country is not by party." Conservatism and Liberalism have, it is true, ceased to be more than names. Mr. D'Israeli's Reform Bill of 1867, which established household suffrage, was the burial of that distinction of names. Another Jesuit, on February 14, 1878, said to me: "I may tell you that what I have, for some "time, been working at secretly, is to break up both parties. ". . . The only thing is to break up both parties, and "to form a really *national* party, on the basis of law." It seemed that Mr. Gladstone lent his assistance, as far as he could venture, to this secret working. In a speech on July 21, 1878, for example, he said: "It is sometimes said, gentlemen, that in this country there is very little difference "between the ins and the outs, except that one set of them "happens to be in possession of office, and that the other "set is in expectation of office. Well, gentlemen, I can "quote the sarcastic description without feeling myself "stung by it, for I am neither in possession of office nor in "expectation of it." In a year and a half he was working hard to wrench, out of Lord Hartington's grasp, the leadership of the Liberal party and the Premiership, which was then looming close at hand. Yet, doubtless, he said truly, in 1878, that he was not in expectation of office, because

he thought that he had effectually broken up the Liberal party. The next day, July 22, the *Times* thus judged : "If "Mr. Gladstone were bent on completing the ruin of his "party, he could scarcely attain his purpose better than by "driving them to a contest for which they are at present "unprepared." The mistake Mr. Gladstone made, the reason why he was not successful in completing the ruin of the Liberal party, was probably his neglect of the fact that the Conservative party had been still more weakened by Mr. D'Israeli ; so that the Liberal party, after all Mr. Gladstone's efforts, was still relatively the stronger of the two. Moreover, Mr. Gladstone, by that speech of July 21, had contributed to weaken and pulverise the Conservative party still more. He said : "Lord Salisbury was sent to Constantinople to act a part which we afterwards found it "had been decided in England should be nothing but a "farce"; and so forth.

A letter written a few days afterwards to a Jesuit (July 29) is now before me, and speaks for itself : "There seems "to be another little comedy on the stage, which may "amuse, if it be not of use. A gentleman who was (and "perhaps still is) on the staff of *Times* correspondents, told "me yesterday—and I have heard similar reports from "other sources—that Gladstone *forced* the resolutions of "to-night upon Hartington, who wanted to wait merely ; "and that the other Liberal leaders were not consulted. "These resolutions, as you know, are utterly wide of any "real point of attack. This morning I have read Beaconsfield's speech. It professes to defend the Government "against an attack in the House of Commons ; but touches "only on two points of Hartington's resolutions. That is "two points not of real, but of feigned, attack, which "require no defence, are defended ; and they are defended "because the Ministry in the House of Commons are "assumed by Beaconsfield to be unable to defend them !" There could be no better way to break the Conservative party to pieces, than for the leader of it to give out that

none of the Conservative Ministry were worth a straw. At the beginning of August, the various "weeklies" bewailed the condition of the Liberal party, which they attributed to "the hollowness of Mr. Gladstone's Bulgarian "agitation," and to his other "eccentric moves," which had been silently producing "a sullen indignation." The conclusion was thus expressed in one of the ablest of them: "At any rate, whether the political blunder was *intentional* "or unintended, the whole party is paying the penalty for "it in an unpopularity so deep, that it has done much to "call off public attention from *the tergiversation of their "adversaries.*" For those adversaries were busy breaking up their own party also. The Jesuit organ, the *Civiltà Cattolica*, of October 19, 1878, thus informed its obedient readers: "The state of disintegration of the Liberal party "still continues. Mr. Gladstone *has succeeded*, by means "of his sophisms, in demoralizing utterly the great Liberal "phalanx, of which he was formerly the leader. *A recent "article of his, inserted in an American review, will certainly "not have the effect of smoothing over the differences in the "Liberal party.*"

Lord Beaconsfield was not idle in playing his counter-part rôle. He, too, was assiduously breaking up his (the Conservative) party. He had already discredited Lord Salisbury. He now removed Mr. Hardy—the most effective debater, and the natural Leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons. Mr. Hardy was made Viscount Cranbrook, and was transferred from the War Office, where he conspicuously succeeded, to the India Office where he failed. A letter of January 29th, 1879, marks another step in the process of discouragement and disintegration: "There is little doubt that the Government "will introduce a Roman Catholic University Bill. It is "part of a programme of D'Israeli's, which he privately "explained in March, 1871. Some Conservatives are "already crying out that such a measure, whether carried "or not, will damage the Conservative party in the elec-

"tions, which cannot be far distant. That of course! . . .
 "I understand that some of the Cabinet wished to dissolve
 "at once, before this Bill should be introduced; and also,
 "before any failure should occur in carrying out the Berlin
 "Treaty. In which case (*i.e.* by an immediate Dissolu-
 "tion) D'Israeli would, of course, have a majority bigger
 "than ever. *Of course, therefore, D'Israeli declined to agree
 "to it."*

While Lord Beaconsfield was employed, like a barnacle, in secretly working the ruin of the Conservative party, Mr. Gladstone¹ "threw the people back again on the Ministry, "by the proclamation of extravagant and untenable "opinions. *Mr. Gladstone has, more than once, done his "opponents this kind of service during his Scottish cam- "paign."* In March, 1880, the expected Dissolution came. It proved that every one of the "Great Statesmen" had miscalculated. The Achitophels were dumb-founded. Just before the elections, an article on the situation appeared in the *Jesuit Review*, the *Civiltà Cattolica*, of April 3, 1880. It vaticinated thus: "It is regarded as very "probable that Lord Beaconsfield will return to power "with a narrow working majority; or, if not, that the "Liberals will have *such a narrow majority that they will "both be utterly dependent on the Irish vote.* . . . It is "possible, also, that the persistent clamours and continual "manifestations of the Liberal leaders may produce a "greater effect than may reasonably be supposed. . . .
 "Yet it is thought that the common sense of the English "will know how to repel all exaggerations, and preserve "with constancy its vaunted loyalty. . . . Ireland, which "has been for so long a time one of the glories of the Church, "is now passing through a very grave crisis, the outcome "of which will decide her future, one way or the other." The next number of that *Jesuit Review* thus expressed its hope: "In case the Government majority should be "diminished, *the Home Rulers will occupy*, in the new

¹ *Times*, December 23, 1879.

“ House of Commons, *a position of immense importance*,
“ which, if it be used with prudence and moderation, will
“ be likely to secure lasting benefits for Ireland.”

The disintegrating process, however, had been too active, during the beginning of the year, on the constitution of the Conservative party. Lord Beaconsfield had postponed the elections until the glory of the Berlin Treaty had become tarnished ; and until a miserable budget had discredited the party. Here is a letter of a Tory M.P., dated April 4th :—“ What do you think of the elections? Do not answer, like the common herd, that they are *unfortunate*. “ Things do not happen ; they are done. D’Israeli might “ have dissolved soon after the Berlin Conference, and “ come back with a sweeping majority ; or at the beginning “ of this year, before that miserable budget was brought “ in, and before that most ridiculous laughing-stock, the “ Water Bill. . . . He is no fool. Those were not *mis-* “ *takes*. His aim was to break up the Conservative party, “ —just as Gladstone broke up the Liberal party, by his “ sudden dissolution in 1874, and has laboured to keep it “ broken up ever since. D’Israeli and Gladstone sit on “ different sides of the House, but *are in one boat, and pull “ together.*” A letter, of a somewhat later date, addressed to a Jesuit, says : “ If the two parties had come back very “ equal, I could have seen the gain (of dissolving after “ the Ministry had been discredited). But now that the “ Liberals have an enormous majority, and the ultra- “ Radicals are very strong, it seems to put the formation “ of *a National Party* further off than ever.” What was the reply? “ I came up to London suddenly, and rather “ unexpectedly, yesterday. Like nearly everybody else, I “ am *quite surprised* at the result of the elections. As yet, “ it is quite impossible to conjecture the result.” The next day (April 11) he avowed that the result of the elections had been “ *quite unexpected by all of them* ” ; and that “ *it had taken all of them by surprise* ” ; and that “ *it was quite “ contrary to all their calculations.*” It was admitted that

Lord Beaconsfield had merely intended to *reduce* his majority, so that, through an equality of the English parties, the new Irish party might have a greater relative power, and be able to determine the legislation. But it was also avowed that Lord Beaconsfield had "miscalculated his position, and thought himself much stronger than he proved to be." Achitophel did not at once set his house in order, and hang himself. With that indomitable perseverance for which Lord Beaconsfield had ever been remarkable, he continued the game of breaking up his party, in behoof of the new Romanist or "National Party," while Mr. Gladstone clutched at the Premiership and leadership of his party, and played the same game on his side.

Mr. Gladstone began by framing the most intricate piece of legislation which could enter the heart or imagination of man to conceive. It was a veritable Mystery of Iniquity, which no one but he could understand; and which no one, not even he, could explain. If any incautious member showed a sign of mastering its details, he was promptly confused, and hopelessly muddled, by an explanatory speech from Mr. Gladstone. The "Disturbance Bill" met with the fate it deserved, and brought about those results which it had been calculated to bring on the Liberal party. Not satisfied, Mr. Gladstone, next year (1881) tried how far he could humbug and drive his obedient followers into accepting all the principles of Communism. His followers had forgotten Prince Bismarck's despatches to Prince Reuss, in which he proclaimed that the Communists and Jesuits were in strict union, if not identical; just as it has also been shown that the Jesuits make the Nihilism of Russia, and the Fenianism of Ireland. Yet Mr. Gladstone's followers swallowed the principle of Communism, which he had wrapped up in the clauses and sub-sections of the Irish Land Bill. That third branch of "the Upas-tree of Protestant ascendancy" was the most fatal of all; and we shall find that,



while cutting it down, its virus had served to poison the whole Liberal party, and canker the backbone, and unnerve the sinews of the Conservative party and Protestantism throughout the three Kingdoms.

I cannot conclude without rehearsing an excellent story which was told me by a gentleman (we will call him Mr. M.) who had managed elections for the Conservative party with the greatest skill, and had succeeded in strengthening that party very much. I relate the story as it was related to me. He was got rid of by Mr. D'Israeli's solicitor, Sir Philip Rose, whom Mr. D'Israeli had made a baronet. In succession to Mr. M., a gentleman was appointed "who sent the wrong candidates to the wrong "constituencies." That was in 1880. After the elections, the conduct of Conservative elections was put into commission, the Commissioners being, Lord Salisbury, Mr. W. H. Smith, and Mr. Gorst, Q.C., M.P. The two former went abroad, without giving the matter a moment's attention. Mr. Gorst remained. He was himself a good quarter of the "Fourth Party" (which consisted of Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Gorst, and Mr. A. Balfour). Mr. M. spoke of this to Mr. Gorst, and said: "You are breaking up the "Conservative party." "Yes," said Mr. Gorst, "that is "precisely our object." Mr. M. asked what authority he had for doing such a thing? and Mr. Gorst replied: "*I "have the highest authority."* He meant Lord Beaconsfield. The next year Lord Beaconsfield went before the dread tribunal of the just Judge of all the earth; while the whole "Fourth Party," along with Lord Salisbury and Mr. Smith, were placed in the new Government, July 2, 1885.

NO. XIX.

BEFORE examining the New Party which was to be formed in the interests of Romanism, which the reader doubtless divines to be the Irish party, we must turn our attention to the watch-word by which it was formed and united. I mean *Home Rule*. This idea was started by a Jesuit, as early as 1847, and fully expounded, in all its bearings, in a letter to "a distinguished member of the Conservative party." He thus stated his conclusions: "This is my case. I submit "that I have proved that Ireland was unjustly and unlawfully deprived of her Parliament; that the Treaty of "Union is void; and that it is expedient for us to grant, "what is it unjust for us to withhold. If we persist at once "in our present menaces, and our refusal, *the time may "come when she will be enabled to wrench from our weakness "and embarrassments what she would now gladly owe to "our generosity. The present difficulty you may perhaps "get over; but the circumstances remain. At present we "are at peace; call up the image of war, and then consider "the back door to England, you have opened in Ireland. ". . . The Restoration of the Irish Parliament is "necessary to protect the landed property and Protestant "Establishment of that country from the Parliament of "Westminster. With a Parliament at College Green, many "things might not have happened: the Canadas would not "have been united; nor Poland been blotted out of the "map of Europe. . . . Thus may Ireland present a "nucleus round which may be gathered, *to oppose the "Parliament*, such a body as that which, in the last century, "opposed the Court; *and this is the only way in which she "can work out her independence. She can do so by divisions, "if no longer by reviews. And this course too will render "the process as peaceful and secure as the end is certain.*" Because legislative independence was not granted to*

Ireland, in the famine year ; nor in the fearful year of Revolutions all over Europe, in accordance with the views of the "Young England Party," therefore the Jesuit's threat has been accomplished. They have caused the Parliament of Westminster to destroy "the landed property "and Protestant Church Establishment" of Ireland. The body which had already been formed in the House of Commons, in that day, which was to "oppose Parliament," was the "Young England Party," with Lord George Bentinck at the head of it, and Mr. D'Israeli, Mr. David Urquhart, Lord John Manners, and George Smith (Lord Strangford), as its soul and moving spirits. A postscript to the letter mentions "a correspondence on the subject "with Lord George Bentinck, shortly before his death ;" and it mentions the concurrence of views and friendly disposition of that noble lord.

On the 23rd of April, 1872, Archbishop Manning requested an interview with me, and urged me to take up the Home Rule programme, as a measure highly beneficial to the interests of the Roman Catholic Church, and promised to obtain for me a seat in Ireland. In order to inform me of the nature of the movement, the Archbishop gave me, on Monday, April 29, 1872, "*A Plea for the Home Government of Ireland, by John George MacCarthy.*" At that interview his Grace said : "Home Rule may never "be granted ; but yet it is the great guns under which we "shall gain Catholic Education in Ireland." On the 1st of May, I wrote to Archbishop Manning : "I feel that "to swim in calm water, is one thing ; to be carried on by "a great wave of popular tumult, is another ; . . . "but I am anxiously reading the book your Grace was "kind enough to give me,—Mr. MacCarthy's,—so that I "may understand Home Rule." The Conservative Whips, and especially Colonel Taylor, continually urged me in the same direction. The latter said, on May 7 : "I wish "we could get a few more Conservatives to go in for Home "Rule." Mr. D'Israeli also expressed himself in the same

sense ; while his Secretary, on June 12, in that year, spoke of the Home Rule programme as the means of making "a Catholic party in the House."

On June 21, 1873, the Father Provincial of the Jesuits in England wrote : "I received yesterday a letter from Ireland, which I enclose. . . . I think it is very probable, from what I hear, that *a good move for Home Rule is the only way to get fair play for Catholics.*" The enclosure was a letter from the Father Provincial of the Jesuits in Ireland. He said : "I should think a majority of the bishops, perhaps a large majority and a considerable body of sound men, would think Home Rule a very good thing to get, and a thing to be tried for, if there were a good chance of getting it. . . . Some of the bishops—how many I don't know—and a number of other respectable persons, look on the present agitation as tainted with Fenianism, or some such thing, considering the men who are among the foremost in the work. . . . My own leaning, as far as I have one, is in favour of Home Rule, and I think it a pity a good thing should be missed on account of a suspicious turn on the part of some of those who are looking for it." Another letter, from the same Father Provincial, dated June 11, 1873, was more urgent and encouraging. He said : "It seems to me that a man who, twenty years ago, felt it his duty to be a Tory, might, as things are now, say, *There is so little difference between parties*, that I feel free for either side. Again : would the adoption of Home Rule be necessarily an abandonment of Conservatism ? I don't see why it need be. Lastly ; is Home Rule desirable in a religious point of view ? . . . My own opinion is, that if it can be gained, *it would certainly be a great step towards THE DESTRUCTION OF PROTESTANT ASCENDENCY* ; and, from what I have heard, I imagine that *Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville would not feel themselves bound to oppose it, if they saw sufficient earnestness in the cry for Home Rule.*"

At the very commencement of December, 1877, another Jesuit priest wrote to request an interview with me, adding: "I shall say nothing more to-night, as I hope to be able to say what I have to say by word of mouth." The next day he came from a long distance in the country, and, after some light conversation of a trifling nature, on rising to leave, he turned round at the door, and said: "Oh! by the way, I wanted to tell you that I believe Gladstone will go so far in favour of Home Rule next session as to advocate that the Irish people should manage their education, as the English and Scotch people already do theirs." He then abruptly left the house.

Let us examine the announcement concerning Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville. In the debate on the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, in 1866, Mr. Gladstone proclaimed the doctrine that Ireland should be legislated for "according to the views of the majority of the people of that country." He did not say the majority of the electors, but the majority of the people. He included the overwhelming number of low, poor, ignorant Irish Roman Catholics who had not, at that time, the franchise. That class far outnumbered the electors. He thus denied the right of the representatives of the electors to frame legislation; and affirmed the right of the unenfranchised—those very Irish who hate England most bitterly, who desire to separate Ireland from England, who are imbued with communistic ideas, who seek to rob the landlords of their land, and are ever ready to shoot agents from behind hedges or stone walls—he affirmed their inherent right to shape the legislation of Parliament. He did not affirm that doctrine with regard to Scotland, England, or Wales. Why was that? Did the difference of religion make a difference in his doctrine as to legislation?

In December, 1876, Mr. Gladstone came somewhat near the point in an article in the *Contemporary Review*, "On the Hellenic Factor," etc. To what views did he lead up? He said: "Why should we be alarmed at the sound of

"Suzerainty? It is a phrase of infinite elasticity. . . .
"What it implies is a practical *self-management* of all those
"internal affairs, on which the condition of daily life de-
"pends, such as police, and the judiciary, with fixed terms of
"taxation—especially of direct and internal taxation—and
"with command over the levy of it. Where these points
"are agreed on, there is little left to quarrel about." What
more than this did the Irish at that time desire? If they
had a standing quarrel with England, did not Mr. Glad-
stone state the conditions on which that quarrel should be
ended, and amity restored? On November 8, 1877, Mr.
Gladstone applied those principles to Ireland, when he
spoke in Dublin: "I am profoundly convinced that *local*
"*government, not only in the shape of municipal institu-*
"*tions, but in all those other shapes in which it is known to*
"*you in history, or agreeable to the spirit of your arrange-*
"*ments, is a thing not only to be viewed with toleration,*
"*not to be viewed with misgivings, not to be viewed even*
"*with a cool and calculating approbation; but that it is*
"*fundamental to the greatness of the country and its insti-*
"*tutions.* . . . Instead of abridging the power of those
"local institutions, we ought to seek to extend it; and that
"*is the principle which, in my opinion, lies at the root of all*
"*sound agitation.* . . . I, for my part, can set no bounds
"to the desire that I feel to see, *all through these three*
"*kingdoms, the people brought politically to learn, in*
"*narrower spheres, the public duties which belong to these*
"*narrower spheres; and strive to fit themselves for those*
"*higher duties which are involved in the material work*
"*of the Government.*" We must bear in mind that the
Pall Mall Gazette of September 10, 1877, had reported
a speech of Mr. O'Connor Power, M.P., at Manchester, on
"The present position of the Irish National Cause," in
"which he said: "*Great forces are at work, ready to back*
"*up the Irish people in their struggle for Home Rule;*
"one of the strongest of these being the Fenian associa-
"tion of New York. If the obstructive Irish members were

"expelled from the House of Commons, such an arbitrary act would kindle an inextinguishable fire in the breast of every Irishman, and would be regarded as the call to a *struggle which could only end in either the annihilation or the emancipation of the Irish people.*" Mr. Parnell spoke in a similar vein. The *Times* of Oct. 29, 1877, also reported a lecture of Mr. O'Donnell, M.P., in the League Hall, Liverpool, on Sunday, the 28th, on "Ireland the Civiliser of Europe." He said: "It may well be that we may have to fight Bryan Boroim's battle over again, against foes more perfidious than those that fell before Bryan's army. But whatever may be the position, and whatever the cost, the contest has to be fought, and we are resolved to fight it. Ireland's right is no man's wrong. . . . In this matter we must be obstinate, resolute, *obstructive*, and even *destructive* (dynamite?). We must push opposition to all lengths, and all limits, unless perfect educational liberty, and educational freedom and development were granted to the Irish race." Those two quotations prove the character which the Home Rule movement had acquired as early as 1877, before Mr. Gladstone advocated it in Dublin. On the 26th of November, 1879, Mr. Gladstone unfolded his aims pretty clearly: "Let me say that, in my opinion, these two great subjects of *Local Government* and the *Land Laws* ought to occupy a foremost place in the thought of every man who desires to be a legislator. In the matter of Local Government, there may lie the solution of some National and even Imperial difficulties. It will not be in my power to enter largely upon the important question of the condition of Ireland; but you know well how unhappily the action of Parliament has been impeded and disorganized from considerations, no doubt conscientiously entertained, by a part of the Irish representatives, and from their desire to establish what they term Home Rule. If you ask me what I think of Home Rule, I must tell you that I will only answer you when you tell me how Home Rule is

“related to Local Government. I am friendly to Local
“Government. I am friendly to large local prerogatives.
“I desire—I may say I intensely desire—to see Parliament
“relieved of some portion of its duties. . . . We have
“got an overweighted Parliament: and if Ireland or any
“other portion of the country is desirous and able so to
“arrange its affairs as to take the local portion of some
“part of its transactions off Parliament, it would liberate
“and strengthen Parliament for Imperial concerns. I say
“that I will not only accord a reluctant consent, but give
“support to any such scheme. There is one limit, and one
“only, to the extension of Local Government; it is this,—
“nothing can be done by any wise statesman or right-
“minded Briton, to weaken or compromise the authority
“of the Imperial Parliament. . . . But, subject to that
“limitation, if we can make arrangements under which
“Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and portions of England can
“deal with questions of local and special interest to them-
“selves, more efficiently than Parliament now can, that, I
“say, will be the attainment of great national good.
“. . . I will consent to give to Ireland no principle,
“nothing that is not given on equal terms to Scotland,
“and to different parts of the kingdom.” That means the
destruction of the Parliament of Westminster.

NO. XX.

I HAVE showed how completely Mr. Gladstone had fulfilled, as far as he was concerned, the promise of the Jesuit Provincial, that Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville should support Home Rule. That promise concerned, not Mr. Gladstone alone, but Lord Granville also. What did Lord Granville say? On February 5, 1880, Lord Granville said, addressing the Peers: “If you talk of giving to Irish-
“men more power to do their own local work, I entirely
“agree. I believe what is wanted is a thorough reform of

"the local governments of Ireland: and that we should then throw upon these reformed bodies *the greatest possible amount* of local duties and responsibilities. You would in this way relieve the members of the House of Commons from an intolerable burden that now presses upon them."

Lord Beaconsfield replied: "I was glad to hear the noble Earl use the expressions which he did with respect to Irish politics, growing out of this Irish distress. *For the first time, for a long while, I have the satisfaction of agreeing with the noble Lord in his views.* . . . It is very easy to talk of the House of Commons, and of Parliament generally, being overladen with business—to a great extent with Irish business—and that it would be very desirable that a great portion of Irish business should be transacted in Ireland. . . . *So you would go on until you had no Parliament left. We should find the noble Lord, in a short time, coming to this point.* . . . I do trust that England will understand what is the issue, at the present moment, on this subject. I wish the country to understand that *it means nothing else but the dismemberment of the United Kingdom.*"

On the 7th of November, 1882, Mr. Gladstone reminded the House of Commons that: "I have my own opinions upon the interests of Ireland. . . . Was the hon. member in jest, when he said: Why do you not take advantage of this opportunity to advance the power of local self-government in Ireland? Well, sir, I tell the hon. gentleman that there is not a subject which I could name, on which I personally feel a more profound anxiety, than on the local self-government of Ireland, and local self-government upon a liberal and effective basis." Lest any remarks of mine should appear partial and prejudiced, let us seek the judgment of an impartial critic—nay, one who wrote in the interests of the Government. The *Times*, of November 9, said: "Lord Randolph Churchill has lately held out the hand of fellowship to the followers of Mr.

"Parnell; and perhaps Mr. Gladstone's vague language yesterday may be meant to show that the Irish would be foolish to carry their grievances and their votes to a party which, being in opposition, can have nothing substantial to give. The Prime Minister's argument, addressed to the Irish members, was that when the *clôture* is in force, public business will be rapidly despatched, and that, among the measures the Government have at heart, there is none more important than local self-government in Ireland on a liberal and effective basis." The *Standard* affirmed that, respecting Home Rule, "the Prime Minister has voluntarily contracted obligations towards the Irish Separatists, which they may call upon him, at any moment, to discharge." The Romanist and National *Freeman's Journal* declared that "this is not the first time on which Mr. Gladstone has indicated that the question of Home Rule was in his thoughts; but he has never yet declared so clearly and distinctly his opinion of its necessity, or the extent to which it should be conceded, as he did yesterday. The significance of that utterance can scarcely be exaggerated. . . . The United Kingdom will recognise that the cause of Home Rule in Ireland has been distinctly advanced, and brought more clearly into the domain of practical politics, by Mr. Gladstone's speech."

At the beginning of 1883 the scheme had begun to flag. But Dr. Croke, Popish Archbishop of Cashel, came to the rescue, by a letter in the *Times* of February 10, in which he said: "I had begun to hope that we had seen the last of Irish famines, but I am more than ever thoroughly convinced that, until we get, into our own hands, the management of our own affairs, and shake off the yoke of the bloated and ruthless oligarchy that continues to oppress us, we can never expect to enjoy the blessings of social peace, or the plenty that is known to prevail among every other free-born people." At the same time, Mr. Gladstone, who was in the south of France, took care to proclaim anew that he was in favour of Home Rule, and

to telegraph the information all over the world. That telegraphic communication was of course never contradicted nor even corrected. It was first published on February 10, in Mr. Gladstone's organ, the *Daily News*. Mr. Gladstone said to Mr. Clémenceau, "with intense earnestness,"—no third person apparently being present—"The curse of Ireland has been centralisation. What I hope and desire"—what I labour for, and have above all things at heart, "is to decentralise administrative authority there. We have disestablished the Church; we have relieved the tenant of many grievances; *we are now trying to produce a state of things, which will make the humblest Irishman realize that he is a governing agent, and that the government is to be carried on for him, and by him.*" The reporter, we are told, related "exactly what happened;" and thus we learn that, as the curse of Ireland in the past has been centralisation, so, in the future, autonomy or Home Rule was to be its blessing. Mr. Gladstone was "intensely earnest" about that, and he had it "above all things at heart." It was remarked that Lord Hartington said, about this time, at Bacup: "It is a libel upon the Irish Government to say, as has been said lately by a distinguished man—Mr. Herbert Gladstone—that the Government of Ireland is the least national, and the most centralised in the world. . . . It would be madness, in my opinion, to volunteer to give to Ireland more extended self-government, unless we can receive from the representatives of the Irish people some assurance that this boon would not be misused for the purposes of agitation, and for the purpose of weakening the authority and power of the Government." Mr. Herbert Gladstone, son of the Premier, and a Lord of the Treasury, had just delivered—not an impromptu and ill-considered speech—but a written "lecture," to his constituents at Leeds, on February 12. It was certainly the most outspoken declaration in favour of Home Rule that had ever been delivered by a Minister of the Crown. There were, he thought, strong

a priori arguments for the adoption of Home Rule; and he did not see that the establishment of a Parliament in Dublin would endanger the Queen's authority in Ireland. To this he attached the utmost importance: that the Irish people should, before long, have the command of the police, and, it appears, the control of a local army also.

On February 27, 1880, indeed, Mr. Gladstone had made a declaration or manifesto at Marylebone, in which he proclaimed that: "the more they could detach subordinate functions from Parliament, and give satisfaction, not only to Ireland, but to every portion of the United Kingdom, so much the better." He then added in a vein of irony: "As to Home Rule,—this guilty thing! so guilty that you must not touch it, nor even smell it! the thing which is to *dismember the empire*!—for that is what the Tories now define Home Rule to be,—are there no Home Rulers on the Tory benches? Is not Mr. King-Harman a Home Ruler? and has he not, in the full exuberance of his views, been appointed by the Prime Minister, Lord Beaconsfield, to be Lord Lieutenant of the County of Roscommon, in order there to practise the dismemberment of the Empire?" I shall have more to say to Mr. King-Harman. At present let us return to the year 1874, and see how the elections were worked, and by what power.

On the 12th of January, 1874, twelve days before the dissolution was suddenly proclaimed, and when no one had any suspicion of the stir that was in store for them, a Jesuit rector wrote to me: "If you want a seat in the next House, why not go in for Home Rule, pure and simple. . . . I conceive Home Rule may be presented in a form which the most conservative might accept. And why should you not accept it? In the main, Home Rule ought to mean: *Justice to Catholic Ireland*." On the 31st of January, he wrote: "The Platform: *Home Rule, Catholic Education, Amnesty* (of the Fenian prisoners), I think you may fairly commit yourself to."

After the elections, the Fenian element was by far the strongest section of the new Irish party. The simply Roman Catholic element was weak, puerile, and without energy. It was a mere shadow. Moreover, the two great parties of the state were not evenly balanced, as had been hoped and expected. Mr. D'Israeli had returned with an overwhelming majority. A letter from one of the wire-pullers in Ireland, dated January 22, 1875, after expressing disappointment at the result, said: "the attitude at present must be a waiting one. But whenever *parties shall be more evenly balanced*, and that day may not be very remote,—*the fate of Governments will depend on the Irish Catholic vote.*" Later in the year, November 19, a well-informed politician in England, wrote in these terms: "In Ireland, the priests seem to be labouring all they can to mix with the crowd, in order to lead them." The reply from Ireland, dated November 22, admitted this statement of the case: "I agree with you in your estimate of the *Leaders* of the Home Rule party. But I look forward confidently to a change for the better. . . . You have rightly understood the conduct of the priests. . . . It is a necessity for an Irish Parliamentary Representative to adopt the same course. . . . Butt's Land Bill is, in truth, a most revolutionary measure, and some of its provisions would lead to confiscation. But the Home Rule member who would vote against it, would be held to a severe reckoning." On January 15, 1877, the same gentleman wrote: "The Catholic bishops and clergy are daily falling into the Home Rule movement. They want to have a united Irish party, not so much for Home Rule as for education, *and other purposes.* . . . Notwithstanding the questionable character of some of the Home Rulers, if ecclesiastical support be given unanimously and heartily, the Irish vote must make itself felt." He then mentioned having been shown letters from Colonel Taylor and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach (the Irish Secretary) to Colonel King-Harman, promising him the support of the

Conservative party, if he would stand as both a Home Ruler and a supporter of the Conservative Government. This was no news to me; for both Mr. Butt, and Colonel King-Harman himself, had told me the same. In fact, Colonel Taylor wanted to lead Colonel King-Harman up to the table to be sworn, in company with Mr. Butt, "so as to signify a closer union of the two parties." But, on Mr. Butt refusing, Colonel Taylor and a son of the Duke of Abercorn, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, did so. A little later, Major Myles O'Reilly, a Home Rule member, received from Mr. D'Israeli the post of Inspector of Education, with a salary of £1,200 a year. A similar post was offered to another Home Rule member. Six weeks before Mr. D'Israeli went out, in 1880, Mr. George Morris, another Home Rule member, was appointed to the Irish Local Government Board. He was brother to a Liberal Home Rule member whom Mr. D'Israeli had already made a judge.

No. XXI.

BEFORE the middle of January, 1880, the *Aurora*, the new organ of the Pope (who was supposed to be rising, like a Sun of Righteousness, in the East), presented the world with the view of the Vatican regarding Ireland; and with revelations which might influence persons of weight in England. To hear its lucubrations now, is like listening to a tocsin of warning. It tells of measures which were then expected of the Government of England, whether directed by a D'Israeli or a Gladstone—measures which have, alas! been successfully thrust on the Parliament, by the adroitness of the two leaders, and the mystification caused by these political opponents coalescing in their action. The first number of the *Aurora* said: "Although it appears that the news of a rebellion in Ireland is unfounded, it is, at any rate, certain that

“England is beginning to experience the difficulties and dangers, or at least the inconveniences of the principles the late Lord Palmerston’s Government potentially contributed to diffuse through Europe. Ireland has, for a long time, been a country agitated by many passions, for the reason that the most sacred rights of the ancient Irish inhabitants were violated by Anglican intolerance and rigid laws, and that the oppression of the Catholics had the effect of causing them to seek to obtain justice through secret associations. To-day the injustice has, in great part, been redressed ; but much remains to be done for the poor Irish, *who have been despoiled of their land. . . . Ireland, therefore, asks for a Parliament of her own, as she had in times past ;* and maintains that it is neither just nor reasonable that the laws of Ireland should be made in London, instead of in Dublin. . . . What is more, *the Irish cannot forget that the land they now see in the possession of others, was taken, by force, from their ancestors, who legitimately owned it.* The flames are spreading, inasmuch as other persons, who care less for Ireland than for the triumph of Revolutionary and Radical principles, fan them. But these flames must, one day or another, break out, *and may extend to edifices more secure.* The present condition of Ireland is the result, not only of the conquest, but of the wars of religion, and the wars of legitimacy. To remedy entirely this condition is impossible. But it is necessary to prepare, or to allow liberty of legally forming, a more equitable and a more tolerable state of things for *the people who are descended from the ancient proprietors.* This, many men of sense believe, cannot be obtained by better means than a *Parliament of her own for Ireland. And, perhaps, this will be the best remedy,* if that Parliament—which, it seems, the English now incline towards granting—shall be composed of upright and religious men.” The *Voce della Verità*, the Jesuit organ, simultaneously published an article on the same subject, and in the same sense. It

said : "The present agitation in Ireland, in our opinion, is
"nothing more than the continuation of the great move-
"ment initiated by O'Connell ; and it will have a happy
"issue if the revolutionary passions, falsifying its scope, do
"not convert it into a rebellion—into an episode of the
"Great Revolution, which, for nearly a century, has con-
"vulsed the nation, and the result of which has been the
"confiscation of their most sacred rights in favour of a
"rival sect, which tyrannises over them. The patience of
"the Irish, their patriotism, their respect for the law, and,
"above all, for the Catholic religion, which commands
"obedience to legitimate powers, and which, in return for
"this obedience, promises every good thing ; the sense of
"the English, their love of true liberty, the now extinct
"religious hatreds, and finally the fulness of the times,
"and the unanimous consent of all real Liberals in that
"country, give us ground for hoping that 1880 *will close*
"*the era of the agitations commenced in 1828* (for Catholic
"emancipation). *Yes, the Irish will acquire complete liberty,*
"*and will break the chains which still bind them to the*
"*servitude of the soil, remaining faithful to their religious*
"*traditions.*"

The general election of 1880 was very near at hand. Those who knew the recondite principle of affairs, foresaw that Mr. Gladstone would resume power. They knew that he would cut off the remaining branch of the "*Upas-tree of Protestant ascendancy*," and spoliage the Irish landlords, because they were Protestants, to the benefit of the Irish farmers, because they were Romanists. That measure the Vatican had commanded ; and also the fostering of the Home Rule bantling, which had been conceived and brought forth by the Conservative party, and decreed to subsist until Ireland should have her own Parliament, elected by the Romanist descendants of the ancient Romanist owners of the soil.

What ! Does any one doubt that it was a Conservative bantling and a D'Israeliian conception ? Turn then, and

enter the "*League Hall*," at Liverpool, on February 3, 1880. Hear the eloquent barrister and Home Rule member of Parliament, the late A. M. Sullivan. He said : " We dis-
 " cover in those officials—Col. Taylor, Sir M. Hicks-Beach,
 " etc., the very Conservative officials who led us into the
 " Home Rule movement. Now, it is very well known, the
 " Home Rule movement was, and is, in a certain measure, a
 " compromise between us, the Irish Nationalists, and certain
 " Conservative politicians, who, in the year 1870, from the
 " Conservative camp, came to us Nationalists with an in-
 " vitation to enter upon this Home Rule movement. In-
 " fluential agents and representatives of the Conservative
 " party, some of them, to my knowledge, in constant com-
 " munication with the party managers in London, pressed
 " upon us in Ireland to enter on the Home Rule movement.
 " I tell Lord Sandon, as a chief of the Conservative party,
 " much as he pretends now to denounce Home Rule, that
 " the Conservative party supplied the money that fought
 " some of the earliest Home Rule election contests in
 " Ireland, (and this, *Loyal Irishmen* of the green placard
 " may rejoice to know) ; further, that *the contest of the only*
 " *open and avowed Fenian candidate in Ireland, Mr. O' Dono-*
 " *van Rossa, for Tipperary, was fought on money supplied*
 " *by the Conservative party.* I will give the name of the
 " Conservative agent who advanced the funds. Further, I
 " state that the members of the Conservative party who
 " were most prominently active, in election matters, in iden-
 " tifying themselves with us Home Rulers and Nationalists,
 " on a certain day were offered honours and appointments
 " *by the men who now compose* Her Majesty's Govern-
 " ment." ¹

Not content with throwing down the gauntlet at Liver-
 pool, Mr. Sullivan further challenged contradiction, and
 courted an action for libel, if false, by writing a letter
 to the *Daily Telegraph* (February 4). In that letter he
 asserted point blank, and said he was prepared to prove,

¹ i.e. Lord Beaconsfield's Government.

that: "*The whole Home Rule agitation has been got up, and kept up by the influence and money of Conservative leaders and agents; that the money was supplied by Conservatives, not only to fight the Home Rule battle in many Irish constituencies; but that the only open and avowed FENIAN candidature in Ireland was supported by members of the Conservative party.*" Mr. Sullivan was no obscure or contemptible individual. He was a member of Parliament of considerable influence, and a barrister of great acumen. His assertions could not be passed by with mycterismus or a sniff. He had more than once asserted that Home Rule was a scheme of Conservative origin; that it had been started by the leaders of the Conservative party: that its battles were fought by Conservative gold; that the candidature of the Fenian, O'Donovan Rossa, was supported by the influence of the Conservative party; and further, that a number of Home Rulers were offered honours and rewards by the Conservative Premier. Moreover, Mr. Sullivan asserted that he and other Home Rulers were "led to believe" that Mr. D'Israeli would establish a "domestic Legislature" in Ireland.

On February 6, Mr. Sullivan, not having received any reply, reiterated his challenge in the columns of the *Times*. He said; "*Of the funds expended in the Home Rule propaganda, between 1869 and 1872, in election contests and otherwise, at least one-half, and more probably three-fourths, as I shall show, were found by our Conservative section.*" The Conservatives declared they "would throw themselves heartily into a movement for the restoration to Ireland of a domestic Parliament, supreme as to domestic affairs. For a long time *the bulk of the Irish Catholics who were either Liberals, Repealers, or Nationalists*, viewed those utterances with mistrust and suspicion; and those of us who, like myself, urged a frank and cordial reception of them, were denounced as agents and dupes of the Tories. See the pages of the *Dublin Evening Post*, Whig organ, and the *Irish Times*,

“Conservative organ, throughout 1870 to 1873. At length
“ . . . the Conservative gentlemen issued an invitation
“ to some fifty or sixty prominent and influential men
“ . . . to hold a conference on the subject. . . .
“ Those gentlemen were, in social position and public life,
“ among the highest and foremost, the most active and
“ influential, of the Conservative party in Ireland. . . .
“ Yet Lord Sandon, Sir W. Dyke, and Colonel Taylor
“ declare that there is not a shadow of foundation for the
“ statement that it was upon an invitation proceeding from
“ the Conservative camp that the Irish Nationalists com-
“ menced this Home Rule Movement.” Then, after giving
many details, he repeated his assertion “that two Fenian
“ candidatures, that of O’Donovan Rossa and that of C.
“ J. Kickham, were supported with Conservative money;
“ and that the men who most largely sacrificed money,
“ time, and exertion in establishing and advancing the
“ Home Rule Movement, were, before our eyes, singled
“ out for marks of favour by the leaders and chiefs of the
“ Conservative party ; and yet Lord Sandon declares
“ boldly that there is not a shadow of foundation for the
“ statement.”

That awkward revelation was hard to meet ; harder still to explain away. Yet why should it have been awkward ? If Home Rule was, what we were persuaded, an honest means of redressing the wrongs of Ireland, and staving off or preventing a Revolution, and bloodshed and slaughter, which were imminent (as Mr. D’Israeli averred over and over again to me, when he urged and entreated, persuaded and promised, for two years, and got me to declare for Home Rule), then why be ashamed of it ? Why not have avowed it ? Perhaps consciousness of deception made him ashamed. Was that so ? The awkwardness might have been due entirely to the tortuous conduct of Mr. D’Israeli. Certainly, sinuosity was an essential element in his character. He *secretly* fostered Home Rule, aided Fenians, and pleased the Romanists.

Openly he denounced the Home Rulers as traitors to their Queen and country, and secured the support of Protestants. Therefore was his obedient henchman, Colonel Taylor, compelled to give, to this true story, a direct telegraphic denial. An Irish politician of considerable eminence, and intimately acquainted with all the sinuosities of Irish politics, wrote to me on Feb. 9, 1880:—"I have read Sullivan's speech and letter, but did not see Colonel Taylor's telegram in denial. He (Taylor) may not have taken an *active* step about Home Rule; but to a *certainly*, he connived at the support given to it by his friends here (in Ireland). *The Conservatives first set the movement on foot.* . . . They are a sad lot, taking them all round." A sad lot, indeed! But what was the occasion of all this pother? Lord Ramsay, now Lord Dalhousie, and a member of the late Government, was a candidate for Liverpool in Mr. Gladstone's interest. He received orders from head-quarters, not *directly* from Mr. Gladstone; but directly, by telegram, from Lord Hartington,—to take the Home Rule pledge. In sum, a Jesuit had invented Home Rule; Mr. D'Israeli had pushed it on; and then, when it became necessary for Mr. D'Israeli to drop it, Mr. Gladstone took up the running, and kept the Home Rule game alive.

Colonel King-Harman is an excellent gentleman, and prominent Conservative member. In his election address, of January, 1877, he said: "I raised the cry of Home Rule at a time when no other man in Ireland had raised it. In Longford (election) and in Dublin (election) I fought for it. . . . Home Rule involves every other point in the programme, as, if we had Home Rule, everything else would follow." When Colonel King-Harman entered the House of Commons, what happened? Of course, we should suppose that he was repudiated by Lord Beaconsfield, and shunned by the Conservative leaders. Not at all. At least, then, he was twitted with his complicity with Home Rule? Quite the contrary;

Colonel Taylor, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Lord Hamilton, the son of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, introduced him to the House, and led him up to the table, amid Conservative cheers, to subscribe the oath. Very soon afterwards (April 24, 1877), he was selected to second Mr. Shaw's Home Rule motion ; and reminded the House that "*the first body of men who spoke up for Home Rule were principally Protestant Conservative gentlemen.*" On October 7, 1878, he was rewarded by Mr. D'Israeli with the Lord Lieutenancy of the County Roscommon.

On February 11, 1880, Mr. Sullivan wrote another letter to the *Times* :—"It is assuredly remarkable that, serious "as were my statements, and publicly and explicitly as I "gave the names of living men, and dates, circumstances "and particulars, not a solitary instance of refutation has "up to this hour appeared. . . . I have, since Satur- "day last, received from Ireland such a mass of documents ". . . that I must abandon my original intention of "including them in a letter to the *Times*, and now propose "publishing them as a pamphlet." Ah ! Sullivan, I knew you well. You were a poor man, and you rose from the humblest station, by your brilliant talents alone. You were always poor, but you were honest ; and I doubt not that you refused the bribe of thousands sterling which was certain to have been made as soon as the Conservative leaders learned your intention of publishing. But you sprang suddenly into considerable practice at the bar, and you had not the time, or you lost the inclination, of giving to the world your pamphlet.

The *Mémoriale Diplomatique*—a paper which is connected with most of the Cabinets of Europe, and which somehow obtains secret information, which proves correct—fully corroborated Mr. Sullivan. On February 4, 1880, it said : "It was the Conservatives who, in 1870, paid for "and pushed on the elections of Home Rule candidates. "It would be very easy for me personally to furnish very "curious proofs of the alliance between the Tories and

"Home Rulers. It is, however, just to admit that as soon as Mr. D'Israeli acceded to power, he threw over and forgot his former associates, and abandoned them to the fury of his friends." A previous number of the same journal (April 19, 1879), wrote concerning me: "He was most unworthily deceived by Mr. D'Israeli, who urged him and almost forced him to join the Home Rulers, and then, without any sense of shame, abandoned him; because Mr. D'Israeli did not find him to be the pliable and docile tool which he had supposed."

It is very well known that the Home Rule leader, Mr. Butt, was in constant communication with Mr. D'Israeli's Cabinet. The Irish University Bill, which Lord Cairns introduced in 1879, had been drafted by Mr. Butt, in Dublin, and in communication with the Irish Roman Catholic prelates, only a few months before his death. Now Mr. Butt is gone. Mr. D'Israeli is gone. Home Rule is gone, leaving Fenianism in its place.¹ Colonel Taylor too has gone. And now,—what doth it profit? Their memory is already tarnished; because their works have followed them. An honest and fearless policy might not have brought the emoluments of office, and the pleasant sense of power, and the sweet breath of ignorant adulation; but it would have caused their memories to rise up and be honoured, long after they themselves had been laid to rest; it would have brought them a far greater gain in Grace and Light, which never pass away, but increase unto the perfect day. On one occasion, I expostulated with a statesman at the lies which, to my knowledge, were uttered day by day in the House, and out of it. I expressed my indignation at what I regarded as a shameful evil. To my surprise, he answered quietly: "Ah! it is quite impossible to carry on the Government without it." "Then," said I, "I would prefer not to return to office. But it seems that the devil, for once, was

¹ Written July 23, 1885.

"caught telling a truth, when he said, of the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them, that they were his to give away to whom he would."

No. XXII.

BEFORE I describe the Irish party, it is necessary to say something of the *modus operandi* of the political Jesuits. I have been with a Jesuit when his letters arrived. There were reports, not only from the great towns in Great Britain, but also from Turkey, Syria, Circassia, and even from Australia, New Zealand, India, and the United States. He told me frequently that his followers obey him without a word or question; and that if he should order any one to stab himself with that dagger, he would do so; or if he should order him to jump off the top of the house, he would jump without questioning. A few years before the time that I learned this, there had been the Sonderbund war, in which Lord Palmerston, our last Protestant Minister, supported the Federal Government, against the Jesuits or Ultramontane party, who upheld the Swiss Cantonal rights (Home Rule). By creating delays, Lord Palmerston managed to prevent the interference of France and Austria, until the Radicals had attained success. On November 20, 1847, Lord Palmerston wrote to Lord Ponsonby, requiring "that the foundation of the arrangements should be, that the Jesuits should be removed from the whole of the territory of the Swiss Confederation; . . . and that unless they leave Switzerland entirely, there will be no chance of peace in that country." In a very few years, that centre of restless intrigue was transferred to this country, which is now crowded with Jesuits. For years the English people have been feeling the weight of their hand, without knowing that it is theirs, and without energy to cast off the incubus.

At the same time, I learned that the Jesuits had placed writers, in their interest, on the staff of writers, or else on the management, of nearly every newspaper, except the *Times* (which they could not compass in Delane's time); and that they were in the practice of sending articles or "Leaders," gratuitously, to nearly every periodical, for publication. Not one of those writers was, of course, ever so incautious as to "show his hand"; nor did the articles go so far as to betray the source from whence they emanated. In 1843 or 1844, I remember reading an article in the *Times* itself, which struck me very much. It began, if I remember, with the words "Francis Borgia." Years afterwards, a Jesuit acknowledged to me that he had written the article, and was very soon afterwards turned off from the *Times* staff for it. He was a wonderful writer; but incautiously he went too fast. The Jesuits are usually content to lead the public mind by little steps. To say more, may betray the origin. It may, moreover, give a shock to a few public men here and there, and so lead to a revulsion of feeling. The little steps long continued,—the very gradual, but persistent advance, is sure to attain its end. Why? because nearly every man is content with looking at the events of the day, and discussing them, and then laying them aside and thinking no more about them. Not one man in a hundred thousand tabulates, and watches the *progress* of events, and detects the little steps, and observes the direction in which they tend. It is a long and laborious process; but it repays in the end. It is the exact converse of the little steps in advance.

Of course the Jesuit writers, on the various papers and periodicals, take every side in politics. It matters not whence the public are led, so long as they are ultimately led to the desired point. Since the great upheaving of 1789, the efforts of the Jesuits have been persistently directed to a recovery of their former ascendancy over states and rulers. Before the Revolution they insinuated

themselves into Courts, and gained influence directly over princes and statesmen. Since 1789, power has been attached to electoral majorities (that is, "the people"); and to newspapers (that is, "the press"); and to money (that is, "financial power"). The whole effort of the Jesuits has, therefore, been directed to manipulating these three sources of influence ; and, of late years, Mr. D'Israeli assisted them enormously in gaining financial power, as a Jesuit explained to me. The *Golos*, a Russian newspaper, had found it out just before, and published it, while Mr. D'Israeli was Prime Minister, and openly dared him to bring an action for libel ; and when an apology was asked of the Russian Government, it refused. As to the people, the Jesuits have been untiring in their efforts in favour of candidates who would benefit them, or at least would not be likely to injure their Society. *Faute de mieux*, they give all their support to those plastic individuals who have no ideas of their own, and can either be led or driven in any direction, without knowing or heeding whither they are tending.

After the elections, all the new members are eagerly watched ; and what they say and do and think is tabulated ; and preliminary canters are held in the House, before any serious step is attempted ; and so the Whips can tell you before every division, exactly who will vote on each side, especially as they have a hold on many members by knowing the things they have done (which have "*committed*" them), and being aware of the things they want (which amounts to bribing them). Illicit means are also employed, in the restless endeavour to gain influence and power. At one time a heavy bill was run up, for trivialities, by a solicitor, against a member who had not the means of paying it ; and then payment was deferred as long as he voted and acted in the way he was bid. At another time, when a young member was gambling for high stakes, a trap was laid to induce him to act fraudulently with his cards. At another time, a young member for one of the

Midland Counties was asked to call and witness a document for an old widowed lady. He went and found, instead, a Lais or Aspasia in complete *deshabille*, who allured him, by softest charms and wiles—which proved, however, not to be irresistible—into the net which had been prepared to entangle him. A similar, but worse, attempt was made at a Turkish bath in 1860 ; and was also evaded.

If the trap had been successful, if the power had once been obtained, and the member had “committed himself,” then that power would have speedily been exercised. The member of Parliament would have been bidden to do some discreditable political act—to do some “dirty work,” as a “party hack.” Under threat of exposure, he would have been compelled to do it ; and then he would have been anxious that this act too should not be published. Thus, a second chain and fetter would have been riveted to bind him. Presently, a third would have been forged, still stronger and more discreditable than the others ; and so, on, until he had given up all hopes of escape, and had become submissive, and resigned himself, without questioning, to do all the bidding of his taskmasters. Then, at once, he would have found his reward in “getting on.” His speeches would have been cheered to the echo, and reported in leaded type. He would have been spoken of as “the “future leader,” perhaps, and have risen rapidly to emoluments, and honours, and offices, and distinction. Everywhere he thenceforward would smell the sweet incense of adulation ; and his name would appear in newspaper articles, which are the wholesale stock whence conversations are retailed ; and his sayings and doings would be chronicled by all the provincial newspapers throughout the kingdom. A very old Irish member said to me, in the spring of 1859 : “If you want to get on in the House, the “sooner you get rid of your conscience the better.” And an old Jesuit, not a year later, warned me in these words : “England knows not her greatest men ;” meaning that honest men do not rise to fame. Because he who shrinks

from the first evil act, or who, having found himself bound with the willow withes of Delilah, bursts them asunder and declares boldly for freedom and a good conscience, speedily finds that his lot is to "go down in the world." Sneers and innuendoes are spread about in society. Witty gibes are invented and repeated. "Put it in an epigrammatic form," said a Jesuit to me: "pointed sayings are like barbed arrows, which fly and stick." Newspapers maintain a chilling silence about such a one. No honours fall to his lot. No chances are given him to attain any distinction. Every possible avenue to influence and fame is carefully closed to him, because he did not consent to be a rascal. In the solitude and silence of a desert, and its loneliness too, for he will have no friends, he will be allowed to enjoy "the answer of a good conscience before God." The sense that he, for the sake of the Judge and King of all the earth, had endeavoured to do right and obey His laws, will be all that is left him to make up for the shrug of ignorance or sneer of contempt.

I have been led into this somewhat long explanation by a characteristic of the Irish party—namely, the principle of implicit obedience—*tantum ac cadaver*—which Mr. D'Israeli always laboured to establish in the Conservative party, and which Mr. Gladstone, with his "imperious will," might have liked to see in the Liberal party. That principle was made apparent, from the very first, in the Irish party. The elections took place in February, 1874. On March 13, 1874, Mr. P. J. Smyth wrote:—"You may take for granted that the one object of the Conference, its resolutions, its committee of nine, and its subscriptions of two guineas for preliminary expenses, was to lay the groundwork for a dictatorship, with Butt as leader, and Henry as supplemental leader, and Sullivan, Callan, O'Sullivan, and one or two more as supporters, managers, and wire-pullers. These persons will act together, and the purpose of the resolutions was to commit the whole body to support *them*. They will frame bills and motions

"and commit them to such hands as they please ; and they
 "will seek to prevent an independent member from initiating anything without their consent. The whole thing
 "is a conspiracy against the personal freedom of members,
 "and consequently against the rights of constituencies and
 "the liberties of the people. . . . I do not consider,
 "for example, that a party composed of Protestants and
 "Catholics has a right, *as a party*, to take any action on
 "purely Catholic questions ;—and education may be so
 "regarded. The danger is that the Irish representation
 "may be degraded, by allowing its movements to be regulated by a clique, as is practically the case with the
 "Home Rule League."

It was, indeed, intended from the very first, that Mr. Butt should be absolute ruler over the Irish party ; and that Mr. Butt should be always in close communication with Mr. D'Israeli. Yet he held in his hand all the strings of the Fenian conspiracy, ever since the time that he advocated their cause with so much ability. As leader of the Irish party, he was the Lieutenant-General under Mr. D'Israeli ; he could arrange plans in his Freemason's Lodge in Dublin, and advise the Fenians in all their schemes. What an exceptional man for a leader under Mr. D'Israeli's direction ! What a great addition to Mr. D'Israeli's strength !

(From the *English Churchman* July 30th, 1885.)

The late Rev. Dr. Tresham Gregg said truly many years ago, in reference to the laying aside of Protestant principles, "The Conservative party have thrown away the only flag that ever led it to
 "victory."

I have read many Conservative speeches and election addresses, and, except in one instance, and that occurred in Liverpool, I entirely failed to see any anti-ritualistic or, what is virtually the same, anti-Romish feeling expressed. Since the reign of James II., which commenced in 1685, no statesman has done so much for Popery as Mr. Gladstone has done. Now that he has gone out of office, our party can point out all the harm he has done in foreign politics, war, finance, etc., but are like dumb dogs as to his greatest fault. What a chance the appointment of Mr. Linklater gives to raise an anti-Gladstone cry on Protestant grounds. True ; but Lord Salisbury cannot unfurl the

forgotten flag. He has given office to Lord Bury, a pervert ; and you, Mr. Editor, have very properly pointed out several other pervers in office ; and, what is worse, these pervers are connected with the administration of both the Army and Navy. Here is 1685 over again. Although I have invariably voted for Conservative candidates, I cannot feel very enthusiastic in favour of Salisbury or Churchill. I have refused all tickets for Conservative meetings since Lord Salisbury took the lead. I cannot forget that he united with Gladstone to oppose the Religious Worship Bill. Randolph Churchill insulted the Protestant clergy of the West of Ireland by asking them to pledge themselves not to proselyte in the distribution of relief, while asking no such pledge from the priests ! It is only a few months since, that he argued in favour of "Catholic" education in Ireland. I should like to see a grand National Protestant movement on the lines of 1688. This cannot, under present circumstances, be successful all at once. There is not sufficient Protestant feeling in the country to warrant it. The people have been going mad after "church restoration" and "harvest festivals," and require a good deal of awakening to the danger they are in. Monmouth's rebellion was not popular in 1685, but William was enthusiastically received by all classes in 1688. So, perhaps, in 1888 Protestantism may awake from its slumber of 1885.

G. W. M.

LIVERPOOL, *July 27th*, 1885.

No. XXIII.

THE Irish party consisted of a few gentlemen—the majority of whom were Protestants—of declared Fenians, of Fenian sympathisers, of ultra-Radicals, of amphibious creatures with flabby natures (of the “jelly-fish” order), of a good many nominal Roman Catholics, also of flabby natures, and of a very few earnest Roman Catholics. Nearly all the Roman Catholics, nominal and sincere, were guided by the Irish priests. What then were the priests? A few letters of counsel from an acute politician and well-known Irish Roman Catholic gentleman, will make this plain. The first is dated June 6, 1875, “The priests wisely, and in “accordance with their history, sympathise with the aspirations of the people, and thereby direct and control their “action. There are some difficulties, at present, in the “way of creating a Catholic Irish Parliamentary party; “but they are not insurmountable.” Another letter of August 20: “An Irish Catholic member *must be a Nationalist*, within certain limits, to be of weight in the country. “The priests owe their political power, in a great measure, “to their sympathy with *national* questions.” Again, on September 12, he wrote: “The present time is particularly “inopportune for an exclusively Catholic political movement. *It has always been considered here, that Catholic measures are materially advanced, in the House of Commons, by Protestant advocacy.* I am sure now, when “educational legislation has become so great a necessity, “the Irish bishops will not sanction any step which would “imperil the unity of the Irish vote, or provoke a charge “of exclusive political sectarianism. But I believe that “the working of the ballot, and the course of events, will “of themselves make the Irish Parliamentary Home Rule “party almost exclusively Catholic.”

The following letter, written on October 11, 1875, gives the results of the observations of two sessions: “During

"these two sessions I have observed, on the part of the "Home Rule leaders, a determination to keep the whole "management and direction of the party in their own "hands." This, then, was the reason why the Irish party was steeped in wild revolutionary projects, miscalled *National*. There was the Roman Catholic party, exhibiting and acting on the principles of ultra-Liberalism, the principles of revolution!

The same acute Roman Catholic politician wrote, on July 6, 1876: "A Catholic party, not identified with "*National* feeling, is entirely without influence in Ireland. "This may appear strange in so Catholic a people, who "have endured so much for the Faith. But when you "learn that the Irish word *Sassenach* means, with the "peasantry, a Protestant and an Englishman, you will understand the religious and political connection. O'Connell understood this; and it was the secret of his success. "The truth is, that, to give Irish representation popular "support, there must be a political cry: *Repeal; Home "Rule*; anything, no matter how vague, that will give an "opportunity of pointing out the evils of British connection, and the hope of deliverance." That is to say, an Irish party can subsist only by pandering to the hatred of England, of Englishmen, and of Protestantism; and by inflaming the desire, and encouraging the hope of separating Ireland from England.

A large section of the Irish party, who were really aiming at revolution *pur et simple*, were careful to keep the management of the party in their own hands. They were content to be directed by the priests, but exacted an unqualified obedience from the party. With the exception of the revolutionary leaders, the rest of the party were supine and careless; while the priests were only anxious to keep ahead of the people, in what were called *National aspirations*. Moreover, those priests had made for themselves the rule, that all Roman Catholic questions should be worked by Protestants, in order not to arouse a suspicion

in the minds of the people of England. A letter, written from Ireland on October 25, 1875, by one of the shrewdest observers of the Irish Roman Catholics, says: "The respectability and intelligence of this country, so far as it is free to speak, pronounce an opinion, the reverse of complimentary, on the Home Rule actors. This is, no doubt, discouraging. But it is a state of things almost inevitable in the commencement of such a movement. It may, however, be made exceedingly useful in the creation of an independent Irish party. The ballot is available to supply the materials, and I trust to time for having them of a better description than at present. At all events, *it is a necessity*, just now, to be a decided Home Ruler. *I believe it will pay in the end.*" Truly the ballot has been available "to supply materials." But what kind of materials did it supply at the ensuing election of 1880? It is all very fine to "trust to time," when you can do nothing else. It is good to "trust to time" where age is in itself an advantage—as in port wine; or else where decay is desired—as in Stilton cheese. But where time is given for the consolidation of false principles; where time is provided for the public mind to accept fallacies, and to proceed to logical deductions from them; where time is employed in strengthening, combining, and giving power and influence to an unscrupulous party, which has in view other aims than the good of the Empire; then time may be trusted to be productive of evils only. When disease assails a valued friend, who trusts to time? Is not time anticipated, in such a case, by the efforts of the best physicians? A fell disease had infected the greater part of Ireland. The virus then germinated; and it spread, in process of time, to England and Scotland. In that case, "trusting to time" was, therefore, the excuse for waiting until the disease should have obtained its full scope, and the virus should have had ample leisure to spread and infect. The aim in view, was not the benefit of the empire of Great Britain.

The same acute observer of Irish politics seems, from his

letter of February 7, 1878, not to have drawn a warning from his own observations : " I entirely agree with all you say of the Irish party. . . . Every rational man knows that the Amendment to the Address was a sham ; that the Land Bill (Butt's), just defeated, was introduced to enable the orators to advertise their cheap patriotism, through the Irish press. Yet the people are gulled by these displays, and believe in them ; and, to keep one's place as an Irish representative for a popular constituency, a person must at least vote on such occasions. The priests, to preserve their influence in Irish politics, must, *even against their own convictions*, go with the popular voice. Besides, their sympathies, in general, incline that way. They come from, live by, and are, in their daily life, associated with the people." It was a mistaken policy, that of the priests. If they had stood out for right, and justice, and law, instead of favouring the crimes of the Land League ; and inflaming the people, from the altar, to rob their landlords ; and inciting them to resist the properly constituted authorities ;—if they had corrected the errors of the people, and rebuked their criminal desires, then they would not only have been set up on a moral height above the people, but would have won the respect of the Protestants of England and Scotland. They knew this in their hearts ; for their acts were perpetrated " against their convictions." Truly " their sympathies inclined that way ;" but the head of their Church, in rebuking " Liberal Catholics," had warned them that " Liberalism and (Roman) Catholicism can no more be combined than darkness and light." He, the supposed infallible head of the Church, proclaimed that " Liberalism and Catholicism are contradictory," and therefore mutually destructive ; and that he who puts himself at the head of a Liberal movement and furthers it, is doing his best to destroy the light, and substitute for it the realm of darkness : so said the Pope. If that assertion of the " Infallible " is true, then the priests and bishops of Ireland, by their acts and

words, and the Pope himself, by his silence or secret encouragement, have done their best to substitute infidelity for Romanism, in Ireland.

The policy of the Irish priests has always been to head the National party ; to keep in advance of the popular aspirations, under the mistaken idea that they would thus retain the lead of the people. For the love of power, they desired to lead. The love of righteousness would have caused them to rebuke. But they chose Mammon rather than God ;—this world in preference to the eternal. Whatever “the people” cried out for, the priests agitated for. *Vox populi, vox Dei* was the false maxim of the Irish priests. “But,” said they, “it is better for us to lead them, than for the Fenians to lead them ; and if we keep ahead “of the popular clamour, the people will follow.” No doubt. When Madame Blaize did go before, the king did follow after. Nevertheless, the priests have not retained the lead of the people. When the people began to dance to the piping of the Revolutionists, Nationalists, and Fenians, the priests had to jig still higher to the Revolutionary tunes. The Americanised *Shan Van Vocht* proved a sweeter melody to them than any ecclesiastical compline or chaunt. And now the majestic thunders of the Vatican are no longer as potent in Ireland as the strident vociferations of a demagogue. Thrice the Pope has anathematised the Fenians (on July 5, 1865, October 4, 1869, and January 12, 1870) ; and yet the Fenians are the leaders of the Irish people. Why ? Because the Irish bishops, at their Synod of Maynooth, in 1875, under the presidency of Cardinal Cullen, abjured the Pope’s condemnation of them. At the fourth “secret meeting” of the Synod, September 7, 1875, the question was whether the Pope’s anathema should be inserted in the synodical decrees. The Bishop of Meath and the Bishop of Ferns held that it was inexpedient to condemn. The Bishop of Waterford was for relegating the decree of condemnation to an appendix, as had been done at the Council of Westminster, under Car-

dinal Manning. The Bishop of Cork was for embodying the condemnation among their decrees, but yet treating the Fenians "*cum magnâ caritate et benignitate*," "with "much love and goodwill;" and to this course most of the bishops agreed. Thus did the Irish bishops keep ahead of the Fenians. Yet it was not because of any cause of discontent; because in 1867, Mr. Gladstone's programme was arranged in accordance with the desire of the Roman hierarchy. Mr. Gladstone came into office in December, 1868; disestablished the Irish Church in 1869; passed a Land Act in 1870; and commenced action on the question of denominational education.

What, then, was the magic programme of the victorious Irish party, which was everywhere led and supported by the Irish priests, and was successful over the priests in Roscommon and Mayo, the only places where the priests ventured to oppose the Fenians? It was the conquest, by means of persistent opposition to the law, of more than the followers of Smith O'Brien had hoped for in 1848, or the Fenians themselves in 1867. The "Protestant garrison in "Ireland," as they called the landlords, have been well-nigh removed, and Ireland is waiting, in breathless attention, for the boom of the first foreign gun, in a war with Great Britain, to arise and slaughter, and proclaim their independence of Great Britain. Then also the Jesuits will cause a rising for independence among the French Canadians, and the French will declare war on us and help them. That will be the wrath of God.

NO. XXIV.

THE Romanist people of Ireland, as all the world knows from the occurrences of the last few years, are full of a false and hollow religion, where the priest does all, and the worshipper nothing; where images, and relics, and rosaries, and medals are invested with the powers of fetiches; where

ceremonies are supposed to cleanse, and a few muttered words are held to bestow a pure and childlike innocence of heart. The Romanist Irish are also full of lawlessness, robbery, treachery, conspiracies, and cold-blooded plottings to murder, along with all this religiosity. The Irish party were, in a measure, answerable for the crimes of the Irish; for they led the ignorant people on to mischief; and kept alive the smouldering embers of agitation. Some English statesmen were as bad, in encouraging the action of the Irish party, in order to compass their own secret ends; in pretending to serve their country, while they were betraying it; and in professing to do one thing, while they were carrying out a scheme to perpetrate the very opposite. In the terrorism which has reigned for some years in Ireland, the perfect impunity of the law-breakers has been much remarked and commented on. Hardly any of the perpetrators were caught. Against those few that were caught, but little evidence was forthcoming. In a few glaring cases, men were taken red-handed, and the evidence was overwhelming; yet there was no conviction. Why would not any ordinary jury convict? Because of Lord O'Hagan's Act. Lord O'Hagan was the Roman Catholic Lord Chancellor of Mr. Gladstone's Government. By that Act the qualification for service on the jury was lowered, until the jurymen were taken from a class whose ardent sympathy with crime was notorious.

Again; the lowest of the people in Ireland, the sympathisers with crime, were mostly without votes; because they did not care to get themselves put upon the register; and it was no one's business but their own to do so. What did Mr. Gladstone do? He tried to force votes upon them, and so increase the power of the Irish party. On August 1, 1883, the *Times* contained the following announcement: "Much surprise has been caused on the Opposition side of the House of Commons, particularly among Irish Conservatives, at the prominence given to the Registration of Voters (Ireland) Bill. This measure, *which is*

“calculated to strengthen enormously the Nationalist party in Ireland, will be strongly opposed. It is understood that in the face of the determined opposition shown from both sides of the House, the Irish Constabulary Bill will be abandoned for the present session.” Notice was directed to this paragraph by a leader in the same paper, in which we read :—*“Whatever may be said of the Scotch Local Government Board Bill, the Irish Registration Bill can scarcely be said to be of a neutral tint. Within the past few days no fewer than eight members of the Opposition, English and Irish, have given notice that they will move its rejection.”*

What was Mr. Gladstone to do ? If the Irish party was to be enormously strengthened, by passing the Bill, how was the determined opposition to be got over or broken down ? His old instrument of obstruction must be set to work, in order to break down the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone's old strategy was not yet understood by the House, and it might be safely resorted to, in order to compass his wishes. The House was kept sitting until twenty minutes to five in the morning. Mr. O'Kelly was silenced by the Speaker ; but a number of his colleagues carried on the game. When the House had been utterly wearied, it could be safely announced that *“in view of this obstruction the Government intend to abandon the Constabulary Bill,”* in order to *“press on the Registration Bill at this period of the session.”* The object of the former Bill was to make the police more effective, and so put down the murders and coercive terrorism of the Land League. The object of the latter Bill was to increase, in the constituencies, the voters who would support the party that encouraged the murders and coercive terrorism. Yet the former was to be dropped in order to make way for the latter ! The guardians of order were to be weakened, in order that the promoters of disorder should be strengthened ! Mr. Gladstone thus announced his intention, with *“prodigious cheering”* from the Irish party : *“With respect*

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"to the Irish Constabulary Bill, the Government have come to the conclusion that they could not hope to carry it without imposing on the House a burden, in respect of the prolongation of attendance of members, such as they could not fairly be called on to bear."

Disaffection was never stronger in Ireland. The vengeance taken on informers had increased the prestige of the League, and revived the belief in the efficacy of violence. "Force is no remedy" for the ills of Ireland, said Mr. Bright. Force is the remedy for the ills of Ireland, said the Land League. The force which the Government discarded was the force in repressing crime. The force which the Land League was permitted to use was the force of crime, exerted by gangs of marauders and moonlighters, on innocent and law-abiding individuals. The Lord Lieutenant was aware of the danger, and anxiously desired to utilise the last few moments of the expiring session to reform the Constabulary. His aims were thwarted, in order to carry out the aims of the Irish party of disaffection! Mr. Gladstone did his best to back up Mr. Parnell. Yet the Irish Registration Bill was certainly not urgent. It would have been better to have left the Irish unregistered. Yet the Constabulary Bill was dropped, in order that the Registration Bill might be passed!

The Registration Bill was read a first time on April 26, 1883. It was then laid in abeyance until the House of Commons had been emptied by exhaustion; and the second reading was taken on the 4th of August, upon the understanding that the Government had carefully weighed all the details of the Bill, and that they were not going to introduce any ill-considered and crude additions. But when the Bill got into Committee, the Irish party treated the House to some wild and whirling words of vituperation; and plainly intimated that they must have their own way. The next day, the Irish Secretary, Mr. Trevelyan, rose and complacently offered to alter the whole character

of the Bill, so as to satisfy the Irish party. Six new clauses were then added to the thirteen original clauses of the Registration Bill; and it was then transformed into an Irish Reform Bill. Again the planned and well calculated use of Mr. Gladstone's weapon, obstruction, had availed to coerce the Commons of England; and Mr. Gibson's protest against the new clauses, as conferring a new franchise, and constituting a new Bill, was unavailing. It was not until after the middle of August that this Bill was sent up for the consideration of the Lords.

Silly persons, who desired to cling to their belief in Mr. Gladstone, invented the excuse that this was done "to pacify the Irish." Yet Mr. Parnell, at the Dublin banquet, on the 11th of December, took care to show that he had no idea of being pacified. With a domineering mien, and the airs of the uncrowned king of the country, he announced his terms. He boasted that, in virtue of Mr. Gladstone's beneficent legislation, the Irish party would be enormously strengthened at the next election; and that every member of it would be obedient, *tanquam cadaver*; and that the Irish party would be the arbiter between the English parties. Then he announced his comprehensive purpose to be that which had been emblazoned on the walls of the banqueting hall: the "National Independence of Ireland." Mr. Davitt and Mr. Sexton explained National Independence to be something very different from Home Rule; while Mr. Healy vaunted his party thus: "We shall establish, in this land, once more, a Parliament, which shall be no mere successor of the Parliament of the Pale, and no pale echo of the Parliament of Poyning, miserable and subservient to a foreign assembly; but a Parliament which shall be the free and independent expression of a democratic people." Mr. Sexton very naively showed how, with such a Prime Minister as Mr. Gladstone, they had "seized the municipalities; the civic chairs are ours; we have won for the people every elective post in the country; we have

"begun, but not yet completed, the work of seizing the "Parliamentary seats in Ireland." Mr. Parnell foretold that the extension of the franchise, in Ireland, by Mr. Gladstone, and a projected measure of "self-government" of Mr. Gladstone's, would carry them to "National Independence;" and until that point should have been reached, the nefarious schemes of the Land League should be not a whit relaxed. When that "National Independence" has been attained, the Protestant landlords, the Protestant mill-owners, the Protestant inhabitants of Ireland, which are but a fourth of the population, but represent all the intelligence, wealth and enterprise of the land,—will be at the mercy of the Romanist majority, with their ignorance, religiosity, rapacity, and rebellion.

NO. XXV.

THE year 1884 began while the controversy concerning the Reform Bill of Mr. Gladstone was raging. Should the Reform Bill extend to Ireland? Would not the lowering of the county qualification in Ireland most assuredly add to the following of Mr. Parnell and the strength of the Irish Nationalist party? Would it not practically smother the voice of the loyal inhabitants in Ireland? Such were the questions which some asked, on all sides, in grim earnestness. Others asserted that the effect of excluding Ireland from the operation of the Bill would be to create a real or fancied grievance, and would be a worse evil than treating Ireland on the same footing as the loyal portions of the kingdom. Then it would be wiser to postpone the Reform Bill altogether until quieter times? The county householder is not so anxious, after all, to be enfranchised; and all those amongst them, who are wise and sensible, would rather wait, than create renewed difficulties in Ireland; while the unwise and senseless householders in England would be better without the

franchise altogether. But that plan would not at all jump with the views and aims of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Chamberlain, and Sir Charles Dilke. It was not so much the indefeasible right to vote which they cared about, as the admission, to the franchise, of an overwhelming number of low and wild Irishmen. Then why separate your Reform Bill from the Redistribution of Seats? Why not, in the same bill, enact clauses to reduce three of the provinces to their normal amount of members, while extending to Ulster its due proportion of members? A just distribution, a fair proportion of political power, is all that we desire. Give us that, and you will find that loyal and Protestant Ulster will overbalance the rebellious, Romanist, revolutionary South, and West, and North-West. That was the very justice which the Government desired to avoid. Therefore Sir Charles Dilke, on January 22, said: "I have looked very carefully into figures, and I much doubt whether it is the case that a Redistribution, based upon the number of electors after the Registers have been made out under equal franchise, will diminish the number of members who sit for Ireland. . . . My own belief is, that the Registers will show that Ireland is entitled to about the present number." At the end of January, Mr. Goschen pointed out that the question of Redistribution was the real *crux*, especially in Ireland; and that the Reform Bill, as drawn by the Government, would increase Mr. Parnell's following from thirty-two to ninety, unless, by means of an equitable Redistribution, Ulster should receive an increased number of members due to the number of its electors; while the Southern, Western, and North-Western Provinces should be clipped down to their fair standard. If this should be done, then he saw that seats would be taken from the Nationalists and handed over to the loyalists. But that was just what Mr. Gladstone had determined should not take place, and had promised Mr. Parnell that he would not do. On the 28th of February, Mr. Gladstone said: "The Bill, if it passes as we present it, will add to

"the English constituency, over 1,300,000 ; to the Scotch, "over 200,000 ; and to the Irish constituency, over 400,000." Comparing this with the actual number of electors, according to Mr. Arnold's return, Mr. Forster came to the following results :—

	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.
Actual Electors. . . .	2,618,453	310,441	224,018
New Electors	1,300,000	200,000	400,000
Total	3,918,453	510,441	624,018

In other words, Mr. Gladstone's Bill would add, to the actual electors in England, just half as many again ; to the Scotch, it added two-thirds as many ; while it made the Irish electors just three times as great. The addition in Ireland was to be taken nearly entirely from the ranks of the Nationalists. Accepting even these totals of electors, however, the number of members for England should have been increased from 489 to 505 ; those for Scotland, from 60 to 66 ; while those for Ireland should have been *decreased* from 103 to 81, giving to each kingdom its proportion according to electors, on the principles professed by Mr. Gladstone himself. How did Mr. Gladstone escape from such a cogent demonstration ? He announced a new and wonderful principle : that representation should be in proportion to distance from the seat of government ! Very well ; Lancashire is far ; Scotland is far ; Edinburgh is as far as Dublin or Waterford ; Belfast is farther than Dublin ; the Orkneys are much farther than any part of Ireland : carry out your own principle fairly. Oh ! by no means, said Mr. Gladstone ; and, to cut the controversy short, he publicly assured Mr. Parnell that the representation of Ireland should not be reduced ; and that there should be no readjustment which should injure the Nationalist party. What ! said Mr. Goschen, do you say that, in order to increase the power of Irish Romanist disaffection, you are going, most unjustly, to disfranchise

English and Scotch boroughs? Are you bidding defiance to population, revenue, education, loyalty, steadiness, and everything which can render the representative system a safe engine of Government? And all this to maintain, or rather increase, the power of the Romanist party!

It will be remembered that when the Redistribution Bill was afterwards passed, the constituencies were so jerry-mandered and cut up, that a vastly increased influence was given, not only to the Nationalists in Ireland, but also to the 781,000 Irish in the great towns of Great Britain. That was a second edition of "justice to Ireland," which was brought on as soon as that, which is now under consideration, had been passed and made safe. Mr. Gladstone bound the Radicals to his car during all this proceeding by saying: If you do not support me, the Irish will vote against the Bill and throw it out, and then you will have no Reform Bill at all; you must bribe the Irish, by giving them all they ask, or the Liberal Government will be displaced. Thus Mr. Gladstone gave an enormous power to Irish Nationalism and Romanism, and "created," as the *Times* remarked (March 10), "for every Government that might come thereafter, a perpetual menace of the most formidable kind." The *Times* also remarked (March 24), that Mr. Gladstone thus "separated himself from the great majority of his own party, which sought in vain for any ground of justice, reason, or expediency on which to base the proposal to give Ireland a representation disproportionate to her population and her contributions to the general expenses of Government. . . . It is quite intolerable that, after we had done full justice to Ireland, by giving her every representative facility which we ourselves enjoy, we should be asked to rob English and Scotch constituencies of their legitimate influence, *in order to add to the power of a party* which glories in acting as a hostile and alien force. . . . No minister, however respected, has a right to propose such an injustice; and no party combination, however temporarily useful,

“could excuse so flagrant a betrayal of English and Scotch constitutional rights.”

Nor was the injustice confined to English and Scotch constituencies. The wrong done to all the loyalists of Ireland was far greater ; because it was proposed to drown their voices utterly in the shrieks and yells of a disloyal and ferocious mob. While these wrongs and this injustice were being perpetrated, Mr. Gladstone insulted his victims in pretending to justify himself, by propounding a most fanciful and ridiculous theory concerning distance ! Yet he knew well that, while he encouraged the disloyal and enormously increased their power, he would not change the savage and revolutionary sentiments in a single Irish heart, by the boons he was, with such fell purpose, bestowing. He also knew that, to exclude Ireland from the Bill, would not add a single supporter to the party of Parnell. The spirit of disorder and disloyalty ; the aversion to the English rule ; and the desire to escape from it, were so rampant in Ireland, that extraordinary means of asserting the supremacy of law, and maintaining it by force, had to be imposed, with the thankful acclamation of all except the basest and most disloyal of the people. And yet Mr. Gladstone insisted upon putting increased powers into the hands of the disloyal and irritated multitude ; he determined to increase the opportunities of a Hierarchy who had, all of them, in the solemn hour of consecration, taken a solemn oath to persecute and extirpate every heretic in their power. To what did Mr. Gladstone look forward as the result of his action ? To the return of a disloyal party, ninety strong, who will hold the balance between the two English parties ; to a demand for separation from England, and the constitution of an independent Romanist State on the flanks of England, which neither party could venture to refuse, at the risk of being instantly turned out of office ; to the ruin and oppression of all the Protestants of Ulster, and the confiscation of their property ; to a fierce religious war in that country, the Romanist fighting for the power

to impose his religion and oppress all the English ; the Protestant struggling for freedom, Christianity, and his political rights. That was Mr. Gladstone's message of peace and justice to Ireland!—Civil war and injustice to Ulster! In 1880 Mr. Gladstone denied the existence of crime and disloyalty in Ireland. Year by year, during his four years of office, that disloyalty had been increased, and crimes had been multiplied ; and yet Mr. Gladstone refused to retrace his steps, and to discard the pandering to Rome which had been the origin of all Ireland's woes ; on the contrary, he sought to swamp for ever the wealth and intelligence of Ireland, with the votes of a mob so ignorant that they supported the interested tyranny of Rome. Even Mr. Fay, the Roman Catholic member for the County Cavan (Oct. 12), saw the injustice of depriving loyal citizens and the Protestant population of their fair share in the representation ; and he wrote to the papers to deplore the fact that the Protestants of Ireland would be disfranchised ; and yet he deeply regretted that he should have been forced to come forward to say a word for the Protestants, and to warn them that, in the future, Irish Protestants will have a very limited hope of consideration.

NO. XXVI.

IN the middle of November, 1884, Lord Granville in the House of Lords, and Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, declared "the basis upon which they are prepared to proceed with reference to the Franchise and "Redistribution Bills,"—namely, by a secret conference between the leaders of the two parties, so as to agree upon the details of a measure which they should impose upon their respective parties. As those quasi-opponent leaders were formally to engage to resist any change which might be proposed in Parliament, this amounted to a transference, to the two leaders, of all the rights and

powers of all the representatives of the people. Mr. Gladstone—who, in a virtuous eagerness to force a Reform Bill on the two Houses, and to give to all the people the votes which were their inherent right—proposed to rob the representatives of the people of all voice in legislation, and rob the people of the fruits of the existing franchise. And why? Because the House of Commons, or the House of Lords, might refuse to endorse the injustice which he had committed with the view of extending the power of the Irish Roman Catholic party. This was the deadliest and most insulting blow at Parliamentary Government which any minister had ever dared to commit. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury, Lord Hartington and Sir Stafford Northcote, were to conspire to give an iniquitous preponderance to the Roman Catholics, and to coerce the two Houses of Parliament. Verily, it is true that wherever the Roman Catholic Hierarchy have their way, it is always used to strike blows at the liberties of the people.

The bargain was struck: and on November 18, the second reading of the Reform Bill was moved by Lord Kimberley, and accepted by Lord Salisbury, in the House of Lords, on the understanding that the leaders were to agree together upon the Redistribution of Seats Bill; and, as a necessary consequence, that both Houses of Parliament should be obliged to accept the Bill agreed upon by the leaders. In order to facilitate this arrangement, both Houses were adjourned for a week. The mouths of the representatives of the people were thus effectually closed, and ministers were delivered from all fear of inconvenient questions. If the Crown had *decreed* the law, and if the first knowledge the people or their representatives had of it, had come from reading it in the *London Gazette*, as an edict of Her Majesty, it would have been better. This would have been absolutism; but absolutism of an ancient and time-honoured character. That four persons should have assumed to themselves such a power of issuing an edict, which they never had, was both novel and intolerable.

The Parliamentary system was wholly set aside by them. The idea of representative government was, in fact, denied by those who loudly asserted it, in order to pass a Reform Bill which should benefit the Irish party and the Romish priests.

When the leaders had agreed, and their Redistribution Bill had been promulgated, it was found that, to attain their secret ends, all principles had been set at nought. In one constituency, a member was allotted to 89,000 electors (St. George's, Hanover Square); in another (St. George's in the East), 47,000 inhabitants had a member of their own. In Fulham, 114,000 electors obtained one member; in Mile End, a population considerably less received two members. The Irish members were jubilant over a multitude of the like inequalities, which had all been made in their favour; and the Nationalist *Freeman* bore testimony to the joint "statesmanship" of the leaders of the two great parties. Every other section of the House was dissatisfied. The Irish acquired great gains in Ireland; while "the single-seat principle" created potential seats for them in England and Scotland. Most men, indeed, saw that the single-seat system must infallibly degrade the character of the new House of Commons; and all men were agreed that the Irish party would be thereby enormously increased. Out of eighty-five county seats in Ireland, fifty-eight were certain to fall to Mr. Parnell's share (in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught); and of the twenty-seven in Ulster, thirteen might be retained by the Loyalists; and fourteen would probably be won by Mr. Parnell, instead of the three which he had previously enjoyed. Seven out of ten Ulster boroughs were disfranchised; of which six had always been held by Conservatives, and one had veered from side to side. Moreover, two boroughs, which were continued, were certain to be gained by Mr. Parnell, in consequence of the lowering of the franchise. The Bill reduced the boroughs to eight, with fourteen members. Of these, the Loyalists might gain the four seats of Belfast;

while the seven other boroughs would certainly elect ten Nationalists. Thus, eighty-two seats¹ were given to Mr. Parnell, and nineteen to the Loyalists, by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington, by Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote. Well might Mr. O'Brien, M.P., on the 16th of December, exclaim at a meeting of the Irish National League: "The Irish people have no reason to be dissatisfied with the results, so far as the prospects of the Irish cause are concerned. . . . As to the Franchise Act, it completed what the Ballot Act began—the emancipation, and, in the true sense of the word, the *nationalisation of the Irish Constituencies*. The Ballot Act rendered an Irish party possible; and the Franchise Act rendered it inevitable. . . . *The power would henceforward be in the hands of the Irish nation*, . . . and they might rest perfectly satisfied that *whoever would be returned, would be good Irish Nationalists*. . . . They might rest satisfied that the prospects of the Irish National cause were tolerably secure in any event." From Dublin, Mr. John McEvoy, a Roman Catholic, wrote to the *Times* (December 20), that "while Cardiganshire, with a population, inclusive of its merged boroughs, of 73,600, is reduced to a one-member constituency, four of our Irish counties, with lesser populations, are to continue to return two members each, . . . and all four are sure to return Separatists (Repealers of the Union)." At Newcastle, on the same day, Mr. Leonard Courtney, M.P., late Secretary to the Treasury, complained that: "after the next election, it was calculated that *there would be eighty or ninety representatives of the disloyal people of Ireland returned to the House of Commons, against ten or twelve Loyalists*; whereas the proportion of the loyal people was much larger than that. This would tend to crush the aspirations out of those Loyalists who, by our present system, would be unrepresented; and it would mislead the English people as to the proportion of loyal and disloyal people in

¹ Eighty-six, as a matter of fact.

"Ireland." Mr. O'Kelly, M.P., a Roman Catholic, speaking on the 22nd of December, said: "The work which had been done in the present Parliament had successfully laid the foundation of their political programme, which had for its ultimate object *the re-creation of the political independence of their country*. That was their crowning work; and until they saw an Irish Parliament assembled in Dublin, the work could not, and would not, be regarded as complete." Mr. Redmond, M.P., at the same meeting, said: "It was their duty to show, by their determined attitude, that they would not take the Land Act as a settlement of the question. They would be the veriest fools if they did. . . . Please God, and I say this from my heart, the time may come when, if we do not get liberty, we may perhaps be able, in the difficulties of England, to right our country. . . . With everything we get from the Government we will say: We only receive these things as means towards an end; and we will not cease from struggling, until we have restored to this country, the right to rule herself." On the 21st of January, 1885, Mr. Parnell said, at Cork: "At the election in 1880 I laid certain principles before you, and you accepted them. I said, and I pledged myself, that I should form one of an independent Irish party, to act in opposition to every English Government which refused to concede the just rights of Ireland; and the time which has gone by since, has more than ever convinced me that that is the true policy to pursue, so far as Parliamentary policy is concerned; and that it will be impossible for either, or both of the English parties, to contend for any long time against a determined band of Irishmen acting honestly upon these principles, and backed by the Irish people." Then passing to the Reform Bill, he said: "The electors who will be swamped in the great mass of Irishmen now admitted to the rights of the Constitution, so far as those rights exist in this country, were on the whole faithful to their trust. . . . But *I look forward to the future with*

"*a light heart.* I am convinced that five or six hundred thousand Irishmen, who within a year must vote for the men of their choice, will be as true to Ireland, and even truer to Ireland, than those who have gone before them ; and that we may safely trust to them the exercise of the great and important privilege, *unequalled in its greatness and its magnitude in the history of any nation*, which will shortly be placed upon them. I am convinced that, when the reckoning up comes, after the general election of 1885, that *we in Ireland shall have cause to congratulate ourselves in the possession of a strong party, which will bear down all opposition, and which, aided by the organization of our country behind us, will enable us to gain for our country those rights which were stolen from us.* We shall struggle, as we have been struggling, for the great and important interests of the Irish tenant farmer. *We shall ask that his industry shall not be fettered by rent.* We shall ask also from the farmer, in return, that he shall do what in him lies to encourage the struggling manufactures of Ireland, and that he shall not think it too great a sacrifice to be called upon, when he wants anything, to consider how he may get it of Irish material and manufacture, even supposing he has to pay a little more for it. . . . But I go back from the consideration of these questions, to the consideration of the great question of National Self-Government for Ireland. I do not know how this great question will be eventually settled. I do not know whether England will be wise in time, and concede, to constitutional arguments and methods, the restitution of that which was stolen from us towards the close of the last century. . . . We cannot ask for less than the restitution of Grattan's Parliament, with its important privileges and wide and far-reaching constitution. We cannot, *under the British Constitution*, ask for more than the restitution of Grattan's Parliament. *But no man has the right to fix the boundary to the march of a nation ; no man has a right to say to his country, ' Thus*

“*‘far shalt thou go, and no further’*; and we have never attempted to fix the *ne plus ultra* to the progress of Ireland’s nationhood, and we never shall.” Let us observe the programme of Mr. Parnell which Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Hartington have enabled him now to accomplish. The farmer is to pay no rent. The Irish Protestant landlords are to be ruined and made beggars. The Land Act, and its judicial rents, which were fixed for fifteen years, are to be scattered to the winds. There is to be a strict protection for Irish manufactures and Irish produce; and a heavy import duty on everything English. They are to have Grattan’s Parliament, as long as they choose to remain “under the British Constitution.” As Poyning’s Law (of 1494), and the Act of the 6th of George I. were repealed in 1782, Grattan’s Parliament was a Parliament which enacted all the laws relating to Ireland; which had the sole right of voting taxes; which could refuse to pass a Mutiny Act, and so disband all soldiers in that territory; and which could impose any restrictions on trade or commerce, and forbid the import of any English goods. But that is while they are “under the British Constitution.” The words that follow point as clearly as possible to utter separation from England, and the Constitution of Ireland as an independent and ever hostile Roman Catholic State.

No. XXVII.

MR. PARNELL remained at Cork after that speech of the 21st of January; and made another speech on the 23rd, in which he said: “I believe that, in the near future, we shall win our battle. *The admission of the masses* of the people to the franchise is a most important help; for it will be possible now, for the first time, to bring out what the real opinion of the Irish people is upon this question (of separation from England). . . . When we have a

"united representation from Ireland amounting to eighty-five members, it will be impossible for any people, for any Parliament, even so intolerant and haughty an assembly and people as the English Parliament and people, long to withstand our claims. *We have great helps. We have a race greater than our own across the Atlantic.* We have a growing and influential population in Australia. We have large contingents in England and in Scotland. . . . *I know that England has already, in her own heart, given up the contest;* and that it only remains for you to be as determined and true as your brothers and sisters in other parts of the world, to enable us and you to gain that restitution which is our right, and less than which we shall never accept." Great helps Mr. Parnell certainly has had in Mr. Gladstone, the English Ministry, and the English Opposition. Great helps they hope to have from America, when they put themselves under the protection of the United States, and are prepared to fight under the Stars and Stripes. Great helps they will have in the Colonies, when the Irish in these dependencies rise in rebellion, if they do not succeed in influencing the Colonial Governments in likewise taking part against England, and putting themselves under the protection of the United States. Great helps they will have from the numberless masses of Irish in the large towns of England and Scotland; for all these will rise against England's power, and paralyse her action as soon as she declares war against any foreign power. "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity." That is a maxim which I have heard repeated, over and over again, in Ireland; and assuredly the dynamite which we are carrying in our bosom will some day explode and destroy us, unless it be at once rendered powerless. Sir Bartle Frere told me that the Boer war had been stirred up entirely by a Fenian of the name of Aylward, and another Fenian whose name I forget. That was done, by the Jesuit party in the Roman Catholic Church, in order to create a difficulty for England.

That household enemy of ours has in every way been strengthened by Mr. Gladstone. The journals of May 27, 1885, informed us that the same Alfred Aylward, Captain Mullen, and Crosby stirred up Riel's recent rebellion in Canada, by instigating the French Roman Catholic Canadians to seek a separation from England. To such an inexorable enemy, Mr. Gladstone has combined with the Opposition to give power! The glamour of the Roman Church has paled his patriotism.

While the loyal minority in Ireland felt that Mr. Gladstone's legislation had completely effaced them, and made the enemies of Protestantism and of England irresistible, Sir Charles Gavan Duffy (January 31, 1885), wrote an article in the *National Review*, offering, on the part of the Nationalist party, to combine with the Loyalists, in arranging their differences amicably, and renouncing the connection with England. Many Loyalists, indeed, had been wearied out, and disheartened, and thought it wiser to renounce the faithless English Government, and make the best terms they could with their enemies; because the struggle they regarded as hopeless, and the power of the Romanists as overwhelming. Not more than two seats, besides the University seats, can the Loyalists hope to gain outside Ulster. Ulster itself is under-represented, in respect of population; while the other three provinces are over-represented. In every constituency in Ulster, moreover, the boundaries have been so arranged as to give the Romanist minority the certainty of representation (which has been done also in the large towns of England and Scotland), so that the Protestant majority of Ulster, representing all the loyal population of Ireland, cannot command more than thirteen seats out of the thirty-three members which Ulster is to return; and these thirteen they cannot secure except by sinking the differences of Tory and Liberal, and working as one party in the struggle. This has been done by Mr. Gladstone, and agreed to by Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote, in the face of the

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fact that they have left, to the disloyal counties of Leinster, the right of returning two Nationalist members apiece. On February 18, a deputation of Ulster members of Parliament waited on Sir Stafford Northcote, and laid those facts before him. In his reply, which was most involved, misty, and unsatisfactory, he said: "You have put before me, with great force, and, I have no doubt, with great truth, the prospect you see before you of the elements which we call Parnellism, or the disloyal party, being largely in the majority in Ireland, under the operation of the proposed (Redistribution of Seats) Bill. You naturally feel that to be a serious matter; and we all feel so. It is not a question of Conservatism alone; but it appeals to those who love the British constitution, and desire to see it maintained. It is a serious thing that that increase should take place; but we have got to ask how far it is due to the provisions of this particular Bill before us, and how far other circumstances may contribute to it." The deputation were displeased at not receiving a promise from Sir Stafford to resist the proposed injustice. After considerable pressure, Sir Stafford then added, "I feel the position is one that will be extremely annoying, painful, and, to a certain extent, dangerous to the Loyalist party in Ireland; . . . but perhaps when we come to see the working of this Bill, matters will not be so bad as they are represented. . . . You propose that we should endeavour to make some change in the Bill. Well, in the first place, we do not know what the nature of the report of the Boundary Commissioners will be, or what will be the divisions which they recommend. . . . I am sorry to hear the suggestion made by one of the deputation, that there was unfairness on the part of the Boundary Commissioners in Ireland;—that they were less impartial than we believe they were in this country. I hope that was not the case; and perhaps it is premature to assume that it is so." The deputation continued to press him; but without any further result. Two days

afterwards (February 20), the Ulster Conservatives convened a meeting at St. Stephen's Chambers, Westminster, to discuss what "hopes of support from the leaders of the "Conservative party" might be looked for; and it was reported that "little, if any, support could be expected "from Sir Stafford Northcote and the Marquis of Salisbury"; and it was decided, on the motion of the Marquis of Hamilton, seconded by Sir Thomas Bateson, "to form "an Independent Irish Conservative party for the protection of the Loyalists of Ireland."

In an able article on this subject in the *St. James's Gazette* on Feb. 27, 1885, after balancing the superior numbers of the disloyal party, against the "vast preponderance of the industry, the enterprise, the wealth, and "the intelligence" on the other side, the writer very truly and very mournfully added: "It would be easy to show "that, for more than half a century, England has systematically used her authority in Ireland to weaken the "part of the population faithful to her, by causing it to be "overwhelmed by the growing multitude of its adversaries; "and now the power of the British Legislature is to be "employed, under the direction of the British Executive Government, finally to place the Loyalists of Ireland under "the heel of their enemies. . . . The result which is "likely to occur is that, under the Franchise Act, and the "proposed Redistribution Bill, the Irish Conservatives, "whom Mr. Parnell himself would allow to be nearly "synonymous with the Loyalists, will be very grossly "under-represented in the new Parliament. It is even "said that Mr. Parnell's hordes will sweep them out of all "the constituencies,—except, perhaps, the City, County, "and University of Dublin, and one, or perhaps two "counties in Ulster. . . . It is hardly too much to "say that the fate of the Empire is put in jeopardy, if "the whole Irish representation is unfairly and illogically "handed over to Mr. Parnell. But if it is really out of "the power of the Conservative leaders to save their

"Irish followers, *the cause must lie in the agreement about Redistribution with the Government*, which will have had, "in this case, the most disastrous of consequences."

On the motion for going into committee on the Redistribution Bill, Mr. Healy, an Irish Nationalist member, crowed like a dung-hill cock. Mr. Ewart complained that, whilst the Loyalists were entitled to one-third of the representation, they did not get, under the Bill, quite one-sixth. Mr. Trevelyan, a member of the Cabinet, lately Irish Secretary, said: "He did not imagine that the "Bill could be seriously distasteful to the Parnellite "party. *It would be difficult for even the ablest of those "hon. members, who had what they would call Irish sym- "pathies, to frame any scheme more favourable to them,* "which would have the slightest chance of being accepted "by the House." On the 7th of March, the Irish Secretary, Mr. Campbell-Bannermann declared that: "In "no instance could a case be made out against the "Commissioners, of having decided *unfairly against the "Nationalists*, or of having jerrymandered a constituency "*in favour of the Protestant party.*" Of course; the Protestants, the Loyalist party, have been deliberately sacrificed by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury. If there has been any jerrymandering of constituencies, it has not been in favour of them. Nor is it they alone who have been sacrificed. The few loyal Roman Catholics are also victims; for the educated Roman Catholics of the upper and middle classes go along with the Protestants in that respect. The Loyalist party, which has been sacrificed, consists of all except the Nationalist mob, with the Popish bishops and priests. On March 11, Mr. Lewis, the Loyalist Irish member for Derry, said: "The Franchise "Bill and the Seats Bill were framed in such a way as to "throw the greatest amount of power into the hands of "the disloyal portion of the community; and the Nemesis "will be the strengthening of the demand for the repeal "of the Union." The Nemesis? Oh, Mr. Lewis, you

have your eyes but half open ! Awake from sleep ! That is the very end that Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury evidently have in view. Mr. Gladstone is no fool ; and he has shaped his means most cleverly to his end.

On this occasion, Cabinet Minister Trevelyan was, or pretended to be, most indignant. Others reverted, in memory, to Mr. Trevelyan's speech at Hawick, while he was still Chief Secretary. Then it was that he expressed "the profound disappointment of the Government ;" because he too had his eyes nearly shut. He spoke what he thought was true ; but he did not see the truth. He acknowledged that he had fostered the "National League," as a "legitimate agitation ;" and he imagined that the Government were profoundly disappointed at its turning out exactly the same as the "Land League," in all except the name. He continued : "As to its character, there is no doubt whatever. Most of the public meetings of the "National League are held for the purpose of conducting "a future and undisguised agitation for three objects : (1) "The destruction of Landlordism ; (2) The breaking up of "the grazing farms, by terrorizing the tenant farmers ; and " (3) The separation of Great Britain and Ireland." Mr. Trevelyan was indignant then ; Mr. Gladstone saw in it the progress of his designs. Mr. Trevelyan expressed his "profound disappointment ;" and Mr. Gladstone removed him from the post of Irish Secretary. Yet Mr. Trevelyan supported a Franchise Bill, and Seats Bill, which would certainly treble the power of the National League ; and then Mr. Trevelyan was irritated because Mr. Lewis reminded him that he was conferring power on "the men "who foment, and condone, and sympathise with crime." *O tempora ! O mores !*

NO. XXVIII.

WE must not suppose that the Conservative party were satisfied with the betrayal effected by their leaders. They expressed themselves strongly, and testified by their acts that they were on the verge of rebellion against the leaders who had rebelled against the professed principles of the party. Something had to be done. On the 16th of March, Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote called a meeting of Conservative members, at the Carlton Club, and declared that they would resign their posts, unless the party would accept the Seats Bill.

The leaders had already agreed with Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville to do that which the Conservative party regarded as the ruin of Protestantism in Ireland. If the party should prove recalcitrant, there was an end to the success of the unholy compact. The party had, therefore, to be cajoled or coerced. Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote chose the latter method. No time was to be lost; because already, on the question of limiting the representation of the City of London to only two members, Sir Stafford Northcote had not been able to take more than three Conservatives into the lobby with him (Mr. Gardner, Mr. Dalrymple, and Mr. Edward Stanhope); while 108 Conservatives (including one ex-minister, the brother of Lord Salisbury) voted against him. If such a feeling should grow, so that the absentee malcontents should come up to vote, it would be fatal. Therefore the meeting was hastily called together at the Carlton Club. Sir Stafford Northcote frankly acknowledged that "the measure was the outcome of an arrangement between the Cabinet of Mr. Gladstone, and the leaders of the Opposition, who therefore felt themselves under an obligation loyally to stand by the main provisions of the Bill." A great deal of dissatisfaction was then expressed, at the meeting, because "the interests of the Loyalists in the

"North of Ireland had been sacrificed." Lord Salisbury said he was "equally responsible with Sir Stafford Northcote for the terms of the compact."

It is a pity that the members of the party allowed themselves to be coerced, by a threat of resignation, on the part of those who had betrayed their trust, and sacrificed the principles they professed. If the party had continued to be recalcitrant, the Parnellites could no longer have preached rapine and treason, under the protecting bayonets of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The Liberal party had for a long time been over-ridden by Mr. Gladstone's strong and domineering will; and they had, for some time, been content to be muzzled. They were therefore delighted to see how easily the Conservative party also could be cowed and silenced by leaders who were irritated at seeing their followers vote as their local knowledge, their common sense, and their consciences directed. The Conservative party were told that Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote must fulfil their "*honourable obligations*"; and therefore their party must submissively support them in their course of dishonour. The leaders of the two parties had met in a disgraceful cabal, in violation of Parliamentary independence, and arranged a compact, by which the disloyal Romanists should obtain an irresistible power, for the subversion of the Empire. The result was a Bill, which neither party in Parliament was to be allowed to alter, even in the minutest detail. A worse conspiracy for the destruction of the Constitution, the annihilation of Parliament, and the re-establishment of Popery, was never made, even in the reign of King James II.

The Conservative party did not conserve the Constitution, and had nothing to gain by supporting the compact. They were frightened by the threats of those terrible resignations; they violated the Constitution; they sold the right of Parliament to criticise, judge, and vote; they put power into the hands of Romanists and Revolutionists; and they got absolutely nothing in return. They have enabled the

Parnellites to return to Parliament with a powerful party, which will hold the balance between the two great English parties, and keep in or turn out Ministries at pleasure ; a powerful party which has plainly given warning that it will separate Ireland from England ; a party that will dispossess all the present owners of property in Ireland ; a party that avows its intention of putting Ireland under the protection of the United States of America ; a party which has pointed to our Colonies, and the growing Irish populations in them, and more than hinted that it will separate them also from the Mother-Country, and make of them one great Republic in alliance against us ; a party which therefore calls itself "the Irish Republican Brotherhood" : they have done all this ; and what have they got in return ? perhaps five months of office !

It is for the embryo of that Romanist and Republican party that Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Hartington insured the permanent and uncontrolled supremacy in Ireland ! This has been done, moreover, in the face of Lord Hartington's declaration that it would be "madness" to strengthen those forces of sedition. It has been excused by the pretext of "principles of eternal justice ;" and "absolute equality between the three kingdoms ;" an equality which consists in adding only one-third more to the electorate of England, because these new voters are Protestant and loyal ; only two-thirds more to the electorate of Scotland, because these new voters are Protestant and loyal, and Liberal ; but twice as many again to the electorate of Ireland, because these new voters are Romanist and disloyal ; because they hiss the Queen, and cheer for the Mahdi and Czar ; because three-quarters of them (May 3, 1885), according to Mr. Parnell's own showing, receive medical relief from the rates, and are disqualified for the franchise. But, as they are utterly ignorant, and ready to do the bidding of the priests, from "carding" old women who pay rent, to shooting landlords, and blowing up with dynamite ; there-

fore Mr. Gladstone passes the Irish Registration Bill, to give them the vote in spite of their disqualifications and ignorance. More than half a million of the new electors are in Ireland, and are lusting after the land that is not theirs. They have been *over-represented* by Mr. Gladstone's Reform and Redistribution Bills ; while Protestant Englishmen and Scotchmen have been *under-represented*. In the great towns of England and Scotland, also, there are innumerable Irishmen who are ready to vote on either side, at the word of command, just as they do in Ireland. All these men, according to the speeches of their exponents, breathe only two sentiments : Undying animosity to Protestant England, and English rule throughout the world ; and, as a means to the gratification of that animosity, a firm resolution to oust the Protestant landlords from Ireland, by a continued process of robbery. The Irish policy may, therefore, be summed up in two words : Rapine and Dismemberment ; the destruction of the landlords ; the separation of Ireland from England ; and the constitution of Ireland as an autonomous Roman Catholic State. To that, Archbishop Croke's announcement amounted, on his return from Rome to Dublin, on June 3, 1885. Or let us, in preference, turn to Mr. Parnell, and hear his speech at the banquet of the Irish Parliamentary party, on the anniversary of the massacre of St. Bartholomew (Aug. 24). Mr. Justin McCarthy presided at that dinner in Dublin ; and all the members of the party were present. Mr. Parnell said : " Although, during this " Parliament which has just expired, we may have said " very little about Home Rule, very little about legislative " independence, very little about the repeal of the Union, " yet I know well that from each of our hearts the thought " of how these good things might be best forwarded was " never for a moment absent, and that no body of Irishmen " ever met together who have more consistently worked, " and worked with a greater effect, for that which always " must be the hope of our nation until its realization

"arrives. We might, I say, refer to those legislative
"achievements; we might refer to the Land Act, an
"admirable measure in its way, even an unthought-of
"measure at the time when many of us have come into
"political life; we might refer to the Arrears Act; we
"might dwell on the Franchise Act, under which almost
"manhood suffrage has been conceded to Ireland; we
"might recall to our recollection the Redistribution Act,
"under which, despite the open hostility of one party and
"the badly concealed envy of the other, we succeeded in
"getting, in the new Parliament, the full representation
"of Ireland without the loss of a single man. But these
"things, although important in themselves, are not, as I
"have said, the end and aim of our existence as a party;
"and although we cannot refuse, and never have refused,
"good measures—although we have always, and wisely, I
"think, made it part of our programme to gain for Ireland
"such concessions as might be got at the time, provided
"we did not sacrifice greater and more enduring national
"interests—yet we have always got before us that we were
"sent from this country not to remain long in Westminster,
"but to remember that it was for us to look upon our
"presence there as a voluntary one, and to regard our
"future, our legislative future, as belonging to our own
"native country of Ireland. I therefore prefer not to
"dwell upon these important legislative enactments—
"which, as I have said, are all of them means to an end
"—but to consider two things which are even more
"pleasing to my mind than any such matters. . . . And
"what is our present position? *It is admitted by all parties*
"*that you have brought the question of legislative indepen-*
"*dence to the point of solution.* . . . I have already
"spoken of the past and of the immediate future, and I
"shall ask you to accompany me for a moment a little
"beyond that, to a time when Ireland, having prudently
"and sagaciously selected her eighty or eighty-five repre-
"sentatives, shall have sent them over to the battle, and

"as we all hope and believe, the final battle. What will be the new programme? It has been the custom to include a number of measures in addition to the great measure of all, the restoration of an Irish Parliament, the cession of legislative independence. . . . I hope that it may not be necessary for us, in the new Parliament, to devote our attention to subsidiary measures, and that it may be possible for us to have a programme and a platform with only one plank, and that one the plank of national independence. I feel convinced, comrades, that *our great work and our sole work in the new Parliament will be the restoration of our own Parliament.* And when we have obtained it, what will be its functions and what will be its powers? *We shall require our new Parliament to do those things which we have been asking the British Parliament to do for us.* . . . I therefore feel assured that the next Irish party that will be assembled will be the last in the English and the first in the restored Irish Parliament."

That was a manifesto of the greatest importance! The Irish party had hitherto said little or nothing concerning the separation of Ireland from England, but they had always meant it; and all the deeds they had done were but means to that one end—the autonomy of Ireland as a Roman Catholic State. Mr. Parnell was confident in attaining that end within the next year; because the compact between Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury had made it certain; and the increased Irish party of ninety members would sweep all before it. On the 25th Mr. Parnell added: "We are bound to win; no matter which of the English parties wins, we are bound to win." It is no question of Home Rule; no question of Local Self-government; but the separation of Ireland, and her constitution as an autonomous Roman Catholic State. What will be the effect of that measure? the same as it was at the end of last century; the Executive will be utterly paralysed, except the Irish Parliament should be open to

bribes, as it was before. Protestant England will be utterly paralysed ; and then will come the hey-day and high jinks of the Jesuit party ! That is the result which the compact between Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone, Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Hartington has secured.

NO. XXIX.

A YEAR before his death, Lord Beaconsfield published his last and most valuable novel, "Endymion." It was strictly an historical novel. It brought history down to the beginning of his own career as a Minister of the Crown ; and was to have been followed by another novel, which would have continued, under the garb of fiction, the tale of his own life and contemporary events. But the hand of Death was laid upon him, and placed an interdict on the projected publication.

While treating, in "Endymion," of the period just before the passing of the Reform Bill, he, in spite of his Protestant professions, wrote not a word of disapproval, nor did he drop a hint derogatory to the action of the Duke of Wellington in passing the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. He merely remarked that this Act was the first revival of Roman Catholicism in England, and "led to the establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in 1850." Towards the close of the novel, Lord Beaconsfield described, in terms of sarcasm, the Durham letter of Lord J. Russell ("Endymion," iii., 312), which he termed "the Anti-papal Manifesto." That letter was written to stir the lifeless, inattentive spirit of England against the establishment of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in England. But, as Lord Beaconsfield remarks, it only occasioned the downfall of the Ministry. So powerful, even at that time, were the intrigues of the Romanist prelates and Jesuits ! The Jesuit reviewer, in the "Stimmen aus Maria Laach" (March, 1881), remarked : "This is no bad hint for English poli-

"ticians ; and for foreign politicians too !" meaning that all those statesmen, in all countries, who act against the Roman Catholic Church, are doomed to destruction.

Throughout the three volumes of "Endymion," Lord Beaconsfield exhibits as strong a sympathy with the Roman Church as he could prudently avow. Take, for example, the conversation between the Roman Catholic Archbishop and Endymion. There the Jesuits come in for a large share of laudation, and receive expressions of affection. "The influence of the Jesuits is the influence of Divine truth ; and how is it possible for such an influence not to prevail ?" "The Jesuits never fell, except from conspiracy against them ; it is never the public voice that demands their expulsion, nor the public effort that accomplishes it." Endymion then expresses a hope that the Jesuits will have as little influence in his brother-in-law's kingdom, as they have in England ; whereupon the Archbishop exclaims : "*As little ! I should be almost content if the Holy Order in every country had as much influence as they now have in England !* Before two years are past, "I foresee that the Jesuits will be privileged in England, "and the Hierarchy of our Church recognised" (vol. iii., 255, 256). We may, in passing, remark a curious illustration of this truth in an inspired article, entitled, "Rome "and England," which was published in the *Osservatore Romano*, of, May 6, 1881, the well-known Papal organ. It affirmed that Roman Catholicism had, of late years, made considerable progress in England ; and it supposed that many Roman Catholic nations must envy our Protestant State that liberty which it allows to their English co-religionists. It then adduced, as the most recent proof, the appointment of Lord Ripon as Viceroy of India ; and asserted that the attitude of the English Government towards the Roman Catholic Church, enabled that Church to exercise to the full her beneficent influence. The *Roman Observer* then prophesied as follows : "The time "will come when people will recognise the good work

"which can be accomplished by the Roman Catholic Church, if she is not disturbed in her mission." It added that it saw reason to hope that "*the Gladstone Ministry would, before long, re-establish the relations which formerly existed between England and the Holy See;*" or, in other words, appoint a British Ambassador to the Pope in return for a Papal nuncio to St. James's.

The heroine of "Endymion," whose beauty, grace, talents, and warmth of heart are so depicted as to render her highly attractive, is presented to us as a convert to Roman Catholicism. The conversation between Waldershare (who represents Mr. Gladstone), and Prince Florestan, is equally remarkable. The Liberal minister, Waldershare, had fallen completely under the influence of the Roman Catholic Archbishop: "he was fairly captivated by him." The Prince Florestan said to him, "My friends (the French) are Roman Catholics—nominally Roman Catholics; if I were quite sure your man (the Prime Minister) and the (Anglican) priests generally were Roman Catholics, something might be done." "As for that," said Waldershare, "sensible men are all of the same religion." "And pray which is that?" "Sensible men never tell" (vol. iii., 135). That is, they hold to the Roman Church in their hearts, while they restrain their tongues, and control their acts, so that their real faith may not appear. They serve the Roman Church in secret, while openly they proclaim themselves to be ultra-Protestants. According to Lord Beaconsfield, a Liberal minister can do this; and Ritualists are the nets employed to draw the English Church into the Church of Rome.

In the novel of "Endymion," Mr. D'Israeli appears under the name of *Bertie Tremaine*. He is represented as leading the Protectionist party, on its secession from Sir Robert Peel (vol. iii., 157, 158); he is said to receive high office in 1852, although he had never held office before; and he leads the House of Commons from February to December, 1852 (vol. iii., 319-322). All this, it is needless to remark,

is literally true of Mr. D'Israeli. Compare it with Mr. D'Israeli's reply to Mr. Gladstone's "*Ministerial Explanation*," in the House of Commons, on March 20, 1873. Bertie Tremaine is represented as saying, "This offer of a seat in the Council was, perhaps, the beginning of the end ; it was a crisis ; they must look to seats in the Privy Council, which, under Sir W. Temple's plan would be accompanied with Ministerial duties and salaries." Bertie Tremaine's character is also strictly in keeping ; he "had studied the art of developing character and conversation. . . . His various knowledge ; his power of speech ; his eccentric paradoxes ; his pompous rhetoric, relieved by some happy sarcasm ; and the obvious sense, in all he said and did, of innate superiority to all his guests, made these exhibitions extremely amusing" (vol. iii., 227). He calls himself "that great leader of men" (vol. iii., 223), and informs us that "the heaven-born minister air of the great leader was striking ; he never smiled, or, at any rate, he smiled contemptuously" (vol. iii., 108).

Mr. Tremaine Bertie is represented to us as Bertie Tremaine's "brother." A brother is either *consanguineous*, when the same blood runs in his veins, and he bears the same family name ; or else he is *fraternal*, when the relationship arises from co-membership in the same Society. That Society was called "the Pythagoreans," because they were enjoined silence until they had learned "the art of conversation," in which art all Jesuits excel, and especially that particular one who is depicted, unmistakably, under the name, "Tremaine Bertie." Tremaine Bertie "is a Sybarite, and has a general contempt for mankind, certainly for the mob and the middle-class," whom he was in the habit of calling "dogs." He is also made to say, "I believe I owe my success in no slight measure to *the manner in which I gave my hand* when I permitted it to be touched" (vol. iii., 229). That is a trait which is easily recognised by all who knew the real Tremaine Bertie. Tremaine Bertie is described as understanding foreign politics better than

any man, and being "a thorough man of the world" (vol. ii., 12). He wrote in a paper called *The Precursor*. "Its style was remarkable—never excited or impassioned; but frigid, logical, and incisive, and suggesting appalling revolutions with the calmness with which one would narrate the ordinary incidents of life." The paper afterwards changed its name to *The Privy Council*. It was written in the style of Sir W. Temple (who was the model author of a certain Jesuit); and the editor was Jawett (or Collett). Tremaine Bertie, we are further told, was the only man who could understand that which was written by Bertie Tremaine. It is perfectly true that Mr. D'Israeli continually announced the doctrines of the Jesuit brother whom he describes; he did so in sphinx-like and mysterious words, and in pointed allusions, which were understood by the initiated, but were utterly bewildering to the rest of mankind (vol. iii., 108, 109, 330). Job Thornberry, who "made wonderful speeches in favour of total and immediate repeal of the Corn Laws" (vol. ii., 138), was Mr. Cobden, whom Mr. Bertie Tremaine, being "a landed proprietor," and leader of the Protectionists, desired to secure (vol. iii., 77, 78).

It would be very easy to unfold all the doctrines published in those newspapers, *The Precursor*, and *The Privy Council*, relative to the partial suppression of the House of Commons, and the substitution for Parliament of the Queen in Council; but this would be tedious; and we pass to the opinions of Mr. Gladstone, as quoted in the House of Commons on March 4th, 1879, because they are the same as the opinions of Lord Beaconsfield: "I am one of those," said Mr. Gladstone, "who think the evils of our Parliamentary system very great; and I go so far as to admit that no extension of the suffrage, wise and right as it may be, will cure them." In his "Gleanings" (vol. i., p. 227), he says: "The Sovereign in England is the symbol of the nation's unity, and the apex of the social structure—the maker, with advice, of the laws, the supreme

"governor of the Church," etc. Again (p. 245): "The Crown is entitled to make a thousand peers to-day, and as many to-morrow; it may dissolve all and every Parliament before it (the Parliament) proceeds to business; may pardon the most atrocious crimes; may declare war against all the world; may conclude Treaties *involving unlimited responsibilities, and even vast expenditure, without the consent—nay, without the knowledge of Parliament*; and this, not merely in support or development, but in reversal of policy already known to and sanctioned by the nation." In such a state of the law Mr. Gladstone sees nothing to cause fear or anxiety.¹ But the present character of our deformed Parliament does inspire him with terror (*ibid.*, p. 168): "The public liberties are absolutely in the hands of the constituencies. It is not from the Crown, nor even from the aristocracy, that we have anything to fear; but it is upon less conspicuous issues—from subtler and from meaner influences outside them and from what is within them. . . . The people are, of necessity, unfit for the rapid multifarious action of the administrative mind; unfurnished with the ready, elastic, and extended, if superficial knowledge, which the work of Government in this country, beyond all others, demands. . . . It is written in legible characters and with a pen of iron, on the rock of human destiny, that, *within the*

¹ JESUIT EXPECTATIONS.—In support of the views of some of your correspondents I cannot do better than recall a conversation I had with a Jesuit missionary priest whilst travelling from London during the month of May, 1883. We had engaged in a rather warm controversy on the different dogmas of the Church of Rome, when, just as we were arriving at Derby, he somewhat heatedly exclaimed: "Mark my words, before ten years elapse, you will have a Catholic king on the throne of England, and the Mass will be celebrated both in St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey," to which I had just time to reply by way of a parting shot—"Before that will take place, we will call another William of Orange to our aid, and you will have to fight your way through the blood of the Protestant people of England."

THOMAS SMELT.

1, James's Place, Old Trafford, Manchester.

Sept. 17th, 1885.

N

"domain of practical politics, the people must be in the main passive."

On the 29th April, 1881, Mr. Gladstone, after commending, in highly eulogistic terms, the superior wisdom of our forefathers of "the fourteenth century, or thereabouts," said that in those days Parliament had much more to say in matters of peace and war, and particularly in matters of treaty engagements, than it has now; "but," he continued, "we must recollect what the Parliament was in those days; it was virtually an assembly meeting with closed doors; the people of the country were not cognisant in detail, from day to day, or even from week to week, or month to month, of the proceedings of Parliament; and Parliament could be used by the Crown as a Council, to a considerable extent, without incurring the tremendous inconvenience of disclosing, to the whole world, what you were about. But . . . the opening of the doors of Parliament to the people of this country, and the communication of its proceedings, from moment to moment, to the whole world, has disabled Parliament from doing that which in former times it might justly do, and which it was habitually, to some extent, called upon to do."

As will presently appear, the House of Commons has, by various means used by Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone, been brought into discredit, with the view of clipping its wings, and taking back its arrogated powers. The most notable of these means was called OBSTRUCTION.

NO. XXX.

EVERY politician who is worthy of the name of statesman must have a power of combination. He must be able to combine circumstances, the passions and feelings of men, and adventitious means, so as to attain the end which he has put before himself. He must also be able to keep in view, not only his ultimate end, but all the subordinate

ends also, which may be attained by the same action and effort. Thus did Mr. D'Israeli, when he used obstruction, not only to cast the House of Commons into contempt, but also, in the meanwhile, to pass measures which should be useful and beneficial to the Roman Catholic Church. During the passage of the Irish University Bill in 1879, for example, the Irish members assumed a hostile attitude, and spoke of obstructing the progress of the Bill.¹ The Government newspapers, then, at once urged "a timely concession" in order to save the Bill. The kind of concession was also pointed out. The principle of the concession was "ready to hand, in the provisions of the Irish "Intermediate Education Act" of the previous year. It pretended to be doubted, indeed, whether such a concession would be sufficient to secure the acceptance of the Irish Roman Catholic party; but if so, it would be well worth while to give all colleges and schools, and private places of tuition "an indirect endowment by payment of result fees." By means of this obstruction, Parliament was made to accept this "compromise," and was persuaded that it "would be impolitic to discard it"; because that it would be useless to attempt to pass the University Bill, if it should be opposed by the Irish members. But, while effecting this, the obstruction had the further end of discrediting the House of Commons, so that, in time, the people of England might consent to reduce it to the position of a parish vestry, and would be content to divest themselves altogether of representative institutions, in accordance with the syllabus of 1864.

By the end of July, 1879,² it had become apparent that this scheme of overcoming Parliament, by means of obstruction, had met with success: "The Irish Catholics "were to get what they wanted, and the English public "were to be persuaded that ministers were not granting "what they had sworn not to allow." Not only was the enactment of Roman Catholic measures, the one end of

¹ *Times*, July 21.

² *Pall Mall Gazette*, July 29.

obstruction, thus obtained ; but also the other end, or rather the means itself, had been thereby strengthened for further use, and obstruction had received a new life for further conflicts. "The policy of the Government, both on the "Army Discipline Bill, and on the Irish Education Bill, was "the most conclusive justification which the obstructives "and the Home Rulers could plead." Much had also been effected towards the ultimate end of obstruction, namely, to discredit the House of Commons, and so persuade the English nation to cast off their ancient representative institutions, and become *de facto*, what Mr. D'Israeli had made them *de jure*, by his "Royal Titles Bill," no longer the kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, but, an Empire. Therefore, the pertinent question was persistently asked : "*For what conceivable reason does Parliament exist, "meet, discuss and deliberate, if it is to swallow great positions by the score, without examination?*" The conclusion generally arrived at, was that : "As we have seen, "Her Majesty's ministers are doing their utmost to help, "and themselves to play, the obstructive game."¹

As was very natural, the Irish priests, as early as September, 1878, believed that the Irish Intermediate Education Bill was the result of "the previous action of the obstructionists ; and that an Irish University Bill would "spring from the same source, and from a like cause." So wrote to me an Irish Roman Catholic gentleman, who was very conversant with Irish politics. When the obstruction of 1879 had been successful in procuring, for the Irish priests, a satisfactory University Bill, the obstructionists were publicly thanked for it, and secured all the ecclesiastical support at the ensuing elections in 1880 ; and, as the obstructionists were the extreme Nationalist section of the Irish party, the priests to a man became, *de facto*, the warm allies of Messrs. Parnell and Co., which the large majority of them were before, on principle. An acute Irish Liberal politician wrote to me : "That, in truth, will

¹ *The World*, July 30, 1879.

“be an indirect support to the Conservative Government ;
“the Liberal party cannot now look for any support
“from Irish constituencies. . . . The Government of
“Lord Beaconsfield have dealt very ingeniously with the
“priests. They have taken them into counsel about the
“Education Bill ;” — this was written in 1878—“they
“have virtually put into the hands of the Cardinal and the
“heads of their colleges, the appointment of the Catholic
“commissioners and officials. I am not sure that an
“University Bill is not partly suggested in the future.” So
it was, as the event speedily proved.

Although obstruction was, before the year 1877, almost unknown to English observers, yet in 1871, Mr. Gladstone spoke at Aberdeen, on the subject of obstruction. He, even then, regarded it as one of the most serious questions of the day ; although it was still in the womb of futurity, or rather, in his own brain, and the bosoms of the Jesuits. His words were : “The question of improving the machinery of
“Parliament, with the view to the more effective despatch
“of public business, is becoming, more and more, one of
“the most serious questions of the day.” Mr. Gladstone evidently knew what had been planned ; he was aware of the occult schemes which had been devised ; he had been informed of what was coming, and therefore he could prophesy events which were still in the womb of futurity. It was not until the year 1877 that obstruction properly made its appearance ; and politicians then stared at it with open-mouthed amazement and alarm. The phenomenon was something inexplicable, and hitherto unheard of. “In
“the summer of 1877 Parnell and Co. had obtained a far
“larger support, especially among the masses, than Butt ;
“and the priests looked on, if not approvingly, at least very
“complacently at the obstruction.” So wrote one of the shrewdest observers of Irish politics. The phlegmatic, apathetic Englishman looked on with wonder ; presently with disgust ; then with irritation ; and finally he set his features with determination. Mr. Gladstone flew to the

assistance of the obstructionists. In an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, of August, 1879, he wrote: "To prolong debate, even by persistent reiteration, on legislative measures, is not necessarily an outrage, an offence, nor even an indiscretion; for, in some cases, it is only by the use of this instrument that a small minority, with strong views, can draw adequate attention to those views." Again: "Now, if a great party may obstruct, it is hazardous to award a narrower discretion to a small one; for it is precisely in the class of cases where the party is small, and the conviction strong, that the best instances of warrantable obstruction might be found. . . . When we apply these tests to the case commonly known as that of a few Irish members, in connection with the flogging clauses of the Army Bill, the keenest advocate of penal measures against them may, perhaps, be led to pause. . . . *The Home Rulers of Ireland have, in the main, done good service to the Government during the present Parliament. . . . They obtained, last year, a valuable retaining fee in the Irish Intermediate Schools Act, etc.*" Further, Mr. Gladstone wrote, in the same article: "The Home Rulers have undoubtedly handled the whole measure (Army Bill) *under the influence of an ulterior purpose, latent, yet not clandestine—to prove the incapacity of the House of Commons for its present work. And it may truly be said that, in a measure, they have demonstrated this incapacity by creating it.*"

That article, from the distinguished pen of Mr. Gladstone, was clearly an apology for obstruction, as well as an incentive to spur on the Irish Home Rulers, and some Liberal members, to further efforts in the newly discovered path of glory. It was more than this; it was a distinct announcement that Lord Beaconsfield was as anxious as Mr. Gladstone that the science of obstruction should be further pursued, and brought to perfection; while the *corpus vile* of the House of Commons should be vivisected, and sacrificed, in the pursuit of this newly invented science.

Two days previously to the publication of that article¹ a step was taken to direct public attention to it, and to insure for it a widely extended effect. A leader—a *communiqué*, probably—appeared in the *Times*, which made known that, in Mr. Gladstone's opinion, "it is they" (the Government), and not the Home Rulers, who are "responsible for the obstruction of business in the House of Commons. . . . To accuse the Ministry of raising "the whole Eastern Question out of a virgin soil; to "describe the questions which have arisen in relation to "Turkey and Egypt as gratuitously raised; and then to "base, upon this account of affairs, a formal complaint that "the Government are the real obstructives, while the Home "Rulers are very excusable, if not praiseworthy persons: "this is one of those exhibitions which would scarcely "be believed in fiction." This view of Mr. Gladstone may have been ostensibly regarded, by the *Times*, as fiction; because the apathetic Englishman who subscribed his pennies for the *Times*, with his tea and toast, was not as yet prepared to believe otherwise. Those, however, who were behind the scenes in Ireland, knew that Mr. Gladstone wrote the sober truth. Here is one letter: "All the "blame may well be attributed to the Conservative "Government and their Chancellor of the Exchequer "(Sir Stafford Northcote). He might have crushed the "obstructionists, and covered them with contempt; instead "of which, he, by his weakness, made heroes of them; and "they returned, having conquered the British Parliament, "as they alleged, to pose as patriots at home." A well-informed French paper, the *Constitutionnel*, in fact broadly stated, in 1878, that it was the Government who had put up Messrs. Parnell and Co., to carry on a useful obstruction, in order to "educate" the House of Commons into agreeing to that Irish Intermediate Education Bill, which had been suddenly introduced at the very end of the session.

¹ July 30, 1879.

In the early part of the summer of 1875, shortly after the general election, the Irish priests spoke of the difficulties they encountered in the creation of an Irish Catholic party in Parliament—difficulties which they did “not regard as insurmountable.” They had, they said, “in accordance with their history, to sympathise with the aspirations of the people, and thereby direct and control their action ;” every man, who desired to occupy a prominent place in that party, had, therefore (said they), to take “a *National* line of action,” and seek for power from the same source “whence the priests derived their power. “But perhaps,” (as an agent of theirs wrote to a prominent member of that party), “perhaps you would not *subject yourself to the ordeal* necessary to qualify for leadership?” That ordeal was subsequently explained as: “a preparation for leadership which, at present, would require a line of conduct you would recoil from.” A Romanist leader, and a purely Romanist party, were not, at first, desired. Because they held that “Catholic interests are always more materially advanced in the House of Commons by Protestant advocacy.” At first Butt was the leader ; then Parnell ; for the latter did not “recoil from the ordeal” necessary to qualify for leadership ; but went to the United States, and became an adept in the science of obstruction, and many other sciences and arts.

No. XXXI.

PREVIOUS to the year 1877 the only symptoms of obstruction were mere preliminary canters in preparation for the great stakes. The obstructionists stretched the muscles of their minds, and made experiments to qualify them for “the ordeal.” On the 25th of July, 1877, Mr. Speaker ruled, against the preliminary canters, that : wilful and persistent obstruction was a contempt of the House, and would render the member who practised it liable to “sus-

"pension from the service of the House, or commitment." On the previous Tuesday, July 3, during the passing of the Army votes, there had been a prolonged sitting, which lasted until 7.30 in the morning. During the debate, Mr. Blake quoted expressions, which had been used by Mr. Parnell at a meeting in the Strand in the preceding April ; and similar expressions, which he had uttered at a meeting on Sunday, June 17, in the schoolroom of the Roman Catholic Church in Hatton Garden. Those expressions plainly showed that obstruction had been carefully planned, and was intentionally resorted to for ulterior purposes. Therefore it was that, on the 25th of July, the Speaker felt himself compelled to make a declaration against obstruction, fulminating his threats against any member who should practise it in future. On the 31st of July, the long sitting of twenty-six and a half hours, on the South African Bill, was achieved. It was the first notable achievement of the kind, and occurred not a week after the Speaker's fulminations. After this, the art seemed to flourish under the kind supervision of Mr. Speaker ; for no member was either suspended or committed, and the recorded threat was found to be a *brutum fulmen*. For example : On July 5, 1879—it was on a Saturday—the House met at 1.40 p.m., and sat until 12.15 on Sunday morning, wasting both time and temper over the Army Discipline Bill. When it was perceived that the House had been wearied out and flagged, the Irish University Bill, and the Bill which devoted one million sterling to the Irish Roman Catholic school teachers, were adroitly passed by Mr. D'Israeli's Government.

At the beginning of the session of 1879 there were loud outcries, throughout the country, against the practice of obstruction ; and several members of weight declared that " unless the House succeeded in putting down the system " of obstruction, to which it had been subjected for three " sessions, *it would fall in the estimation of the country* "—which, indeed, was evidently the ultimate end in view.

"The whole credit of Parliamentary government was "involved," they said.¹ "Whose fault it may be we do not "pretend to say ; but the House of Commons, for the "last ten years or more (*i.e.* since Mr. Gladstone's accession to office and to the leadership of the Liberal party) "has been sinking in public estimation ; the importance of "the Ministerial Resolutions, great as they undoubtedly "are, sink into insignificance compared with the discredit "into which representative institutions are brought by such "scenes as those of last night." Later in the same year, another influential journal² thus delivered its judgment : "No one *wished* to discredit the English Parliament in "former days. . . . *There is too much reason to believe "that this can no longer be said.*" It was at this period that Mr. Gladstone flew to the rescue, and wrote that article in the *Nineteenth Century*, which was so favourable to obstruction, and gave so much support and comfort to the obstructors. The outcry in the clubs and newspapers was fast becoming too loud and strong ; and it was necessary to calm the excitement, to allay the force of the gale, and lessen the strength of the tide. Mr. Gladstone was ready with his proffered help, and pointed to the real authors of the evil : "If those who have had the main "share in bringing about this state of things are mainly to "bear the brand of obstruction, then, I apprehend, there is "no doubt that at this hour *the chief obstructionists are the "Government.*" The *Pall Mall Gazette*,³ with remarkable perspicacity, seemed to throw on both "Liberals "and Conservatives alike" the blame of bringing into "contempt and futility" the English Parliamentary system ; "menacing the very life of Parliament, and the very "existence of representative government." Sir Stafford Northcote (the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader of the House of Commons) was conscious that considerable blame had fallen upon him, and so he openly attacked

¹ *Standard*, Feb. 21, 1879. ² *Pall Mall Gazette*, July 5, 1879.

³ September 6, 1879.

many Liberal delinquents¹: "But do not be led away altogether by what you hear; do not suppose that obstruction comes from only a few Irish members. *The difficulty is far deeper than that. There are men, who sit for important English constituencies, WHO SECRETLY, AND SOMETIMES MORE THAN SECRETLY, favour obstruction, which bears the name of certain Irish members.*" Then, after mentioning a sitting which had lasted until seven o'clock in the morning, he continued: "It was not by Irish members that we were kept up on that occasion; but *by the representatives of great English constituencies, supported and encouraged by men who sit ON THE FRONT OPPOSITION BENCHES (i.e. with Mr. Gladstone), or at least by ONE of them.* These things have to be considered. . . . The difficulty is that there are men who are not so ready to put down obstruction; and, if there is an attempt made to grapple with obstruction, you are by no means sure of getting support from a considerable number of men in the House whose support you ought to have." The men, whose "support you ought to have," were of course statesmen of considerable weight and standing; otherwise their denial of support would not have mattered much.

The late Professor Fawcett retorted on the Chancellor of the Exchequer on October 28, 1879: "In a recent speech which Sir S. Northcote made at Exeter, he expressed the opinion that obstruction might be put down in a quarter of an hour, if Parliament were so minded; but if this is his opinion, he is absolutely bound, as leader of the House, to let us know what is the remedy which he proposes; and then throw upon Parliament the responsibility of accepting it, or rejecting it. *Anything more unfortunate than the way in which obstruction has hitherto been dealt with, it would be scarcely possible for the most perverse ingenuity to devise.* At one time it was pretended that a triumph was obtained over it, by mak-

¹ *Times*, September 9, 1879.

"ing the House of Commons *sit continuously for twenty-six hours, and pass twenty Bills without examination and without discussion. Could anything be more likely to lower the authority of Parliament* than, because of the misconduct of three or four members, *who were left untouched, to bring upon hundreds of thousands of people, whose interests were affected by these Bills, all the inconvenience which results from hasty and careless legislation ? But, during the last two sessions, the Government, even if they had intended to encourage obstruction, could hardly have more effectually done so, than by the course they have adopted. They have so arranged matters as to produce the impression that members get rewarded in exact proportion to the extent to which they impede the business of Parliament.* In the session of 1878, apparently to silence obstruction, a million pounds of a fund, with regard to which a pledge had been given that not a shilling of it should be devoted to any denominational purpose, was in large part given as grants to denominational institutions in Ireland ; and, in making these grants, the important principle, which had been maintained with undeviating consistency in England and Scotland, that any institution which received grants of public money should submit itself to public inspection, was absolutely set at nought. *The course of proceeding which was adopted at the close of last session, apparently offered a still more direct reward to obstruction.* Until quite late in the session, the Government never vouchsafed a hint that they intended to deal with the question of Irish University Education. The Army Bill was obstructed ; various votes in Supply, especially the Scotch Education votes, were also obstructed. *Suddenly all these obstacles to legislation disappeared when the Government came down and promised that an University, which had been founded by Sir R. Peel, and which had done some of the best educational work that ever had been done in Ireland, but whose only offence was that it had made itself, by pursuing a course*

“of strict religious impartiality, hateful to some zealots, who found their representatives among the obstructionists in Parliament, was to be destroyed ; and in its place was to be set up a new university, whose future character was undefined, but, towards the support of which, vague but tempting promises of grants of public money were given.” So said the right honourable Professor Fawcett, late Postmaster General.

Lord Hartington went beyond the facts of obstruction, to seek out the final cause of it. He did not see that the ultimate aim of it was to bring the House of Commons into contempt ; but he did perceive a more proximate end, —the enactment of Roman Catholic measures for the Irish. During the elections, he said at Chesterfield :¹ “I say that I cannot recollect a single measure for the improvement of the condition of Ireland, which has been brought in voluntarily by the present Government. Such measures as have been brought in, have been brought in, in the middle, or towards the fag end of a session, and have been forced upon the Government by the system of obstruction which is practised by some Irish members, which the Government *professed* to denounce, *but to which they have yet given all the justification and excuse in their power*, by yielding to it, and by bringing in, under compulsion, measures they did not begin from a sense of justice.” Lord Hartington was utterly wrong. The Government had prepared those measures in accordance with a programme agreed upon with the Roman Catholic Hierarchy ; and the obstruction was got up to excuse them for bringing forward those measures, and to break down the House of Commons into accepting them.

I will now digress for a moment from the subject of obstruction by independent members of the House, and ask attention to a species of obstruction or stoppage of inconvenient business by the Prime Minister. I can explain this best by an example. In the year 1875, Cardinal

¹ *Times*, April 5, 1880.

Manning asked me one day, how Mr. Newdegate's attempt to pass his "Convent Bill," or Bill to provide for the inspection of convents, could best be thwarted. My answer, dated July 25, 1875, was as follows: "Your Eminence has asked me about Newdegate's Convent Bill. There seem to me to be only two ways of dealing with it—the first good and natural; the second, only as a last resource. (1) D'Israeli may say, on Tuesday evening, August 3 (the Bill being down for August 4), that it is most important to finish Supply, or such and such a Bill, and then ask for Wednesday, August 4, to do so; on the ground that the Private Members' Bills, which are down for that day, have no chance of passing, and that it would be only a farce to discuss them: (2) To get every one to speak who can be persuaded to do so; and, if the Bill is not talked out, then to move adjournments and divide the House, until Newdegate gives way. I know no other way. If your Grace can get the Prime Minister, Mr. D'Israeli, to take the first course indicated, it would be natural and effective, for there is really a deadlock of business." Now compare that letter with the *Votes* of the House of Commons two days after (July 27). Mr. W. H. Smith, the Secretary to the Treasury, moved: "That the Government orders of the day shall have precedence on Tuesdays and Wednesdays for the remainder of the session." The 55th entry, on the same votes, stands thus: "Monastic and Conventual Institutions Bill; order for second reading on Wednesday, August 4; read and discharged; Bill withdrawn." There was, however, a refinement in the cruelty practised on Mr. Newdegate. Mr. Smith had given notice that he would make that motion at the evening sitting; yet he chopped it, unexpectedly, at the morning sitting. Mr. Holt then made up his mind, in conjunction with Mr. Newdegate, to counter-march the Government. He gave notice of a motion, which appeared first on the list: "Monastic Institutions (deaths). Address for returns." The third motion on the

list was given by a member of the Government, Sir Charles Adderley (now Lord Norton), on "Unseaworthy ships." Mr. D'Israeli then gave notice that he would move: "That the orders of the day subsequent to the Committee of Supply, be postponed until after the notice of motion relating to 'Unseaworthy ships.'" Thus Mr. Holt's motion was cut out. On July 29 a letter was written to me by a Jesuit, saying: "It seems to me that Newdegate has been stumped out in the way you suggested; but, I presume, he will die hard."

The next year, the solemn farce was repeated. On March 27, 1876, notice was given by Sir T. Chambers, the Recorder of London, that on Friday, March 31, on going into Supply, he would move for an inquiry into Monastic and Conventual Institutions. Directly after the notice had been given, Mr. D'Israeli jumped up and said he would allot Friday, March 31, to the discussion on Mr. Cave's mission to Egypt. Mr. Newdegate had also put down his Bill for discussion on Friday, March 31, so that both Mr. Newdegate's Bill and Sir T. Chambers' motion stood for the same day; and Mr. D'Israeli killed two birds with one stone. Mr. Newdegate, however, "would die hard." On the notices for August 11, 1876, there appears the following entry: "No. 2, Mr. Newdegate, Monastic and Conventual Institutions." This notice had been on the paper some days when, on August 10, Mr. W. H. Smith moved: "That the House do adjourn until Wednesday, August 12, at 2 o'clock," and thus Mr. Newdegate was again successfully shelved. Mr. Smith was promoted to the post of First Lord of the Admiralty.

No. XXXII.

REMEMBERING that the aim is to discredit the House of Commons, and get rid of representative institutions, we shall see that even the Bradlaugh election has been pressed into the service, and so handled as to bring the greatest amount of contempt upon the House of Commons. On June 23, 1880, Mr. Labouchere, the colleague of Mr. Bradlaugh, moved to rescind the Resolution of the House, which had been moved, on the previous night, by Sir Hardinge Giffard. By this Resolution, the House had refused to concede, to Mr. Bradlaugh, permission to affirm, instead of swearing; or rather, it forbade him either to affirm or swear. The rescinding motion of Mr. Labouchere was justly stigmatised, by Mr. Newdegate, as "scarcely respectful to the House." Mr. Gladstone said: "If the House should rescind it, it would be with some loss of dignity, which I know not whether, at some time or other, it may have to confront. But the mere proposal, at the present time, and in the present circumstances, inflicts some disparagement upon the House, so far as that can be done by a private member." Thus Mr. Gladstone was found to acquiesce in achieving a "loss of dignity" to the House. Mr. Bradlaugh said subsequently: "With respect, I refuse to obey the orders of the House, which are against the law." It will be observed that Mr. Bradlaugh appealed to the law as something above the House; as something which the House had to obey. He denied that the will of the House of Commons was law; and such a contention, although right and true, was quite in accordance with the opinion of Cardinal Manning and the Roman Catholic party. It does not, however, appear how much further he was acting in accord with them. Thereupon the Speaker said: "I have now to appeal to the House to give authority to the Chair, to compel the execution of its orders,"—that is, of orders that were illegal.

He appealed to the House to put force in the place of law, and might for right. Again, Mr. Bradlaugh said: "With submission to you, I say that the order of the House is against the law; and I positively refuse to obey it." The Speaker then said: "Serjeant-at-Arms! remove Mr. Bradlaugh below the bar." Mr. Bradlaugh: "I shall submit to the Serjeant-at-Arms removing me below the bar, and I shall immediately return." After this, Sir Stafford Northcote said: "It is a question whether the authority of the Chair, and not only the authority of the Chair, but the authority of the House itself, is to be supported, or disregarded. . . . It is quite impossible that we can allow an order of the House to be broken repeatedly, and the authority of the Speaker, and of the House itself, challenged over and over again." He, therefore, moved that Mr. Bradlaugh be taken into custody. Mr. Gladstone then said: "Now candour compels me to admit that I see no other course which could have been taken by those who are responsible for the decision of last night (*i.e.* the Tory Opposition) than the course which is described in the motion just put to the House. I cannot, for myself, think it right to attempt to resist the House *ineffectually, at each step*, in a consistent effort to give perfect accomplishment and consummation to the resolution at which it has arrived. I know not whether the decision will be disputed; but admitting that it follows logically and necessarily out of what has already been done; and as, moreover, nothing can be more unsatisfactory to all parties, or more unseemly, than a prolongation of the scene we have lately witnessed, I can enter no objection to that motion, considered as being in reality involved, in its essence, in the previous steps of the House."

The motion was carried. Sir Stafford Northcote repaired to his leader and chief, Lord Beaconsfield, who decided that "the authority of the Chair should *not* be supported," and that the House should suffer "a loss of dignity." The

very next day, therefore, Sir Stafford came down to the House and moved that his own resolution, of the previous day, should be at once rescinded! This too was carried, for the stultification and further disgrace of the House. The succeeding week, Mr. Gladstone moved that Mr. Bradlaugh should be allowed to affirm; thereby further rescinding the *original* Resolution of the House, and making the House at once "confront," according to Mr. Gladstone's own words, "some loss of dignity." If Mr. Gladstone had wished Mr. Bradlaugh to sit in the House, there were two courses open to him; the one involving no loss of dignity to the House; the other tending to bring the House into contempt; the former being an alteration of the law, by a Bill; the latter being a Resolution, by which the House should be made to eat its own words, stultify itself, and tarnish its ancient glory. He chose the latter; "the course which is at once irregular (as it was "said at the time), unusual, and derogatory to the dignity "of Parliament, is the one selected."

Moreover, Mr. Gladstone's Resolution went further than a mere rescission of the original Resolution of the House. It provided that the ulcer or running sore in the dignity of Parliament, which he himself had so carefully established, should not be healed; nor even filmed over and closed; but should be a constant source of irritation and rottenness, to drain away all the vital strength of the Representative system. By the Resolution, the whole question was remitted to the Law Courts. The Courts of Law were called upon to sit in judgment on the House of Commons. That was the result achieved by a waste of two months of the time of the New Parliament!

The Law Courts sat in judgment on that branch of the Legislature. Mr. Bradlaugh appealed; and the Court of Appeal judged the House of Commons. But that was not the end of it. The sore was still to be probed and irritated during the session of 1881. On the 26th of April, Mr. Bradlaugh presented himself to be sworn; and

the Prime Minister being, apparently, by no means anxious to extricate the House from its dilemma, nor to save it from a "loss of dignity," sat stolidly looking on. Sir Stafford Northcote moved that Mr. Bradlaugh should not be permitted to swear; and his motion was carried, by a majority of thirty-three, in a House of 383 members. Nevertheless, Mr. Bradlaugh again presented himself to be sworn. He declined to withdraw, when ordered by the Speaker to do so. He charged the House of Commons with having acted illegally. Still the Prime Minister sat, stolidly looking, with a sea-green complexion. The Prime Minister was called for, by name; but he refused to rise. Sir Stafford asked Mr. Gladstone what steps he, as leader of the House, would take to carry out its Resolution? Mr. Gladstone abjured his functions, and said he would leave it to the adverse majority to get themselves out of the mess, if they could; or else to flounder, further and further, and get all besmirched and bedraggled with mire. Sir Stafford then moved that Mr. Bradlaugh should be ordered to withdraw; and this was carried without a division. Mr. Bradlaugh refused to obey the order of the House, declaring it to be "absolutely illegal." The Serjeant-at-Arms removed him; but escaping at the bar, he returned to the table. Thence he was taken, by two messengers of the House, he exclaiming all the while, and vociferating that it was unlawful, and that he refused to submit to physical force. Five messengers surrounded him, as he paused on the floor of the House for an answer; and amidst cries for "Gladstone! Gladstone!"—which met with no response from the livid, sea-green man,—Sir Stafford Northcote rose, and said he would have been quite ready to move the committal of Mr. Bradlaugh, as he had done before, were it not for "THE VERY EVIDENT FACT THAT MR. BRADLAUGH WAS ENCOURAGED AND SUPPORTED BY THE GOVERNMENT." Of course he was, Sir Stafford! by Mr. Gladstone; and do you mean to say you do not know why? Are you unconscious of any "loss of dignity" to the House?

Then was enacted a wrangle between Sir Stafford and Mr. Gladstone, in which each of them spoke two or three times on the same question,—a proceeding utterly contrary to the rules of the House; and each of them declined to make any motion in support of the authority of the Chair; so that they were both speaking, when there was no question before the House; another matter utterly contrary to the rules of the House. In fact it was a wrangle, and then a hubbub, and then a hurly-burly; until Mr. Cowen, in his northern accent, and good-humoured, eloquent manner, observed that the House was in a dilemma; and so he moved the adjournment; which was agreed to, at a quarter-past two o'clock in the morning.

Thus did Mr. Gladstone refuse to extricate the House from the slough and morass into which he had led it with his *ignis fatuus* oratory. He abjured the office of leader, on the plea that he had been placed in a minority; and then, indignant at being looked upon as taking a subordinate part, as Sir Stafford Northcote seized the flying reins of the unguided team, he answered Sir Stafford with a bouncing rudeness and boorish rusticity, which was in itself an outrage on the House. Lastly, retiring into the tent of Achilles, he remained stolidly glaring, sea-green and passive again, as soon as he had triumphantly witnessed the House plunging wildly in a mire of difficulties, from which it could not be extricated without a "loss of dignity."

No. XXXIII.

SHORTLY after the meeting of the House of Commons in 1880, as may be seen by the *Votes* of February 28, Sir Stafford Northcote moved and carried a cumbrous Standing Order; which gave, both to the Speaker and to the Chairman of Committees, full powers to suspend any member whom they should judge to be "disregarding "the authority of the Chair, or abusing the rules of the

"House by persistently and wilfully obstructing the business of the House, *or otherwise*." The Speaker's decision might, indeed, be challenged by being put to the vote; but no amendment, adjournment, or debate, was to be permissible. Mr. A. M. Sullivan had just made a speech on Obstruction, to the electors of Marylebone; and Mr. Gladstone took this opportunity to express his approval of Mr. Sullivan's speech. He said that Mr. Sullivan "had thrown considerable light upon the subject, showing that the inherent tendency to obstruction was not confined to a particular section of the House, but that it had, in other days, *received the sanction of very high authorities*," and even "*been rewarded by promotion to very high offices*." Verily, Mr. Gladstone thus took the earliest opportunity to give Parliamentary encouragement, and the sanction of his great name, to the obstructionists, and to assure them that, as long as he should enjoy a seat in the House, they need not fear the cumbrous Standing Order of Sir Stafford Northcote. It was, he evidently held, but a loud and prolonged bark, which is always given when no bite is intended.

On the 14th of June, the obstructionists had sufficiently recovered their terror at the sight of the Order, to hold a grand field-day. Mr. O'Donnell put a question concerning the French Ambassador, whom he held to be "not a good Catholic." He prefaced the question with a long explanation. Mr. Gladstone was then cultivating a French and Russian alliance with England, to the exclusion of Germany and Austria. While Mr. O'Donnell was speaking, Mr. Gladstone suddenly jumped up, and moved "that Mr. O'Donnell be no longer heard." Mr. Gladstone thus lit the fuse, and the House was speedily filled with smoke and inflammatory confusion. Sir Stafford Northcote encouraged the obstructionists, by styling the motion of Mr. Gladstone "a very serious infringement of the right of debate." And so it undoubtedly was. He had no right to set the fuse alight. The Speaker said that: "A

"motion of that kind had not been made in this House for 200 years. There were instances of such a motion having been made in the 17th century." But, Sir Stafford! and you, too, Mr. Speaker! where is your cumbrous Standing Order that was to effect so much? Was it only a prolonged bark? Yes; while Mr. Gladstone had a seat in the House, there was little fear.

During the excited and angry debate which ensued, the Home Secretary, Sir William Vernon Harcourt, rose to address the House, in his pungent, sarcastic way. As soon as he had relieved himself of a few preliminary sentences, of a caustic nature, Captain Price moved: "That the Home Secretary be no "longer heard." In this case, however, the Speaker ruled that "the Home Secretary "was in possession of the House"; a ruling, as was at the time remarked, which had not been held good for Mr. O'Donnell. Sir William thereupon accused the "Opposition of "making discussion in the House impossible." Mr. Forster characterized Mr. O'Donnell's speech as "contrary to the decencies of society, an expression which Mr. Speaker mildly called somewhat strong." Mr. Forster, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, then pleaded that "the honour and reputation of the House were "concerned"; and he implored the House to "*give a decision irrespective altogether of the rules,*"—which would perhaps not concern the honour and reputation of the House. Moreover, he argued that "*the leader of the "House"*" should always have the power to stop any member in the course of his speech, and order him to desist. Perhaps he looked on this as an element in "freedom of "debate." Be this as it may, he held that a Prime Minister should be an absolute despot over Parliament—a Czar, who should have the power of shutting the mouths of members of Parliament, and securing immunity for his acts, by freeing himself from a too obtrusive and scrutinizing curiosity, on the part of the House of Commons!

The Marquis of Hartington set himself, in his steady way,

to quiet the qualms of his own conscience, in regard to the point that "the liberty of debate may be in some danger." His self-justification was such as the following: "I have seen, in the course of the last Parliament, irregular conduct adopted by the House, on the advice of its leader, and with the universal assent of the House, under circumstances less grave than the present." The example he gave was when Mr. Biggar "availed himself of his privileges, and espied strangers in the House; and Mr. D'Israeli, being then leader of the House, irregularly—for he was not in possession of the House—and without notice, got up and moved that strangers be readmitted. That was an irregular motion that was made; but it was carried unanimously by the House. I say, then, that it is the duty of the leader of the House . . . to take whatever action may be necessary to prevent the degradation of the rules and forms of the House." (Cheers, and cries of "Despotism," "Cæsarism," etc.) My Lord Hartington! you were well described by Seneca when he said: "We take our former acts for law, instead of taking the law as the guide for our acts." Mr. Courtney expressed his terror, and said the question was "whether a member was to be suppressed whenever the leader of the House should invoke that power? He thought the only way out of the difficulty, was to vote for the adjournment of the debate." Mr. O'Shaughnessy perceived that Mr. Gladstone's "precedent was derived from the infamous reign of Charles II. . . . *The right hon. gentleman sought to destroy the privileges of the House.*" How remarkably straight you hit, Mr. O'Shaughnessy! Sir Patrick O'Brien was among the prophets, and vaticinated: "If I do not mistake the character of the British people, they will be the last to look on calmly at any tampering with the ancient institutions of the House, *even in obedience to the opinions which may be held by gentlemen at the other side of the Channel.*" Major Nolan averred that "*the first step towards crushing a minority*"

"had now been taken." Mr. Gladstone, hereupon, made a pathetic appeal to Mr. O'Donnell, saying, "It really lies with the hon. member to relieve the House from its present position (into which Mr. Gladstone himself had plunged it). . . . To-day I have to blame myself for not having explained the main reason which prompted me to make the motion. I hope some gentleman will send for the hon. member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) whom I still miss from his place. . . . Would it not be well to give a word of moderating counsel to the hon. member for Dungarvan? Let him, for once, conform to the rules, the orders, the feelings, and the convenience of the House. Let him only say that he will confine himself to the giving of a notice for a future day, and so allow the matter to come to an end; and there is no one who will be more glad to ask permission to withdraw the motion (that Mr. O'Donnell be not heard) than the person (Mr. Gladstone) who has made it." Sir Stafford Northcote followed in a similar strain; which he called "adding his appeal." The two front benches were evidently terrified at the outspoken exclamations in favour of the liberties and privileges of the House. Mr. O'Donnell then rose, and himself made a long speech on the question "that he be no longer heard." It was the fifth speech that he made in that debate; and he afterwards spoke many times more. Mr. McCarthy complained that "they had an entirely new theory broached that evening for the conduct of their proceedings. They had heard of something which was neither the written, nor the unwritten law of order, but which was a kind of vague, transcendental law of propriety, a something floating, as it were, in the air, incapable of any definition; imperious, arbitrary, and wholly unfit to afford any sound or safe advice for the government of their debates. What rule invested the Prime Minister alone with the power of silencing a member, by moving that he be not further heard? If, on the other hand, that power is extended

"to other members, what an effective instrument of obstruction it might become!"

Sir Stafford Northcote then summed up as follows: "A gentleman rose in the House to make a speech. It was admitted that he was in order. But it was considered that the speech was inconvenient, and one of a character that ought to be interrupted. The leader of the House interrupted the speech, and moved that the hon. member be not heard. Well, was it to be understood that, in such circumstances, Mr. Speaker should put the question, or should exercise a discretion as to whether the speech was of such a character that it should or should not be interrupted? According to all rulings so far, the matter appeared to be left to the discretion of Mr. Speaker." So, Sir Stafford! the rulings have left it to the discretion of Mr. Speaker! Whose rulings, I pray? Mr. Speaker's. Besides, you are co-operating with Mr. Gladstone! You concede the principle for which Mr. Gladstone contended! You say that some one should have the power to stop the speech of any and every member; but you think to beguile the House by changing the venue! The Speaker shall exercise that power instead of the Prime Minister! No one, not even the King, had such a power in the House of Commons, during the centuries of its existence. But you are co-operating with Mr. Gladstone in introducing a poisonous virus into Parliament.

After this Mr. Forster pleaded for the right to stop the speech of any member, "as the dignity of the House would otherwise be at the mercy of any member." He said that the House had been disgraced before "the country." Yes; but by whom? By Mr. Gladstone, who lit the fuse. He asserted also that Mr. O'Donnell's speech "had discredited the House, and would have disgraced it, if it had been continued." After four or five more speeches from Mr. O'Donnell, scattered through a prolonged and exciting debate, the motion and amendment were withdrawn, at two o'clock in the morning.

Yes; the House had truly been disgraced before the country and discredited. Mr. Gladstone, doubtless, went home with tripping step and buoyant heart, to ponder over his next measure in pursuing the policy of the Stuarts. That night he had achieved much.

The next measure? Yes; Lord Granville shall take it. He shall send, from the Foreign Office, circulars to all foreign Governments, as well as to our Colonies, to gather arguments and precedents in favour of the imposition of the *clôture*. Besides, these circulars will bruit about all over the world that the House of Commons—and, indeed, the whole Representative system—is an abomination, which has to be got rid of. That is just what we want. Lord Granville did it, on Aug. 25, 1880. King Charles I. and King Charles II. were false-minded Roman Catholics, who pretended to be Protestants. Being Roman Catholics, the Representative system was contrary to their principles. King James II. was a professed Jesuit, who vowed obedience to the Jesuit General. James I. had a Roman Catholic wife, and was, perhaps, himself half a Roman Catholic. The distinctive feature in the character of all of them was lying, duplicity, deception. It was their policy to wheedle the kingdom into Romanism, and not by any means to convert it to the Christian faith of the Apostles. Then why did you, Mr. Gladstone, elect to follow the policy of the Charles's in England, and the Tyrconnel policy of James II. in Ireland? Why do you put all the education in the hands of Jesuits, ruin the landlords, and turn Ireland into one vast camp, with no law in it but the law of the Land League? We shall see presently how you did all this. In the meantime we shall bear this maxim in mind: that wherever we find duplicity, the hand of God is not in that work, but the hand of the Devil; and, whenever we find a statesman deceiving the people of England by the publication of false despatches to a British Ambassador in Berlin, such a statesman may be a servant of the Jesuits, but is not doing God's work; and a curse will undoubtedly, sooner or later, overtake him.

No. XXXIV.

Let us skip over the many minor examples of obstruction, and arrive at the opening of the session of 1881. Just before the meeting of Parliament, there was a general complaint in the newspapers that the toleration extended to the Home Rulers, in their conspiracy against Parliamentary institutions, had caused a widespread, although, it was hoped, a temporary demoralization. English and Scotch members, it was said, had, during the last session, copied the obstructive tactics of the Irishmen; so that the elements of disorder and confusion had been on the increase.¹ How little, alas! such complaints availed! On the contrary, they fixed the public attention on the matter, and drew down an overwhelming contempt on Parliament.

Parliament was assembled on January 6, a month earlier than usual, in order to pass an Irish Protection Bill. That measure had been declared *Urgent*. Yet the debate on the motion for leave to introduce the Bill was again adjourned as late as Friday, January 28. The debate on that Friday was languid, languishing, and moribund. Mr. Gladstone rose late in the evening, as if to perform the function of the leader of the House, and close the debate. The debate was, however, adjourned. On Saturday morning, the Government printers issued the proposed Bill, although leave had not been given, and so furnished the Irish members with an ample text for renewed debates. Was this accidental? or was it accidentally intended, in order that obstruction might reach that point which would raise the ire of Englishmen, and so enable Mr. Gladstone to put down the House of Commons altogether?

Since the 6th of January, the House had been discussing whether the leave to introduce the Bill should be granted or not; and on the 29th, the Government, without having obtained the desired leave, nevertheless printed and cir-

¹ See the *St. James's Gazette*, January 4, 1881.

culated it among the members, and so furnished a rich pabulum for renewed debates! Nor was this all. The Bill itself, it was now found, had been so framed as to furnish endless new matters for future debates and obstructions. There was a sub-section in the first clause, which provided that "A list of all persons being detained in prison "under the Act, with a statement opposite each person's "name of the prison in which he is detained for the time "being, and of the ground stated for his arrest in the "warrant under which he is detained, shall be laid before "each House of Parliament, within the first seven days of "*every* month during which Parliament is sitting." Such a proposal had never before been made. The practice was absolutely new. There was no precedent to authorize it; and no authority had required it. But, lest there should be any mistake as to the intention of this new invention, the Prime Minister said that it was intended to allow arrests, under this Protection Bill, to be made the subject of Parliamentary discussions; which, of course, would be inexhaustible in number, and capable of indefinite prolongation. Mr. Gladstone said that: "No one can be "arrested under this Bill except upon reasonable suspicion; "and the reasonableness of the suspicion may be challenged "on the floor of the House."

On Monday, the 31st of January, the debate for leave was resumed. It was continued throughout the night, and the next day (February 1), and the succeeding night. Mr. Speaker was relieved, in the Chair, by Dr. Playfair. Presently, Mr. Childers called on the Deputy-Speaker to put down the obstruction, promising him the most cordial support on the part of the Government! Mr. Parnell rose; and while in the act of addressing the House, he was interrupted by Mr. Smith, who remarked that *Mr. Parnell had already spoken thirty-three times* on the question of adjournment; was he not, therefore, "abusing the rules" of the House; and should he not be named to the House, under the cumbrous Standing Order of Sir Stafford North-

cote, which had never yet been used? Dr. Playfair—better informed of the intentions of the Government than Mr. Childers—rose and declared that: “as yet there was no “case of obstruction.” Oh! Dr. Playfair! what! No obstruction, when one man spoke thirty-three times on the same question? Hereupon Sir Stafford Northcote abruptly rose and left the House, and the members of the late Ministry, one by one, abruptly rose and left the House following placidly in the sheep-walk of their bell-wether. Yet Dr. Playfair could not be censured, as he too was merely following in the footsteps of his leader. Mr. Speaker Brand had, before this, been appealed to, in the debate, by Sir Richard Cross, who asked if the Irish members were not combining “wilfully and persistently to obstruct business”? Mr. Speaker solemnly and slowly replied: “Undoubtedly; if members entered into a combination for “the purpose of obstructing business, it would bring them “within the operation of the Standing Order.” After a moment’s reflection, he added: “Evidence certainly has “been brought before me, during the course of this debate, “of such a combination as would bring members within “the operation of the rule.” The Speaker had received testimony of the existence of such a conspiracy as rendered the obstructing members obnoxious to the Standing Order. Why, then, did Mr. Speaker refuse to act, and put the cumbrous Order into operation? Mr. Childers made an appeal to Dr. Playfair, who had not received any such evidence; and Dr. Playfair expressed a doubt as to the fact of obstruction. Thus, the obstructionists, who had been promised immunity, received encouragement.

An Irish member then trailed his coat-tails, with a spiritual shillelagh in the clutch of his mind, and called an English Liberal member a “—— fool!” The latter retorted with the words: “Impudent scoundrel!” and the spiritual shillelaghs were mentally flourished. The English member was promptly ordered to withdraw the words and apologise to the offended Irishman. The Englishman did so, and

asked that the aggressing Irish member should withdraw the displeasing epithet with which he had been designated. But Irishmen had been promised immunity, and they got it. The offending Irishman was *not* called upon to withdraw the expression, and Dr. Playfair authoritatively declared that "the incident was at an end."

Later on, towards morning, after the second night, another Irish member charged the Chief Secretary for Ireland, who was an Englishman, with having "debauched public opinion, deliberately and intentionally." The Deputy-Speaker on being appealed to, blandly said of the Irishman that the hon. member was wandering away a "*leettle* from the subject." Sir Patrick O'Brien called the hon. member for Roscommon "a humbug," but was ordered to withdraw the expression, as being "out of order." The offended member for Roscommon was an Irishman. Thereupon Dr. Cummins, another Irish member, spoke, and Sir Patrick averred that he could not hear. Dr. Cummins had his retort ready: "In the present state of "your intellect, you could not understand, if you did hear."

So the debate went on; the hoarse, strident voices echoing through the hall, until the sweet light of heaven beamed gently in, unobtrusively and quietly, through the painted glass windows of the Commons' room, making the lurid gas, and the ghastly angry faces hideous to look upon. After breakfast, Mr. Gladstone—the sea-green immaculate—arrived, with other ministers. The late Ministry also stole into their places, along the sheep-walk, as they had before gone out. Then there were earnest whisperings. Eager conferences were held between ministers and ex-ministers. Anxiously one and another went stealthily out, through the glass door behind the Speaker's chair, and anxiously they stole back again. The debate had already lasted forty-one hours. The brave, persistent, indomitable Irish were not up to much more. Nature could not stand it. Strength was failing and voices were very husky. Mr. Biggar, the hunchbacked member, was speaking in a voice

of calmest suavity, while a broad smile, like a damp sun-beam, struggled to illumine his features.

Now is the time! Now or never! The Speaker enters. Proudly and stiffly the little man came, in order that he might not seem nervous. He mounted the steps of the chair, with firm and heavy tread, amounting almost to tramping; his little figure erect; his protruding nose piercing forward into the morning twilight. What is going to happen now? Regardless of Mr. Biggar, who was perorating suavely, if wildly, Mr. Speaker, in sternest accents, began to tell the House what they already knew, to their cost, concerning the length of the debate. He then added: "A crisis has thus arisen which demands the prompt interposition of the Chair, and the House. The usual rules have been proved powerless to insure orderly and effective debate. . . . The dignity, credit, and authority of this House are seriously threatened (hear, hear) and it is necessary that they should be vindicated. . . . A new and exceptional course is imperatively demanded," etc. The Speaker then announced that he would at once put the question. He did so, leaving Mr. Biggar to gasp with astonishment in the midst of his speech. There was, of course, a division. Then the Irish members rose in a body, and, like school-boys, shouting "Liberty! Liberty!" they filed out of the House.

The Bill was at once read a first time. The second reading was fixed for noon on that same day—two hours later. Mr. Gladstone then rose, and gave notice that: "If a motion be made that any business is urgent, and if forty members support it by rising in their places, the Speaker shall forthwith put the question, without debate, amendment, or adjournment; and if the question be affirmed by three-quarters of the members present, *the powers of the House for the regulation of business . . . and all other matters, shall be, and remain with the Speaker.*" Mr. Gladstone also gave notice that he would move that the state of public business is urgent. Verily, a most excep-

tional course! very sweeping, and very stringently coercive, only one degree less so than the Ironside soldier's command: "Take away that bauble." The House truly had the brand of Cain upon its brow.

On the reassembling of the House at noon, Mr. Labouchere asked the Speaker under what Standing Order of the House he had acted? Mr. Speaker Brand replied: "I acted on my own responsibility, and from my sense of 'duty to the House.'" Let us, for our parts, hope that this was so. But Mr. Parnell wished to move, as a question of privilege, that the Speaker's act was "a breach of the 'privileges of the House.'" Mr. Speaker replied that such a motion was not a question of privilege, and that it could not be done. Mr. Sullivan moved: "That the House 'disagrees with Mr. Speaker in his ruling.'" Mr. Sullivan was told by Mr. Speaker that he (Mr. Sullivan) was disregarding the authority of the Chair. Mr. Sullivan then said "he would move the adjournment of the House;" but the Speaker ruled that "he would be entirely out of 'order.'" Mr. Sullivan, however, addressed the House, and said: "A grave constitutional issue has now arisen. 'It is a question of the liberties of the House,'—whereupon Mr. Gladstone appealed to the Speaker: 'Whether 'those observations were not disorderly?' Mr. Gladstone afterwards began his reply by saying that motions for adjournment were 'a public nuisance.'" In such a manner was the whole of Wednesday (Feb. 3) wasted by "urgency" and precipitancy, and the brand of Cain. The Irish Protection Bill was not once touched. Then were heard, on all sides, useless regrets, and indistinct mutterings against the *coup d'état* which had been perpetrated by Mr. Speaker Brand, in subserviency to the will of "the People's William." The mass of the members, however, did not care. Perhaps they were glad that lawlessness had been crushed by lawlessness, and disorder quelled by disorderly means. The thralldom which had, for fifteen years or more, been exercised by the party leaders on the members of their

respective parties, had caused a secret resentment to smoulder, burn, and glow. To see the destruction of the House of Commons now slaked their thirst for revenge!

It was remarked that the Jesuit journal, the *Univers*, and the Communist organ, the *Intransigent*, took exactly the same view in commenting on these occurrences; they took the side of the Irish party. The Jesuit paper did so, no doubt, because it knew or foresaw the downfall of the Representative system; the latter because the ideas of the Irish members were purely Communistic, Socialistic, and Revolutionary. Two days later, the *Univers* apologised for this very apparent community of feeling and identity of aims; and avowed that the sympathy of the Communist organs was an unfortunate thing for the Land League. Moreover, in reply to some Bonapartist newspaper, the *Univers* excused the atrocities of the Land Leaguers, and endeavoured to minimise their crimes.¹ The *Union*, the organ of the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Paris, predicted the *clôture* for the House of Commons and the loss of the privileges and liberties of that ancient assembly, as the net result of the concerted action of the obstructionists.

On February 3, a gentleman, who had occasion to call on Cardinal Manning, remarked that, "Matters are very critical; there is a revolution going on, or, rather, a counter-revolution!" The Cardinal smiled. The gentleman then inquired, "I suppose that is the death-wound of the House of Commons?" The Cardinal said, in a manner most undisturbed and placid, "I suppose that it is the end of *Parliament*," laying stress on the last word. The gentleman remarked that the business had been done "very clumsily." The Cardinal turned on him sharply, and asked him with vivacity, "How would *you* have done it? How *could* it have been done otherwise? Any motion would have given rise to endless amendments and prolonged debates. The only way was for the Speaker to

¹ *Times*, January 29 and 31.

"utter the will of the House, as the mouth-piece of the 'House,' etc., etc. His vivacity betrayed a kind of parental affection for the scheme. The gentleman replied, "Yes ; "of course, the *expressed* will of the House ; but he *assumed* "it." "Yet it was impossible to do otherwise," replied, the Cardinal sharply. The gentleman, after a few moments of reflection, said slowly, "If they know how to deal with "the situation, it will be the salvation of England ; if not, "then it will be the ruin. I mean, that if the House of "Commons returns to its proper functions, and we reinstate "the ancient Constitution of England——" The Cardinal, interrupting, suggested : "Government by the Queen ? " "Yes ; the Queen in Council." "Good ! if you can put "the shadow back two centuries on the dial of Ahaz !" replied the Cardinal somewhat sarcastically. The gentleman answered, "I do not believe that the people of "England care for *parties* ; they want no *party*, and are "disgusted with the House of Commons : the shadow *has* "been put back." After a moment's indecision, the Cardinal said, "*The labourers are all ours ; they are with* "us ; *the skilled artisans will go with Bradlaugh and* "Broadhurst, two members that we can count upon ; they "already, you see, support the Government." He then turned away and gazed silently into the fire.

It will have been remarked that, throughout the long forty-two hours' sitting, the Speaker and the Government refrained from making use of Sir Stafford Northcote's cumbrous Standing Order of the previous February. Not a single member was "named," or "suspended from the "service of the House." A few—nay, all the Irish members—might have been suspended, before twelve hours of obstructive efforts had been exercised ; and the business of the House would have been satisfactorily accomplished. But then such a course would not have attained the end in view ; it would have done nothing towards impressing the public imagination with the necessity of abolishing the House of Commons. Therefore the sitting was prolonged,

and the Speaker at first arrogated to himself, and was afterwards invested with, absolute dictatorial powers for stopping debate.

No. XXXV.

LET us now compare the diplomatic powers of Lord Beaconsfield with those of Cardinal Manning. On March 5, 1881, I met Lord Beaconsfield in Rotten Row, and turned to walk with him. In the course of conversation, I said: "Here is a curious thing: King John for the first time called Parliament together in 1214 A.D.; that is, he summoned the barons and the knights of the shires. They met in 1215, and he lost his crown—I mean the material thing—so that his successor, Henry III., had to be crowned with a plain rim of gold. The House of Commons has received its death-thrust now, in 1881; so that it has lasted just 666 years." Lord Beaconsfield's face, on which I kept my eyes fixed, gradually assumed a remarkable expression; but his answer—a "sound most brutish," as Horne Tooke would have said—shall be left to the reader's imagination. Five days afterwards I met an old permanent official of high standing, and remarked to him that the House of Commons had been mortally wounded; and that Gladstone's Government had brought about its death with a most wonderful rapidity—with a much greater rapidity than I had expected beforehand. The permanent official answered, "Yes, it is true; the House of Commons is done for; but it is a mistake to suppose that the killing has been done during *this* session; it began two years ago on the Army Discipline Bill (*i.e.* in 1879, under Lord Beaconsfield); we have had no Parliamentary Government since then; the House of Commons was *then* stabbed to death." He is a pleasant, jovial man, that permanent official; and, after a few minutes of silence, he began to bemoan the fate of the

House, saying that it was "the best of Governments, and, "with all its faults, the maker of the best code of laws for "England, or any other country."

At the beginning of February, 1881, even after the forty-two hours' sitting, the public imagination was not sufficiently inflamed against the House of Commons. The public was decidedly torpid. Michael Davitt was, therefore, arrested on February 4. When this fact was made known, the agents of obstruction entered upon a more violent and impressive melo-dramatic scene. Sir W. Harcourt refused to answer a question of Mr. Parnell's; and the Speaker at once called on Mr. Gladstone to make some motion. Mr. Dillon rose to a question of order, and refused to resume his seat, when commanded to do so by Mr. Speaker. The Speaker then, for the first time, resorted to Sir Stafford Northcote's Standing Order of the preceding February, and "named" Mr. Dillon to the House. Mr. Dillon was suspended, and was removed by the Serjeant-at-Arms, assisted by five messengers. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Sullivan then addressed the House simultaneously; or, perhaps, alternately, with a systole-diastole, pulsatory movement; while the O'Donoghue moved the adjournment of the House; and Mr. Parnell moved that Mr. Gladstone "be no longer heard." A scene of the most "indescribable confusion" ensued. A momentary lull was taken advantage of by Mr. Gladstone; and he, a second time, uttered the first sentence of his still-born speech:—"The duty which I have to perform is "undoubtedly a matter of vast importance——" Again Mr. Parnell moved that he "be no longer heard,"—a motion which seemed superfluous, as the noise made it impossible that any one should be heard. Mr. Parnell was then named and suspended. The Speaker ordered the House to be cleared for a division; but the Irish members refused to move. The division was, therefore, obligingly taken, while they sat and looked on calmly, as if they were witnessing a burlesque or extravaganza, from the

amphitheatre stalls of the "Folly Theatre." Mr. Parnell was removed by the Serjeant-at-Arms and five messengers; while the Irish members "rose to a man, and waved their hats above their heads." Again Mr. Gladstone was on his legs, in all the labour-pains of his still-born speech. He said, "I do my best to resume the unfortunate sentence 'that has been bisected and trisected. The duty which I have to perform is undoubtedly a matter of vast importance——'" At once Mr. Finnigan moved "that he be no longer heard." Mr. Finnigan was named and suspended. Again the House was cleared for a division; and again the Irish members calmly remained in their seats, and refused to move. The Serjeant-at-Arms and five messengers removed Mr. Finnigan; while the Irish members cheered him too. The unfortunate Prime Minister rose again: "The duty which I have to perform is 'undoubtedly a matter of vast importance——'" The Speaker gaining courage, or else growing tired of naming individual members, discovered that Sir Stafford Northcote's Standing Order enabled him to name them "in the gross;" he therefore named: "Mr. Barry, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Byrne, Mr. W. Corbet, Mr. Daly, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Gill, Mr. Gray, Mr. Healy, Mr. Lalor, Mr. Leahy, Mr. Leamy, Mr. McCarthy, Mr. McCoan, Mr. Mahullum-Marum, Mr. Metge, Mr. Nelson, Mr. A. O'Connor, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, the O'Donoghue, the O'Gorman Mahon, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. Redmond, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Smithwick, Mr. A. M. Sullivan, and Mr. T. D. Sullivan." In the strictest alphabetical order they were named. Mr. Gladstone moved that all those gentlemen in the lump (naming them in strict alphabetical order) should be suspended under the Standing Order of February 28, 1880. Mr. A. Balfour, of the "Fourth Party," rose to order, and expressed his doubts whether they could be dealt with by the couple of dozen (or rather twenty-eight); he thought that, by the Standing Order, they must be dealt with individually. The Speaker exclaimed, "It

"is a question, not of order, but of convenience." Mr. Gorst, of the "Fourth Party," and Mr. Cowen repeated Mr. Balfour's protest, and were treated, by Mr. Speaker, with scant courtesy, and silence. The above-named members were then severally taken out, alphabetically, of course, by the Serjeant-at-Arms and five messengers. They could not be taken out by the gross. When that had been accomplished, Mr. Gladstone was again seized with the labour-pains of his still-born speech: "I do my best to resume the unfortunate sentence; the duty which I have to perform is undoubtedly a matter of vast importance——" Doomed, alas! to be not only bisected, and trisected, and quartered, but pentagonalitomated too! for Mr. O'Donnell moved: "That he be no longer heard." So Mr. O'Donnell was suspended, and removed by the Serjeant-at-Arms and five messengers. Mr. Richard Power, and then Mr. O'Shaughnessy shared the same unhappy fate. The House had swallowed the nauseous draught, which had been prepared for it by Mr. Gladstone; it had suffered its gripes and bowel pains; and had been put to a complete and effective purgation of the offending Irish members. But what was the still-born child? The "Business of the House" was still-born. The "New Rules of Debate" were passed with a fatal haste.

Across the Straits of Dover, all the newspapers arose, and sang a chorus of jubilation, and blessed the Speaker and Government for their exhibition of force against the obstructionists; while both the Jesuit and Communist journals still continued to take the part of the Irish Land Leaguers.¹ The Republican papers hinted that the freedom of speech, on which we English used to pride ourselves, had, perhaps, been a little rudely brushed away; and that the liberties of Parliament seemed to have become evanescent. Yes; there was no denying it; the deed had verily been done. The Home Rulers had stood manfully to their work; they had played their parts most sturdily;

¹ *Times*, February 7, 11, 16, etc., 1881.

and Mr. Gladstone had most deftly enacted his. The players had fumed and strutted awhile upon their stage and fretted in well simulated earnestness. The curtain now fell, and all went home.

The *Times*, on the following morning (February 8), was surprised that "it was not the intention of the Home Rule members to raise any question, or enter any protest whatever, with regard to the new rules of debate, which had been carried during their absence from the House of Commons on Thursday night. *They are content, they say, to leave the matter entirely in the hands of Mr. Gladstone.*" Of course they were! We learned, too, that, in England, the newspapers ascribed the Speaker's and Dr. Playfair's inaction, during the forty-two hours' sitting, "to quit; other causes than that of personal weakness or indecision, ". . . *It is difficult, in short, to resist the belief that indecision had, in neither case, anything to do with the matter; that the standing orders were not left unenforced from any hesitancy in dealing with obstruction, but with a settled determination to deal with it in another way: that both the Speaker and Deputy-Speaker allowed the mischief to continue, after they might have suppressed it, in order that occasion might ripen for what was to follow; and that, in fact, Mr. Brand, like other Napoleonic persons, permitted anarchy to come to a head, in order that he might then step in, and save society. He has, as we have seen, been already congratulated on having allowed rope enough to the obstructionists; though the congratulations take insufficient account of the fact that, when the obstructionists hung themselves, THE LIBERTIES OF PARLIAMENT. WERE SUSPENDED ALSO.*"¹ Both Mr. Speaker and the Deputy-Speaker were made G.C.B.; and the former has since received the guerdon of a peerage, by the title of Viscount Hampden!

The Speaker, enjoying the absolute powers which he had seized, and which were afterwards confirmed to him, pro-

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, February 9, 1881.

mulgated, on February 17, the new rules of debate, which still further revolutionized the ancient practice of the House of Commons. As he resumed his seat, after verbally issuing his decree, the murmurs were long, loud, and menacing. There was no mistaking the sensation he had produced. He had evidently gone too far. The House was becoming suspicious and irritated. Words were overheard about the loss of liberty of speech ; that which is so essential to the life of Parliament, having been ruthlessly, and with a high hand, taken away. Some struck nearer at the secret aim of the Government ; and it was said that such practical despotism was not compatible with party government. "There is the end of party government," murmured some, whose only idea of good government is government by party. Those who regarded the government of the Sovereign in Council as the only good government, knew that only the resuscitation of the functions of the Privy Council would really be the end of party government.

The Speaker's new rules were "stringent" ;¹ "they established the *clôture*, on the committee stage of a Bill, "in its most naked form." A motion, which had to be voted without debate, might direct the chairman to report a Bill, finished or unfinished, as soon as a certain hour should have struck. Another rule forbade the debate of new clauses and of amendments ; only the member who moved them, and the member in charge of the Bill, might address the House. The *Times*, next morning, moaned and whined out unavailing regrets : "It is distressing enough "that the House of Commons should be constrained to "sanction cumulative restrictions on its traditional freedom "of debate, and to suspend rules which centuries of free "discussion have tested and approved." This was not a fortnight from the time when the Speaker, without a shadow of right, took upon himself presumptuously to stop a debate, and destroy the liberties of Parliament ; and

¹ *Times*, February 18, 1881.

members began to ask themselves why it was done? Was it to save a few nights of debate on a Coercion Bill? Those arbitrary proceedings lost many more nights, and much more temper, than would have been expended over anything else. Would such a saving, even, have been a sufficient ground for executing the *coup d'état* a fortnight before, and imposing the severe gagging rules now? Better indeed (said many) to lose a month in debate than to sacrifice the whole liberties of England by the debate.

The leader of the Home Rule party, who had succeeded Mr. Butt, namely Mr. Shaw, contributed his quota of information, in a letter to the *Times* (February 18). He told us how carefully the Irish party had been prepared for the rôle it was destined to play, in the conspiracy against the freedom of Parliament, and against the whole representative system. "At a meeting of the party in Dublin, before the commencement of the present session, resolutions were passed, without notice, completely altering its constitution, and placing in the hands of a committee, nominated entirely from one section, the power of shaping its policy and action. A policy of extreme obstruction was ostentatiously announced both before and at the meeting of Parliament. . . . On that memorable Thursday evening, no words can convey to you the feeling of humiliation and hopelessness with which I withdrew from the distressing scene. My first strong feeling was never to enter the House again. . . . *This policy is directly chargeable with . . . having rendered necessary the introduction* of rules narrowing the freedom of Parliamentary debate; and I cannot understand how any one out of his political babyhood could have expected any other results." Of course not. Those results were intended.

No. XXXVI.

THE suspicions which had been aroused, and the irritation which had been engendered among the members of the House, by these new rules of debate, were very general. The Government had evidently been too rash and precipitate in pressing forward to their end. A new lead, in another direction, was therefore imperative, in order for a time to calm their feelings. A meeting of Conservative members was hastily called at the Carlton Club, to consider whether the party should support Mr. Gladstone's resolutions. Of course, the general indignation had to be directed against something. Jonah had to be thrown overboard, in order to save the ship and cargo. It was whispered that "the third rule was, perhaps, unnecessarily "stringent;" that is to say, "it was somewhat harsh that, "at the fated hour, all further amendments and notices "should be utterly quashed; let them be put to the House "without debate; it would take very little time to do so; "and if Mr. Speaker were requested he might perhaps "agree to this little concession." So the Opposition came to the aid of the Government by proposing a slight concession in order to save the rest of the new rules; or rather, a slight diminution in the amount of wrong to be done, in the hopes that the House would be stupid enough not to resist the perpetration of the wrong altogether. An insidious concession! a most deceptive diminution, as soon appeared! Little time was then lost in voting upon the remaining amendments. But something else was lost—the power of moving and debating those or similar amendments at a later stage.

Only 120 members attended the Conservative meeting. Sir Stafford Northcote presided; and, in his opening speech, he utterly ignored the loss of the liberties of Parliament. He led the attention of the meeting off to collateral issues. "He saw in the rules two most important points,

"which were likely to prove dangerous. One was, that a Bill might be reported to the House without most important amendments being discussed. This was a very serious and dangerous innovation. The second dangerous point was where it was proposed to declare that only one person should be allowed to speak to an amendment besides the member in charge of the Bill. This would entirely cut out the Conservative party from saying anything in the debate." Mr. Beresford Hope urged that "it was better to suffer a little delay than to sacrifice Parliamentary freedom." But it was finally arranged that "*an appeal should be made to the Speaker to modify the rules!*"¹ This, accordingly, Sir Stafford did, at the next meeting of the House. It was not said whether he did so in humble and suppliant posture, kneeling on both knees, at the bar of the House. He began thus: "Sir! I desire, with your permission, to put a question to you." He then, in courteous and hesitating phrase, mentioned the two side issues, and humbly added: "I wish respectfully to ask you, sir, whether it will be possible to remove them wholly or partially. I do not wish, sir, to press you inconveniently to give an answer at the present moment." The Speaker, however, did reply at once: "The points brought under my notice by the right hon. gentleman have not escaped my attention; and the House will readily believe that I have, for many days, given my most anxious attention to the framing of these rules;" and on that ground he deferred giving any answer until the next day. As those very points, about which he was supplicated, had engaged his anxious attention for many days before he promulgated his decree, therefore he could not be expected to give them up all at once. At two o'clock in the morning, however—which was, indeed, the next day, when all honest folk were in bed—the Speaker issued an amended decree or rule, conceding only the first of Sir Stafford's side issues. Lord Hartington then, at once, gave notice of "urgency"

¹ *Times*, Feb. 19, 1881.

for Monday afternoon, and named twelve o'clock on Monday night, as the dread hour at which the Committee on the Bill under discussion must come to an end, under the new rule.

It must be remarked that those exceedingly stringent rules had been issued by the Speaker after anxious and careful consideration. He could not have mistaken the point at which he was aiming; he had merely miscalculated the temper of the House with which he had to deal. The relaxation was, therefore, not made for the preservation of some of the liberties of the House; it was to act as a soporific or anodyne, and lull the members into an unguarded slumber, until a more convenient opportunity should arise for strangling their liberties altogether. It must also be observed that, directly the rules had been promulgated, the Government gave notice that they would lose no time in enforcing them—and that, too, without affording the House any time for their consideration, and no opportunity for their amendment. Yet surely Mr. Gladstone, *if he was truly a Liberal minister*, must have held that the liberties of the House were worth preserving? If he was, as he called himself, a Liberal leader, he must have set some value on the Representative system? He must have regarded the House of Commons as a proper legislative machine? Yet here we find him sacrificing the legislative machine, under the paltry pretence of saving a paltrier piece of legislation! He kicked over the slow work of centuries, under the cloak of carrying out the ephemeral policy of a Cabinet!

The Committee on the Bill having, by the new rules, been brought violently to an end, Mr. Gladstone, on Feb. 23, brought, in a similar manner, the debate on the Report to an abrupt termination. It was finished at 7 p.m.; and he at once commenced the Third Reading. We must, however, stop to remark that, before the debate on the Report had been brought to an end, the speeches of several members were summarily cut short by Mr. Speaker

Brand :—"The hon. member is using the same arguments, "in almost the same language, as on a former occasion ; I "must call upon him to desist." Another member was squelched by being told that he was "wandering from the "question." Another time Mr. Speaker Brand "interposed, "and ruled that the hon. member was using wearisome "iteration, and he called upon him to resume his seat." Again, "the Speaker ruled that Mr. Redmond's amend- "ment should not be put, as it related to prison rules, "which may not be further discussed."

When the Third Reading had been reached, every one laboured under the distressing sense that the Speaker's absolute power, under "the rules of urgency," in virtue of which he could decide when a debate should be closed, was the sword of Damocles suspended by a hair, in continual menace, over the House.

The next day (Feb. 24) the organ of the Government, the *Daily News*, announced that, "if obstruction be resorted "to on the Army Estimates, immediate steps will be taken "to bring into operation the orders as to urgency." The meaning was, not merely that the immemorial right of presenting grievances *before* granting a supply, should be taken away ; but also that the control of the House over the public expenditure should be abolished. The votes were not to be questioned nor discussed ! Truly that was a total destruction of the functions of Parliament ! It was excused and covered merely by a *pretended rumour* that the Irish members would offer obstruction on the Estimates ! Would it not be better in such a case, think you to suspend again each obstructing member for a day, or a week, or a month, or a year, if need be, rather than destroy the very functions of the House of Commons ? To disfranchise the *whole* of Ireland would seem, to many persons, a lesser evil than to take from Parliament its very source of liberty, and to ask the House of Commons to abandon its first duty to the nation. It might reasonably have been urged that a House of Commons is not a good legislative

machine, and that it undoubtedly should not interfere with executive functions. It might have been said that it is the wisest who should govern, in every society ; that the wisest are the few ; and that the majority of the House, who really legislate, are not the wisest ; that, in each constituency, the majority are not the most competent, even to choose the wisest representative ; and that it is much more rational to suppose that the Sovereign could, and would, select the wisest to help and advise her ; that what the constituencies—the people—can do well is this : they can choose out those who will represent the grievances of their fellows and the wants of their localities. Those were the old Tory arguments ; and those arguments would have had, at least, a show of reason. But they would have been wide of the mark. The point was this : it is always the right of the constituencies to watch, through their representatives, the expenditure of the money they supply. The discussion of votes in Supply is, therefore, the essential of every representative assembly ; and it was that essential which Mr. Gladstone took away. The *Times* wrote leading articles to prepare the public mind for this further *coup d'état* : "It is only too probable that the House of Commons will be called upon to repeat the sacrifices it has already made, not without reluctance and misgiving. Without the application of the rules of urgency, it seems almost idle to look for the despatch of any public business whatever. . . . To-day, for instance, Supply has been put down as the first order of the day, in order that Mr. Childers may make a most important statement, etc. . . . The difficulty is in the application of urgency to such business as that of the Estimates, upon which every one desires that there should be no suppression of fair discussion. But some solution must be found, unless Parliament is to acquiesce not only in defeat, but discredit."¹ The *Standard*, also, which was said to have been the organ or property of an extreme Radical member

¹ *Times*, Feb. 28.

in a high official position in the Government, announced that: "It is understood that the Government intend to ask the House of Commons to vote urgency on the Estimates. Should this course be adopted, the analogy of the New Rules, operating last week, will be followed; and the Speaker will apply, to each vote on the Estimates, the same treatment that he has ordered shall be applied to the amendments of a Bill in committee. The effect of this arrangement would be, that after a certain time, the Speaker or the Deputy-Speaker would put to the House, forthwith, all the votes not yet passed, and that they would be divided upon *without discussion*." That meant that the House should not be allowed to ask inconvenient questions regarding the expenditure, nor press for inconvenient answers, nor investigate, scrutinize, and control the expenditure of the country; but should be allowed only to divide! Now, every one knows how divisions are manipulated. It is easy for the party in power to have its devoted adherents and obedient slaves at its beck and bid, on every division; while independent members rarely hang together, and are often absent. Moreover, the "finders," of the party in power, spy out the thoughts and intentions of each member, and know long beforehand how he will vote. Those observations are all reported and tabulated. Besides, the majority are kept straight, either by the whip-hand which the Government possesses, in the secret knowledge of some crime undetected, or some dirty transaction into which the "useful" or "talented member" has been purposely led; or else by the little rewards—the gewgaws of political life—the decorations, the invitations to a great man's table, or a Queen's ball, the suggested hope of a small colonial appointment, or even some vague and empty expressions like pirate's promises, dangled before the greedy mental eyes and the fervid imaginations of the expectant but inexperienced senator. Party government is based on crime and corruption.

Men's minds being now in a state of tension; undefined

suspensions assailing the older members, and stupid fear unmanning the younger, it became necessary to apply a sedative. On the 1st of March, 1881, there was, therefore, a quasi-official article in the *Times* :—" It is intimated that, " though the Arms Bill will retain its precedence whenever " the Government choose to press it, and though it will be " dealt with, whenever so pressed, as a matter of urgency, " some sittings of the House will be taken for Supply from " time to time. *The business in Supply will not be treated as " urgent*, unless and until the House shall specially vote it to " be so. We have, therefore, a situation before us which is " at any rate, anomalous. A measure, for which priority " and urgency have been secured, is to make way for " ordinary business, when the Government think fit to put " it aside. It follows, as a matter of course, that the Arms " Bill will be taken on private members' days, when the " Government cannot ask the House to take Supply ; but " that, when the Government have the power to do so, " Supply will be given precedence." There was, moreover, a hint that those votes in Supply which the Government did not think fit to postpone, should be included in the vote of "urgency." The *Times* added : "The force of " Lord Hartington's argument is incontestable; but it seems " to point to the necessity for declaring Supply to be " matter of urgency." If an argument is incontestable, the conclusion it points to must undoubtedly be true. He, the semi-inspired, took it upon himself to assert that Lord Hartington's argument was incontestable ; and, it added, that it proved Supply to be declared urgent ; or, in other words, that the House of Commons should vote upon Supply in a submissive and unquestioning manner ! Nor was the *Times* alone. The same " was stated with the air " of official inspiration in various quarters, and the statement has been officially countenanced."¹

Those announcements were received with alarm and irritation. The House of Commons was in no mood to

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, March 1, 1881.

stand any further demand for the surrender of their ancient privileges—any further abrogation of their primary duties. The Government reluctantly, therefore,—yes, reluctantly, but only because they could not help it—saw that they must drop their last proposal. Mr. Gladstone, indeed, uttered a long and piteous wail about the absolute necessity of passing a number of votes before the 21st of March; while a number of those intervening days must be devoted to the Irish Arms Bill. The Irish Arms Bill! Why, how is this? Is that Bill again to be brought to the fore? The Government had relinquished it a few days before; they said it was not urgent; not even at all necessary! Why then is it to be furbished up, and brought into the House, and flourished in our faces? Merely in order to consume the twenty-one days, and persuade the House of the necessity of making Supply become urgent. Merely to create obstruction, and furnish occasion for it. Merely to irritate the Irish members into obstructing both the Arms Bill and Supply, and to anger the House by means of the obstruction, so that they may surrender the last of the privileges of Parliament, as the price of being ridded of obstruction. Parliament is to become like one who would commit suicide in order to get rid of a stomach ache!

The Fates were, however, not propitious to Mr. Gladstone. Sir Stafford Northcote had been Chancellor of the Exchequer. Here was so good an opportunity to remind the House of the fact, and flaunt his financial acumen in their faces. So he showed, incontestably, that there was plenty of time, and not the least need for urgency in Supply. Mr. Gladstone held his peace. But, on the 7th of March, a devoted adherent asked a convenient question, and pressed the Government to devise some plan for the better despatch of business. Mr. Gladstone replied: "It has been intimated in various forms, and at various times, that the present state of the House, in reference to the effective despatch of business, is an extremely serious subject; and that, therefore, whether by discussion in a

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"Select Committee, or by resolution of the House itself, "we should think it *an object of public value and importance that there should be a means of its fuller elucidation, in order to impress on the minds of the House and of the country the extreme difficulty in which we are placed.* I do not believe "that any repressive measure, however judicious, *will ever attain the whole of the object in view.*" Certainly not, unless the repressive measure were co-extensive with the object in view, and covered the whole ground of that which you were aiming at ; and in that case the repressive measure would appear destructive. There was an ingenuous simplicity in Mr. Russell's question ; there was no ingenuous simplicity in Mr. Gladstone's answer. Mr. Russell is a Roman Catholic, and therefore bound to do all he can against the Representative system.

The inspired *Times*, the next morning, had to improve the occasion which had thus been furnished : "The objections to applying the rules for urgent business, framed "by the Speaker, to the discussion of the Estimates, are "obvious. *But what is to be done ?* If a certain number "of members are resolved to stretch to the uttermost their "strict rights of criticism and debate, when it is evident "that there is barely time, with the swiftest despatch, to "get through work which cannot be left undone, *the curtailment of the rights so abused becomes clearly a public duty.* ". . . Probably it may be found necessary to impose "restrictions in respect of urgency, even on discussion in "Supply." How simple of the *Times* ! How truly naïve ! How ingenuous ! It had seen members obstructing ; it knew that much ; but it knew no more ! How should it ? It supposed, the innocent creature, that every one in the House acted openly, honestly, and above-board ; of course they did ! Did you, then, never hear of members having been employed by the Government to obstruct the business of the House ? Did you never hear a whisper of the whole plan,—well ! conspiracy, yes, call it a conspiracy, if you like—to cause obstruction, in order apparently to force its

hand into giving Romanist measures ; and also to warrant it in getting rid of Representative government, in obedience to the Syllabus, and for the pleasure of the Jesuits? Did you never hear that Mr. D'Israeli had so employed the Irish members?—Ay ; suborned them ! Be it so, if you wish—Did you never hear it? Did you not hear that Mr. Gladstone had done the same? Have you already forgotten the debate of February 25, 1881? Listen then to “Honest Joe Cowen,” that outspoken, eloquent man, who can say just what he knows and thinks ; listen to him, as your Treasury Bench listened, in unspeakable horror : “Obstruction was fostered by articles in magazines, *over distinguished signatures*, and by the action of the *prominent members of the Opposition*, who came down and lent the “light of their countenance to the Irish members, in their “struggles with the Treasury Bench.” Or if you prefer it, take the testimony of an Irish member : “When they (the “Irish members) indulged in obstruction, Liberal members “*came and told them how the game was to be played*. Their “greater skill was ready to aid the ruder ignorance of the “Irish body. Their higher prestige came to the assistance “of the beleaguered Irish forces. Some, who had become “Right Honourables, came in at the tail of the hunt.” See, then, how daring was the pretended innocence, simplicity, and ignorance of the *Times* ! Daring, and even foolhardy, it fell wide of its mark. The article was ineffective. The general feeling of terror and insecurity, as at the impending death of a great monarch, was too widespread to be manipulated by the *Times*.

No. XXXVII.

ON the 8th of March, in answer to a question of Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Gladstone again endeavoured to stir the mind of the House to agree to put down Obstruction by restricting its own liberties. He complained that

"the present condition of business in the House, places us "under most severe limitations"; and he endeavoured to show that it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to pass the necessary votes in Supply, and the Ways and Means Act, before the end of the financial year,—to say nothing of the Mutiny Act, on which he expected discussion. There was no hearty response in the House; no response at all. Something more, then, must be done to stir the House up. Mr. Finigan complained of the "beastly bellowing" of the right hon. gentlemen on the Treasury Bench. After considerable haggling,—after the fashion of, "Said I, a better soldier? I said, an older "soldier, not a better"—the words were withdrawn. Then Mr. O'Donnell rose on a "new point of order," for which he was "named," by Dr. Playfair; and Sir W. Harcourt moved, amid "tremendous uproar," that he be suspended. Mr. Biggar addressed the House, seated and with his hat on, beginning: "The disgraceful——," but the feelings of the hon. member, although, no doubt, finding vent in graceful phrases, "were drowned in the uproar," and disgraceful din of the British House of Commons. Mr. O'Donnell was clearly in the right, and was the victim of oppression. He was sacrificed to the necessity of fanning the dying embers of obstruction. Mr. O'Donnell, without law, suffered a Parliamentary execution, in order to excite a welcome rebellion.

The next day, the Committee on the "Peace Preservation (Ireland) Bill," was down in the Orders; and Urgency was proposed and carried by Mr. Gladstone. The Committee was to be finished and reported by three o'clock that day. After all the amendments had been knocked off, the Chairman said: "The question is that "I report this Bill to the House." That question, Mr. Callan insisted on debating. There were "loud cries of *Chair!* and a great uproar." Mr. Callan was choked off. Yet he died hard, after repeated attempts to be heard. When the Speaker had returned to the chair, the point

was again raised ; but the Speaker gave his decision in favour of the Chairman's ruling. The next morning, there were encomiums on the conduct of the Speaker, for "acting (as he said himself) upon a *liberal* view of the spirit "of his rules." Yet he had admitted that there were omissions in his hasty draft of the rules, so that they altogether failed to bear upon that point. By a *liberal* interpretation, the Speaker meant an interpretation on the side of increased rigour and oppression. The word "liberal," in his mind, denoted oppression of liberty. Recent facts have quite borne out that Radical view of the term "liberal." When Mr. Speaker Brand received a peerage, he assumed the title of *Hampden* !

On the 10th of March, Urgency was again moved by Mr. Gladstone on the Report of the Arms Bill ; and, at ten o'clock—the time fixed for concluding the debate on the Report—*some* of the remaining amendments were hurried through without debate. Only *some* of them. The Speaker refused to put the first, "because it clearly "could not be entertained by the House." The second, third, and fourth, were not put by Mr. Speaker Brand, because he considered them the same as previous amendments. The sixth shared the same fate, on the same ground. The fifth, which stood in the name of Mr. O'Donnell, was not put, because the Speaker did not see Mr. O'Donnell ; and many protests were raised against this clear infraction of the customs of the House. The next amendment was also not put, as it was similar to a previous amendment. Thus a greater number of other amendments were treated ; but an amendment of the Home Secretary was put, with evident alacrity and relish by Mr. Speaker.

The next morning, the *Times* had a quasi-official leader, against permitting members to continue the practice of putting questions to Ministers, which it pleased the *Times* to designate as "trivial and impertinent." It also announced that, as the supplemental estimates must be

disposed of within a week, Mr. Gladstone would, that evening, "make a statement of the intentions and expectations of the Government with respect to Supply and "other pressing business." The Government organ, the *Daily News*, said on the same day: "The Premier had a "consultation last night with the leader of the Opposition, "on the general question of the state of public business, "with special reference to the necessity of forthwith "passing certain votes in Committee of Supply. We "understand that, whilst it is generally admitted, on the "Ministerial side, that it is hopeless to expect to make "progress except the Committee sit from day to day and "under the Rules of Urgency, such a course will be proposed "only with the assurance of the concurrence of the Opposition." There was also, in the *Standard*, a statement that the Government were framing a new rule of urgency, applicable to the business of Supply. From this it became pretty manifest to the minds of most men, that the House of Commons, in investing the Speaker with a dictatorial power of framing new rules, were really giving that power to Prime Minister Gladstone and his secret allies.

That evening Mr. Baxter, of Montrose, asked Mr. Gladstone, "Whether, seeing that, notwithstanding the new "rules and declarations of Urgency, the usual and necessary "business of the House had been practically stopped, and "the national safety thereby imperilled, Her Majesty's "Government intended to propose such measures as would "effectually put an end to obstruction, and, at the same "time, vindicate the dignity and restore the deliberative and "legislative power of Parliament." The question had most likely been framed by Mr. Gladstone himself, and been given to Mr. Baxter to ask. In his reply Mr. Gladstone said: "I confess I do not think the expression goes far "beyond the mark. On the contrary, a question of this "kind reminds us that the House is involved in serious "difficulties, such as are unexampled in its previous history. "At the same time, I am sorry to say that we do not at

“ present intend to propose measures for effectually putting
“ an end to the evils that exist ; and for this reason : that
“ any measures having for their object the establishment
“ of a more satisfactory general system in the future, must
“ necessarily be discussed, not only by the Government,
“ but also by the House ; ” that is, they must be concurred
in by the Conservative Opposition ; because as long as the
Conservatives object to the destruction of the liberties of
Parliament, Mr. Gladstone cannot make his *coup*, and the
Irish members must continue to gall the House (in order
to put a pressure on those members who desire to maintain
the independence of the House of Commons), and so
break down their opposition.

A few minutes afterwards, Mr. Gladstone made his
statement in regard to the course of business. He
assumed that, under the Rules of Urgency, the Arms Bill
would undoubtedly pass that night ; “ but, nevertheless,
“ the future, for which we have to provide, is very difficult
“ and embarrassing. . . . Her Majesty’s Government
“ think it is quite impossible for us to escape without
“ sacrifice, and the only question is that the sacrifice
“ should be of the smallest. . . . But *what I have now*
“ *to say about business, does not in the least degree contemplate*
“ *what is called Obstruction. The provisions which we think*
“ *necessary to expedite Supply are not framed on the supposi-*
“ *tion that obstruction to Supply is intended ;* but they are
“ framed not only on the supposition, but the knowled e
“ that, when proposals for Supply are made, gentlemen
“ have large opportunities of making preliminary motions,
“ which they are perfectly entitled to make, and which we
“ have no right whatever to consider obstructive motions.”
So, then, Urgency is to be declared in Supply, not to meet
an abnormal state of things called Obstruction, but in order
to take from members their large, but ancient and neces-
sary opportunities of stating grievances before granting
Supplies ! Mr. Gladstone continued, “ It will be my duty
“ to give notice to-day to move, upon Monday, that the

"state of public business is urgent with reference to votes in Supply. . . . My duty will be, at half-past four o'clock on Monday, to declare that the votes of Committee of Supply for the several Supplementary and other Estimates for the service of the year 1880-81 ;— votes A and I, for the Army and Navy ; and the votes for the Civil Service, and the Revenue Departments services for 1881-82 now before the House, are urgent ; and that it is of importance that the same be proceeded with without delay. And it will be my duty then to move, in conformity with that declaration, that the state of public business is urgent ; and to move that, until the House shall otherwise order, Committee of Supply shall have precedence of all orders of the day and notices of motion, from day to day, until the votes declared urgent shall have been disposed of." Sir Stafford Northcote thought it a "very serious evil that the propositions of the Government for imposing burdens on the people should be put from the Chair without discussion." Mr. Gladstone replied. As a bait to members, he held out the hope that, after their "long and serious labours, the Easter recess should be prolonged to a reasonable length." His reason for declaring urgency and stopping discussion was, that he would allow members to waste an abnormal time in amusements ! *Credat Judæus !* Mr. Dillwyn "quite agreed with the right hon. gentleman, that *they must go further in the dangerous and unconstitutional course on which they had entered*"; whereupon Mr. Speaker Brand at once interrupted that old and experienced member, and promptly reminded him that there was no motion before the House ! Mr. Dillwyn "thought that when they were asked to forego one of their most valued privileges, hon. members might be allowed to say a few words." Mr. Gladstone spoke again, and was allowed to do so, although "there was no question before the House." Then Mr. Speaker Brand rose and said : "I may inform the House that I *have prepared rules of urgency*, which I will lay on

"the table to-day." Sir M. Beach asked, "Whether those were to be the last of the rules, so that it would in no case be in the power of the Speaker to frame additional rules?" Mr. Speaker answered: "If I were to reply to that question in the affirmative, I SHOULD BE LIMITING THE POWER THE HOUSE HAS PLACED IN MY HANDS"!!! Lord Randolph Churchill: "Then it would be in your power, sir, to frame rules for urgency during the whole time the Committee of Supply was voted urgent?" The Speaker said: "No doubt, under the resolution passed by the House on the third of February last." Indeed! How little the House knew what they were doing on the third of February last. They had been hoodwinked by a carefully prepared obstruction, in order to be annihilated by a cunning and grinding despotism. But then the House of Commons is a standing contradiction to the Papal anathemas of Representative Government, and has always stood in the way of the development of the Jesuit schemes.

At half-past one that night, Mr. Speaker Brand laid his new rules upon the table. By the first rule, all statement of grievances, and all amendments on the motion for going into Supply, were cut off. Secondly, no one shall speak more than once in Committee, except (3) the Minister; (4) the Chairman may put the question at any time, by a sort of *clôture*, thus shutting out all inconvenient scrutiny of the proposed expenditure. If the control of the purse is the source of power, the loss of that control is the destruction of power. Thus Mr. Gladstone gave notice of the annihilation of Parliament and the speedy destruction of the British Constitution.

The succeeding morning, March 12, the *Times* took fright and sounded a note of warning: "Last night murmurs were heard; and they are the sure beginning of a rising storm." It then admitted that the new rules were of a most "drastic character"; and it called Mr. Gladstone's proposal "unprecedented," and "a proposal

"which will startle the most easy-going politicians, and "will remind them how far we have travelled in this "session"; and "a striking departure from constitutional "usage"; and, in short, "a most alarming proposal." Yet Speaker Brand, who promulgated those rules, has been made a Viscount, and has assumed the honoured name of Hampden! The *Daily News*, also, feared that it was a permanent surrender of the most valuable privileges of the English Parliament. The *Spectator*, perceiving the storm that was arising, endeavoured to turn the feeling into a useful channel, and recommended a decentralising measure (Home Rule), by putting off, on local assemblies, all local business; together with a Bill to take, out of the field of specific statutory enactment, a considerable portion of the questions now determined by Acts of Parliament, and to subject them to the determination of the proper administrative authorities.

All Saturday (March 12) the storm was rising; and the succeeding Sunday it grew in intensity. If the Conservative party could be persuaded, at this critical juncture, to give its support to Mr. Gladstone, the nefarious cause might yet be saved. The party was hastily called together on Saturday. As no debate was to be permitted on the proposal of Mr. Gladstone (under the Rule of February 3), Sir Stafford Northcote had no other means of addressing the House of Commons and the country than by a letter to his constituents, in the public prints. Such a letter appeared in the *Times* of Monday, March 14. It announced that: "The question is one of vital importance, not in a party "sense, but as touching the very essence and marrow of "our Parliamentary system. For Mr. Gladstone's proposal "threatens to subvert the rights and the liberties of the "House of Commons, in relation to the two great functions—that of discussing grievances before it votes the "Supplies, and that of criticising the Estimates, and controlling their amount, before it grants the demands of "the Minister. . . . If Ministers are to be allowed

“Urgency because they are behindhand with Supply, it is not very hazardous to prophesy that they will often be behindhand again, and that all the safeguards—not too strong even now—which the jealousy of Parliament has provided against Ministerial extravagance, will be broken down and dispersed to the winds. . . . The boldness—I had almost used a stronger word—of the present proposal will be seen, if we consider for a moment the classes of Supply for which urgency is claimed. It is claimed, in the first place, for supplementary votes. Supplementary votes are exactly those which are open to the gravest abuse, and which, therefore, demand the strictest criticism. . . . If a Minister is to be allowed to claim Urgency in the month of March, because he wants to pass a number of supplementary estimates which he has approved since the House of Commons accepted his original calculations, he may greatly weaken, if he does not altogether elude, the most effective part of its control.”

If we were to stop here, some might exclaim, “Not only has the Conservative party kicked against the attempt to rob the House of Commons of its liberties, but Sir Stafford Northcote himself is in ignorance of the conspiracy to destroy the Representative system in England, and has stumbled into a resistance against the plot.” So every one would think on reading so far. Yet, alas! there follows a pledge that, if Obstruction should be renewed, if the public mind should become so far calmed as to render it safe to repeat the “disgraceful scenes” and obstructive measures, then Sir Stafford and the Conservative party would fall in with the scheme of Mr. Gladstone: “Should some unexpected obstruction really arise in the way of these necessary measures, the powerful engine of the urgency vote can always be appealed to in the last resort, and for the purposes strictly defined and limited. . . . But, as matters at present stand, we have no evidence that any organized obstruction to the general

"business of Parliament is intended. *Mr. Gladstone himself makes his proposals, irrespective of such a contingency; he has not done anything like his best to get the facilities he requires in the ordinary way.* He has distinctly exaggerated the supposed necessities of the case."

That morning (March 14) the *Times* predicted the failure of Mr. Gladstone's scheme. The *Daily News* observed that, while the House of Commons imagined that it was simply putting down Irish obstruction, it was really reconstituting its own relations to that Executive Government which it should control. It also urged that an extension of Local Government (Home Rule) would relieve Parliament of many burdensome and time-consuming duties. The *Standard* was not certain that the refusal to grant the Government demand that night, might not exaggerate the very evil of which Sir Stafford Northcote had complained; and it predicted that otherwise there was danger lest urgency should be necessarily resorted to *some days hence*, under more objectionable circumstances. But if it was true that Mr. Chamberlain had become chief proprietor of the *Standard*, of course it had to be regarded as the Radical Government organ. Mr. Gladstone was in a cleft stick. He had given notice of his intention, and could not retreat, merely because Sir Stafford had written a letter to the *Times*. He had asked for a vote of urgency in Supply, saying that it was *absolutely impossible* to carry on the Government of the country unless he had it. Sir Stafford refused to grant it. Mr. Gladstone had, therefore, either to give himself the lie—he had either to carry on the Government in a way that he had asserted to be *absolutely impossible*; or else he had to throw up the reins of office, and see Sir Stafford accomplish that which Mr. Gladstone could not perform. In either case, the House of Commons would be made ridiculous by its action, and would get deeper into the mess that Mr. Gladstone had made. Mr. Gladstone determined to make the motion, with defeat staring him in the face. As Sir Stafford had published, in

a letter, those reasons which he was not allowed to advance in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone determined to evade the rule against debating the motion, by giving his reply in an answer to a preconcerted question by Mr. Dillwyn. On March 14, Mr. Gladstone thus made his statement on the matter, where no statement was allowed ; and Mr. Speaker Brand, although called upon to stop him, "did not feel himself called upon to interpose in the "matter." The motion for Urgency in Supply found 296 supporters against 212 opponents. It was therefore lost, as it did not obtain the acquiescence of three-quarters of the members in the House. Mr. Gladstone then said, with some pique, "The House having, for strong reasons, "thought fit, with regard to the question for urgency, to "place the direction of its proceedings in the hands of the "minority of the House——" At this point there were prolonged cheers and cries of "Oh! Oh!" during which each member framed for himself, in his own mind, the conclusion of the sentence. Mr. Gladstone at length closed the sentence with these words: "I, of course, acquiesce in "and accept that decision!" What a lame, claudicant, and impotent conclusion! He doubtless rested in his mind on the saving clause of Sir Stafford's letter: "Should "some unexpected obstruction really arise," the Conservative party would not oppose the resort to the urgency vote. Mr. Gladstone had declared that his proposal of urgency was made irrespective of such a contingency as obstruction ; but he could doubtless provide all the obstruction that might be requisite to meet Sir Stafford's conscientious qualms or pusillanimous fears.

Not at present, however ; not at present ; the public mind is too suspicious and excited. It must first be lulled, and calmed, and soothed, and mesmerised to sleep. On the 15th, Sir Walter Barttelot asked how it was that Supply had been got through before midnight, not only without obstruction, but with quite an unexampled rapidity, and even slovenly haste ? It was very odd ! The "absolutely

"impossible" had been so easily accomplished! There must have been some miracle! Indeed, Gladstone looked, somehow, in these days, as saintly as he does in Richmond's picture. Mr. Gladstone said, in excuse, that votes enough had been put on the paper to have occupied the Committee, according to the ordinary measure of rapidity, for a sitting of the full length; but that, instead of obstinate obstruction in Supply, there had been a too rapid despatch of business. Were Mr. Gladstone's prognostications, then, in error? or was all this intended and "managed"?

The next night (March 16) precisely the same thing occurred. In spite of the former night's experience to correct a too stinted programme, again there was a too rapid dispatch of business! Again the "absolutely impossible" had been so readily accomplished! The next day it was hinted, in the public prints¹ that Ministers had before been purposely causing delay, in order to impress the country and the House of Commons with the virtues and advantages of urgency. Yet no! That could not be! Such a device was far too wicked for such a high-minded and saintly Government, with the sea-green immaculate at the head of it. Surely it could not have promoted obstruction in order to denounce it; and still less so, in order to crush the liberties of the House of Commons—as the Russian Government, in 1862, actually tried to get up a rebellion in Poland, as an excuse for crushing the Poles.

NO. XXXVIII.

It was on the 14th of March that so large a section of the House proved restive, and the scheme for establishing Urgency in Supply was defeated. The lulling process was then at once begun, and assiduously carried on. Suspicions had to be allayed; Members had to be reassured, and

¹ e.g. *St. James's Gazette*, March 17.

persuaded that ministers had not purposely caused the obstruction, in order to impress the House and the country with the virtues and advantages of Urgency. On the 17th, therefore, Mr. Gladstone took the opportunity of a friendly, or at least, opportune question, to announce that : "Honour-able members, in all quarters, apply themselves to the expeditious discharge of public business in such a way that, although I believe there *was* such a thing as obstruction, some time ago, I do not wish to believe in its survival. It seems rather like an evil dream, which I should rather be glad to dismiss." Next morning it was hinted in the semi-official articles, that the sedative process was made the more imperative, because "foreign cares are weighing more and more heavily upon the British Government." The sedative, narcotic system was, therefore, unremittingly pursued. Take an example : The *Times* (March 21) announced that Mr. Gladstone would, that evening, make a statement in regard to public business ; because "the difficulties which seemed, a fortnight ago, to stand inexorably in the way of Supply, have been removed beyond expectation, and it is scarcely probable that a renewed demand for Urgency will be preferred." That evening Mr. Baxter was again selected to put a friendly question, and Mr. Gladstone replied : "I assume that to-night (March 21) we shall dispose of the necessary business in Supply, as well as, possibly, obtain several votes which are not so pressing." He therefore proposed to adjourn the House a few days earlier than its wont, and to ask them to meet again eight days later than usual ; so that, instead of being so pressed for time that, without urgency, it would have been "absolutely impossible" to carry on the Government ; he confessed that he had too much time on his hands, and had to request his followers to divert themselves in the country, instead of attending to business. This was a parallel case to that which history so often relates of the Russians. They seize posts, they claim territories, they make exorbitant demands, under

threats of war. Their demands are yielded, the territories are conceded, and new demands and claims are preferred. At last their opponents, tired out and irritated, exclaim : " Well, war be it then ! " and at once the demands are withdrawn, and the Russians assert they did not, and never might, could, would, or should have made such a claim. And silence is maintained, until a fitting opportunity appears for again pursuing the same policy.

At this point, then, we may rest, for a time, from considering the attempted *coup d'état*, which went under the name of Urgency. For the present we may close the investigation. But not for long. Looking back over the history we have narrated, we see a small band of men, collected for the purpose, who were united in one common object, which fired their imaginations, and inflamed their passions. In that company there was an inner circle of choicer spirits and more determined aim, who led the rest, and believed the while that they themselves were not being led. Yet an adroit few—very few—determined the course of the inner circle, just as they were bidden to do, without, perhaps, knowing the real end to which they were tending. There were " wheels within wheels," circles within circles.

The House of Commons had been purposely made helpless, in order to facilitate the work of that little band. The Lower House were " as sheep without a shepherd " ; nay, not as sheep, for sheep cling close together in danger ; while the House was a congeries of repellant atoms, and was therefore at the mercy of the small band of Romanist Irish " Patriots," who really ruled them. Then came Speaker Brand, as a *Deus ex machina*, to the House in its helplessness, and, trampling its ancient rules under his feet, he poisoned the life of Parliament with his Borgia-cup of Urgency ; and all men hailed him as a saviour. They felt relieved, and knew not that the very soul of Parliament had fled. Perhaps he too acted under orders, and knew not whither he was tending.

The corruption of one Form is the birth of another.

The new Form may be a Cæsarism, an absolute despotism ; unlikely to last, if it do come. Or it may be a Democracy first ; a democracy of impatient spirits, who kick against all authority. Such a form of Government soon becomes hateful, and men then hail despotism as a relief. But if Englishmen have the sense to return to the ancient Constitution of the realm, and revive the functions of the Sovereign in Council, then, in the new form, England will attain to an honest and good government, and the face of the Empire will be changed. A selection of the wisest and fittest, by one who is above the gusts of party feeling, to advise the Sovereign in all his acts ; the unity and continuity of action which would therefrom result ; the cessation of those false distortions of judgment, which arise from party spirit, and bunkum panderings to electors, and of the still worse divagations which come from the promptings of vanity ; all that will be secured by the sworn secresy of the Council. Faction rendered impossible by the oath of all Councillors to support the decision of the Sovereign in Council ; and the sense of responsibility of the Councillors, which is engendered by the obligation imposed on each to sign the advice, which, after investigation and debate, he may give to his sovereign ; all these elements constitute the best and most stable form of government which is possible. Now let us return to our historical sketch.

The House of Commons was still suffering from a vague suspicion, and manifest irritation. Mr. Gladstone must look to it. His obliging friend and useful henchman, Speaker Brand, on 22nd of May, took advantage of a dinner of the Metropolitan Board of Works, to ventilate, in another form, the long desired extinction of the House of Commons, rather than the transference of its usurped powers to their proper owner. In replying to the toast of "the House of Commons," he said that the House had, in its own hands, the remedy for the late hours and overwork under which it had suffered. The relief he suggested was "calling in the aid of the principle of

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"self-government, and handing over to local authorities "a portion of the work which might be better discharged by local assemblies than by the Imperial Parliament" —Home Rule *ad infinitum*. He "trusted that . . . "further powers of local self-government would be given to "this great Metropolis. . . . What he said of London "he would say also of all the large communities, not only "in England, but in Ireland, and in Scotland." The next day Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons, attempted to back up the Speaker's remarks. A friendly question was put to the Prime Minister, asking him whether he would engage to submit, at the commencement of the next session, a revision of the Standing Orders of the House, "with a view to economise the public time." Mr. Gladstone replied that "he was of opinion that the "arrangements of the House, as to the conduct of its "business, had become a question of the first magnitude, "and demanded the attention of the Government." The following morning, a semi-official article appeared in the "Leading Journal,"¹ in order to lead the people of England along the chosen track. After rehearsing what had occurred, as to the question and reply, and speaking of "the present maimed and overburdened session," it remarked that "Lord Hartington had lately hinted "that he, for one, would not be unprepared to enter- "tain large proposals for the reform of Parliamentary "procedure; and the Speaker . . . expressed an "opinion that some changes were inevitable." It then announced, with an official air, that: "it is not improbable "that next year, the revision of the standing orders may "become one of the chief topics of political discussion." The next day, a leader was devoted to melancholy forebodings and angry moanings, at the proceedings of the "Parnellite members," and the delays to the progress of the Ministerial measure, and the "purposeless waste of "time." The cause of lamentation was as follows: at

¹ *Times*, May 24.

half-past three o'clock in the morning, Mr. McCarthy had risen to move his vote of censure on the Irish Executive. He was fully justified in doing so ; for the Prime Minister had before promised him a morning sitting for the purpose ; but the first half of it had been monopolized by the Government for their Budget Bill ; and the latter part had been eaten up by a wrangle on "a purely formal matter "of business." Another morning sitting had been devoted to the question ; and towards the close of it, the Irish Secretary attacked Mr. Parnell, and said that there was in Ireland a "*combination to make robbery successful by "armed resistance."* He was purposely trailing his coat-tails, as an irritation to Paddy's combative propensities ! He continued : "*If we allow this conspiracy to succeed, we "shall strike a blow against all law in Ireland, and do "that which would be disgraceful to any Government."* Naturally Mr. Parnell took up the gauntlet, and desired to reply ; and, as the end of the morning sitting had been already reached, he demanded that more time should be allotted to him. That was the occasion of the plaint of the *Times*, still harping, in official manner, on the old tune : "the House of Commons is useless : repress the House "of Commons"! The Ministerialists in the House itself had been "educated." They pointed to the session, of which five months had already elapsed, and complained that there was nothing to show for it, except two Irish Coercion Bills, and one Irish Land Bill. The fault, they said, was not with the Government ; it came of the declining efficiency of Parliament. Ministers themselves threw out hints,—nay, they did more than hint the necessity of revolutionizing the system of Parliamentary procedure. Lord Hartington declared himself in favour of a *clôture*, without the necessity of a majority of two-thirds,—a *clôture* decreed by a simple majority, at any time. Let us remember that this state of things was *brought about*. It did not *happen*. The Ministry came in, with a power ready to their hands for repressing disorder in

Ireland. They considered and debated it among themselves, and were induced to throw that power to the winds. The disorder began to show itself; and was inflamed by the speeches of Ministers themselves, who expatiated on the wrongs of Ireland, and the injustice of landlords; of Ministers who proclaimed that "physical force was no remedy," and promised that physical force should not be used by the Government. To give weight to their words, they actually agreed with Parnell that the police should be withdrawn. In the House itself, obstruction was intentionally prepared. Articles were written; speeches were made; and Liberal leaders walked below the gangway to encourage the obstructors, and to advise the next step in obstruction. Thus the agitation in the country, and the obstruction in the House, were fostered by the Ministry, with the purpose of abolishing the House of Commons. Nor were the Radical leaders less active than those who were in the secret. During the Whitsuntide holidays, Mr. Chamberlain, at Birmingham, endeavoured to fan the flames of agitation. He said: "Since the Easter holidays, every day of Government time has been given, without intermission, in order to promote the progress of this great and vitally important measure; and yet up to the present moment, only six lines of the Bill, which consists of over a thousand lines, have passed through committee."

On the morning of the reassembling of Parliament after Whitsuntide, the *Times* produced another of its semi-official "threats. It asserted that "Supply itself is urgent, and is daily becoming more so"; and that "the situation calls for sacrifice and forbearance on the part of every member of Parliament who is not deliberately bent on bringing the House of Commons into disrepute. Parliamentary procedure, if not Parliamentary Government itself, is now on its trial before the country." The *Times* further pointed out that the waste of time was due, almost entirely, to the party which is manipulated and

wielded by Mr. Gladstone : “ *Of the time already consumed in committee on the Land Bill, at least three-fourths, if not four-fifths, has been occupied by amendments proceeding from the Liberal side of the House.*” Rightly the *Times* designated the situation as “a moment of grave crisis in the affairs of the United Kingdom.” Rightly it added that : “The business of the House is urgent in the last degree ; and yet it is blocked and obstructed in all directions. . . . Well may Mr. Chamberlain say that the urgent question of the moment, the point to which every Reformer should now direct his first attention, is the reform of the procedure of the House of Commons.”¹

NO. XXXIX.

AT the close of June, 1881, the same old tactics were resorted to : obstruction by the Irish members on one day, to exasperate the House of Commons ; and a motion by Mr. Gladstone on the morrow, to restrict the privileges of the House. An inspired article in the *Times*, of June 28, as usual, commorated on the old theme :—“The attitude of the Irish members who follow the lead of Mr. Parnell threatens indirect, if not direct, obstruction, aimed at a measure, the defeat of which, it is acknowledged, would cause the keenest disappointment throughout Ireland.” It urged that on the previous evening, more than an hour had been wasted on a preconcerted attack on Mr. Forster ; and more time was then frittered away by attempts to bait, and so get up a wrangle with other Ministers. The adjournment was moved, in order to discuss the rents of the Duke of Devonshire’s estates in Waterford. During this debate, eleven speeches were delivered by the Irish members alone. The aim was manifest. Yet the *Times* said, with wonderful *naïveté* :

¹ *Times*, June 9, 1881.

"It is difficult to understand the object of these extraordinary tactics." Difficult, indeed, for any one who is not in the secret! but yet possible for any one who will take the trouble to put two and two together, and watch, from day to day, the tendency of those deeds which are called "events." Events do not happen; they are caused. After suggesting various explanations of the extraordinary tactics, and refuting each in its turn, the *Times* added: "It is obvious that even the surrender of the whole of the time of private members to the Government, may not be enough to secure the passage of the Bill within a reasonable time, if the Irish party continue to display the spirit of which they gave a sample yesterday." Another article commenced ominously. It showed that the writer in the *Times* was at least "in the secret." It began: "The imperfection of Parliament as a legislative machine, is, from time to time, brought to notice in a striking manner; and an illustration of this is before us."

The next day, Mr. Gladstone moved that the Land Bill shall have precedence of all other business on all days when it is down among the orders of the day. Sir Stafford Northcote was there to play his part. It seemed that some members simulated opposition, in order to stifle it; and pretended a zeal for the privileges of Parliament and the liberties of the people, in order to betray them. Satisfied with the name of an Opposition, no one opposed. It was merely pointed out, that the *form* of the motion would permit the Government to rob private members of their nights, by adding the Land Bill on to the end of the orders on private members' nights; while the Government might use Government nights for any other business they chose. It was, in fact, a new mode of stifling all independent criticism, and all independent action. The pretext for this motion was a desire to hurry on the Land Bill. And yet the Government took care, by their motion, not to pledge themselves to proceed *de die in diem* with that Bill. The motion merely gave them the right and power to exclude

every private member's motion, and every debate originating from any outsider. In this respect the motion was different from that which had been adopted by the House at an earlier period of the session, during the passage of the Coercion Bills. Of this discrepancy, Mr. Gladstone offered no explanation. Sir Stafford Northcote asked for an explanation; but Mr. Gladstone resented it as an imputation on his good faith, and declined to give any specific pledge that the Government would proceed continuously with the Land Bill, on Government nights as well as private members' nights. The motion was, nevertheless, unanimously carried.

We are now drawing near the close of the prolonged session of 1881. The agitation against the House of Commons was then stimulated anew. At the Mansion House dinner, on August 7, Mr. Gladstone set the ball a-rolling: "It has been our painful experience to see that
"great and noble assembly, the House of Commons—the
"greatest and noblest of all representative assemblies in
"the world, to which many of us here belong—in some
"degree disabled, in some degree dishonoured in the
"pursuit and accomplishment of its great work. Its regulations, intended for the defence of liberty, and especially
"for securing the liberty of individuals, have been employed
"for purposes for which they were not intended; and the
"weapons which the wisdom of the House of Commons
"has furnished, for its defence against external foes, have
"been turned, by some, either ungrateful or at least erring,
"against itself. My Lord Mayor, we have seen a state of
"things arise, which undoubtedly has created a necessity
"—a necessity which I do not doubt will be met by adequate
"measures—for considering, not merely the many and
"great subjects which demand the care of the Legislature
"of this country, but for considering, perhaps, in the first
"place of all, the condition of the great instrument of
"Legislation, on which the prosecution and defence of all
"your interests mainly depend."

Mr. Gladstone responded, in those words, to the toast of Her Majesty's Ministers. The Marquis of Hartington replied for the House of Commons: "I have observed "that, to-night, warned, perhaps, by some words which "fell from the Prime Minister, the Lord Mayor has not "thought it his duty to pass any very high eulogium upon "the conduct of the present House of Commons during "this session; and I can assure you that I have no intention, upon this occasion, of claiming for that House any "greater credit than his lordship has been willing to confer "on it. *When the history of this session is written, it will "be found to be mainly a record of the achievements of one "man.* I am not speaking of the possible results of the "session in after history, because that none of us can know. "But I speak merely of the Parliamentary history of the "session; and *I say it will be a record of the energy and the "resolution, of the knowledge and the resource, with which "one man has conducted one great measure through the "House of Commons under singular difficulties. . . . But "I think it must be admitted that, in spite of the laborious "character of the session, the result will have been entirely "inadequate.* In saying this, however, I see no reason for "one moment to change the opinion which I previously "formed,—and which many better judges than myself "formed,—as to the character of the present House of "Commons. *I believe that no House of Commons has ever "contained within its walls more men of great ability, of "great industry and energy, of greater devotion to the public "service;* and in saying this, I do not desire to make any "exception as to any quarter of the House. . . . Are "we to suppose, are we to believe that *because the House of "Commons, composed of such excellent materials, has failed "adequately to do the work which it was sent to do, Parliamentary institutions, as now constituted, are no longer competent to meet the wants and requirements of the country?* "I am far from forming any such conclusion."

Mr. Bright, "who yielded to loud and persistent calls for

“a supplementary speech from him,”—supplementary, that is, to the speech of Lord Hartington,—said : “I have also
“come, in some degree, hot from one of the Houses of
“Parliament ; and I feel disposed, with your permission,
“to make a few observations as to the length of the session,
“the arduous nature of our work, and the generally unpro-
“ductive way in which much of our time has been ex-
“pended. In fact, we begin to think that the House of
“which we are members,—which is a very respectable, and
“is considered to be a very honourable body,—is, after all,
“a little too old, and wants repairs of an extensive cha-
“racter. . . . I have said that the machine is respectable,
“but it wants mending ; and I do not believe that the mere
“oiling of it will suffice. I suspect that there will have to
“be considerable changes made, by which Bills will not
“have to go through so many stages ; that the debates
“will, by some means, have to be shortened ; that, when
“men have said enough, or as much as the House wishes
“to hear, there should be some mode of requesting them
“to be silent ; but, above all, it seems to me necessary that
“the House, if possible, should be composed of men of
“gentlemanly spirit. . . . But, if there be men in the
“House who have no respect for it, who think obstruction
“a pleasure, who look even upon the degradation of the
“House as a pleasing object of contemplation ; if there be,
“what you may term, a hostile element in Parliament, then
“you may have the freedom of Parliamentary debate, and
“Parliamentary arrangements, turned into a weapon by
“which Parliament itself may be wounded, and almost
“destroyed.”

No. XL.

IT will have been observed that Mr. Gladstone, in replying to the toast of the Ministry, went out of his way to make an attack on the House of Commons, and to speak of the necessity of sweeping "measures for considering the condition of the great instrument of legislation." The House of Commons (he said) had never worked harder, nor ever worked so long as in the session of 1881; and yet the results were most disappointing. It did not meet the legitimate demands of the country for absolutely necessary changes in legislation—"necessities which ought to be met "in deference to the true wants of the nation;" and it was "almost entirely cut off from the discharge of its obligations." In other words, the House of Commons, even when it does its best, is found to be an utterly useless machine for legislation.

Lord Hartington, who followed him, dilated on the same theme, and expanded exactly the same idea,—the idea which had evidently been broached and debated in the Cabinet by way of "educating" the Ministers up to a certain point. He first reduced the Cabinet to *one man*. Mr. Gladstone is the Government; and the other ministers are his head clerks, who merely work out his decrees, without knowing their aim. His lordship then said, that the House consisted, more than at any former period, of men of great ability, great industry, great energy, and great devotion to the public service. That description (he said) was true not only of a portion of the House, but also of "every quarter of it" (and there were, as we know, four parties in the House). Yet the results had been "entirely "inadequate." If this, then, were so in the case of a most excellent House, how much more would it be so in every inferior House! In short, Parliamentary institutions were no longer competent to meet the wants and requirements of the country.

We must bear in mind that the speeches of Ministers at a Lord Mayor's banquet are always carefully considered in the Cabinet beforehand. The Ministers who are told off to speak, are to dilate on some particular topic, which has to be agitated in the country, and has to form the text for discussion in the public journals ; and they are allowed to say just so much as has been prescribed and no more. But Mr. Bright was pressed for an *impromptu* speech. He had not received any cue. He had to say what was uppermost in his mind, and he naturally spoke of that of which he had lately heard so much in the secret adyta of the Cabinet. He uttered the educational lessons he had so lately received. He said that the House of Commons had become too old ; it had outlived its time. When, in its younger days, it was occupied with faction fights, it did well enough ; but since it had taken to legislating, and had usurped various functions of the Crown, to the exercise of which it was never adapted, it had proved a miserable failure. Very "considerable changes will therefore "have to be made,"—changes which amount to the most straitening limitation possible, of the freedom of debate. Moreover, Parliament (he said) must consist, in future, only of "gentlemen" ; and as you can never be sure of constituencies excluding every one who does not come up to that standard, it follows that the members must be selected and appointed by the Crown, as Privy Councillors are, and always have been. There are now (he said) members who love to obstruct ; and members who degrade and discredit the House—(he pointed to the Irish party) ; they must no longer be there ; and if Irish members are no longer to meet at Westminster, it follows that they must be called together at College Green in Dublin. Further, there must be no "hostile element" in Parliament ; there must be no Opposition party ; that is, there must be an end of Party Government ; and this will be possible only under a Government of the Sovereign in Council. It was fortunate that Mr. Bright was induced to make an *impromptu*

speech! He spoke what was in his mind; and that was in his mind which had been put there.

The ball was set a-rolling. The newspapers kept it rolling. For example, the *Daily Telegraph* on August 18 promised that the Ministry of Mr. Gladstone would take steps to cope with the growing evil of obstruction; which promise it was sure the country would hear with pleasure; as it was, on all sides, confessed that Parliament was unable to do its proper work. "There can now be no manner of doubt that Parliament is overweighted (poor old decrepit man!) with the amount of work it has to perform!" Therefore (it said) a revision and modification of the existing Rules of Procedure are demanded.

That evening (August 18), just before the Whitebait dinner, Mr. Gladstone made a speech, in which he took care to give the ball a good kick: "The events of the session hardly form a fitting topic for me to dwell upon. They have been remarkable in many respects. They have been remarkable, perhaps, for the difficulty in the midst of which our duties have been discharged; but they have been remarkable, above all things, perhaps, for this: that they have brought into view a new and great necessity—a necessity in which the people of England will feel the keenest interest—the necessity for restoring the House of Commons to its position as the great security for your liberties, and for enabling legislation to be carried on in its full sufficiency. . . . Great is the interest connected with separate subjects of legislation; but greater still, and paramount, is the interest which must be awakened in your minds by a matter which touches vitally the condition of the great organ of all our legislation—that noble representative assembly which has served as a pattern to the representative assemblies of the world, and which has done more than any of them, perhaps more than all of them, to cherish the aspirations of Freedom, and to maintain the traditions of law and order among the whole of civilized mankind." What a

similarity there is, not only in ideas, but also in expressions, between this speech, and Mr. Bright's impromptu ! Mr. Gladstone was evidently repeating that "educational" lecture which he had delivered in the Cabinet, and which Mr. Bright, like an apt pupil, had already so ably recorded.

The newspapers received, from this speech, another enlivening prod of the spur. The *Morning Post*, on Aug. 19, for example, remarked that if anything had been more conclusively demonstrated than another, during the past session, it had been the utter powerlessness of *any and every Ministry*, whatever majority may follow it, to conduct efficiently the affairs of the State, in presence of the tactics which a section of the Irish representatives had thought proper to employ. Only three opposed ministerial measures—two Irish Coercion Bills, and one Irish Land Bill—had been passed during a session of the abnormal length of seven months and a half ! That monstrous and unparalleled waste of time was exclusively due to that Obstruction which had been employed by a few men, who openly avowed that their object was *to render the transaction of business in the House of Commons impossible, so long as Ireland was deprived of her own Parliament.*

The *Times* of Aug. 26, in a leader on Mr. Gladstone's speech at the Ministerial dinner, acknowledged the existence of Obstruction, "not during the past session only, "but for several years before." The *Times* agreed in the urgent need of taking some steps to put an end to this nuisance ; but it added a note of warning : "The remedy "at which his words seem to hint, is more questionable. ". . . The case, it seems to us, presents no great "difficulty thus far. Wilful Obstruction has been ruled "to be an offence against order. The number of those "who are professedly and habitually guilty of it, is not "large ;" and then it mentioned suspension or expulsion as the remedies which common sense would have suggested. It furthermore significantly asked : "But would this be

"enough to work *that change which Mr. Gladstone is bent on accomplishing?* . . . THE WHOLE THING IS VERY "MUCH A CONSPIRACY, IN WHICH THE CHAMPIONS OF "ORDER PLAY NOT THE LEAST PART."

In spite of the *Times*, the conspiracy was to be continued. The Queen's Speech mentioned two Acts, as the total result of the session's work; and then Her Majesty was made to add: "I regret that it has been found impossible "to proceed with many measures on subjects of importance, "which have been, or were prepared to be submitted to "you; and that, notwithstanding exertions almost un- "paralleled, you have been unable adequately to provide "the country with legislation adapted to its growing "wants." The Ministry did not attempt to conceal the fact that, under their leadership, the session had been abortive. They must also have had some definite motive in emphasizing the presumed unfitness of the House of Commons to pass those legislative measures which the wants of the country so urgently required. Every politician must have asked himself why the House of Commons had, all of a sudden, failed as a legislative machine. "Because "its rules have, all of a sudden, become old and obsolete " (Mr. Gladstone would have had us believe); that was the "reason why we made the Queen proclaim the failure of "the new Liberal Government." The words of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and Lord Hartington, were then no idle flourish, no empty threat! They meant business!

Yet observant politicians may have thought it all very extraordinary, seeing that there was less Obstruction in 1881 than there had annually been for some years. Certainly the Coercion Bill was, for a short time, hotly opposed; but it was never obstructed. Even that opposition was all over in March. Why, then, should so much noise and outcry have been made; why so strident a shriek for some remedy, when the patient was not suffering much, and was evidently getting well by his innate *vis medicatrix naturæ*? And if the progress towards convalescence was slow, it was

because the Liberal Government were administering small doses of poison, and so promoting the disease. On Sept. 2, Sir Stafford Northcote advised the people of England to "watch with great jealousy anything that might be proposed, in that direction, by *gentlemen who have not a clean record in this matter*," and he went on to remind his hearers how Mr. Chamberlain, at that time the President of the Board of Trade, and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, the Commissioner for Public Works, had, as private members, kept the House "walking through the lobbies, in division after "division, with enormous majorities" against them, through the whole night of Aug. 11, 1879. Yet if Obstruction be such a grievous offence, said he, why was one of those gentlemen rewarded with a seat in the Cabinet, while the other was made First Commissioner of Public Works?

Lest the public attention should flag, the great orator and Prime Minister lost no time in again exciting it on this subject. At Leeds, on Oct. 7, he said: "It is only "right that I should call your attention—and, indeed, "I must take every opportunity that presents itself of "calling the attention of the public at large—to the very "serious obstacles which now impede the progress of "business in the House of Commons, and to assure you "that, for the sake of every interest, and for the sake of "every measure, it has become *a matter of vital importance "to consider in what way that great and noble legislative "instrument, the House of Commons, which is the noblest "legislative instrument in the world*, can be restored to that "efficiency which it once possessed—if possible, with an "extension and increase of that efficiency."

Sir Stafford Northcote followed it up at Newcastle, on Oct. 11: "The Conservative party attach importance, not "to the success of a particular political connection, but to "the strength, the independence, and the glory of the one "of the great branches of the Legislature. Ah! yes, it is "not only for the Conservative members, but for the members of all denominations in the House of Commons that

"our interest ought to be excited and our anxiety ought to be given. *For we are at the present moment going through a period of trial, a period of anxiety such as, I think, has seldom been witnessed in the House within the memory of the existing generation. It is a time of trial not merely to those who happen to be in a minority, but for all who have the honour of a seat in the House—a time of trial under the difficulties in which we are placed ; a time which may be one of much greater trial under the remedies which we shall be called upon to endure.* Nobody can deny that the action of the House of Commons has been—and I fear we may expect that it will be—greatly impeded by monstrous interruptions ; but let us beware lest, in endeavouring to deliver ourselves from the tyranny of lawless and irregular members of the assembly, we hand ourselves over to a worse tyranny—the tyranny of a Minister of the day. *I look with no uneasiness to the ultimate result of the contest against those who endeavour to infringe our rules.*" Sir Stafford seemed, from this passage, to have been let into the secret of the conspiracy. He feared lest Englishmen should be carried, by passion, along a false scent, and should fall under "the tyranny of a Minister of the day." That party government would be put down, he saw full well. But what would take its place? The despotism of one man, under the name of Prime Minister? or the rule of the Sovereign in Council? That doubt was the cause of his anxiety.

Mr. Gladstone kept up the ball at the City, on Oct. 13 : "Although, as I have said, the half-century upon which, for the moment, I am looking back, has been distinguished by an unexampled profusion of labour in the public service, it has also been remarkable, especially at its close, for a state of facts which demands your attention, and the attention of the whole country—namely, that never, at any period of our history, have the legislation and general business of the country been felt to be in a state so lamentably in arrear. . . . The cause is that the

“state of augmented demand has been taken advantage of
 “by persons not so loyal as they ought to be, to the fair
 “fame of that legislative assembly to which they belong—
 “an assembly of which I will venture to say that, long as
 “I have sat in the House of Commons, I have never *until*
 “*lately* known the time when every one of its members
 “did not look upon the traditions of that House, upon the
 “fame of that House, upon its efficiency in the discharge
 “of its duties, with a feeling of filial as well as patriotic
 “affection, and when he did not regard his share in those
 “traditions as among the most precious portions of his own
 “personal inheritance. But we have come to a time when,
 “if the House of Commons is to continue worthy of that
 “place in public confidence and esteem in which it has
 “been hitherto held, it will have to address itself *in a bold*
 “*and a manful spirit to consider how—either by more stringent*
 “*and effective rules, or by* A JUDICIOUS DEVOLUTION OF
 “DUTIES, *or perhaps in its wisdom it may think best by both*
 “*of these means*—it may place itself in a condition of re-
 “newed capacity. . . . With regard to local government
 “in Ireland, after what I have said of local government in
 “general, and its immeasurable benefits, and of the manner
 “in which Parliament is at present overcharged by too
 “great a centralization of duties, you will not be surprised
 “if I say that *I for one will hail with satisfaction and*
 “*delight any measure of local government for Ireland, or for*
 “any portion of the country, provided only that it conform
 “to this one condition, that it shall not break down or
 “impair the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament.”

On the Lord Mayor's day,¹ he again prepared the minds
 of the people of England for the great *coup* he was medi-
 tating against the House of Commons. In reading his
 words, a light is thrown on his previous action, or rather
 his inaction, before the year 1874. We remember that,
 while the House was always kept occupied with trivialities,
 the Government evidently desired to avoid legislation on

¹ Nov. 9, 1881.

any pressing social questions. When Mr. McCullagh Torrens (for example) was endeavouring to pass his Bill for providing better dwellings for the working classes, Mr. Gladstone never raised his voice to assist him, nor ever remained to give his vote in support of him. Afterwards the Mines Act was allowed to be spoiled ; the Conspiracy Bill was made ridiculous ; and scores of Bills were permitted to drop, because Mr. Gladstone forbore to render any assistance in improving and passing them. Bearing all this in mind, let us read his speech of Nov. 9, 1881 : “ Particular measures of legislation may be the subject of differences of opinion among us ; but there is one subject on which there can be no difference of opinion, and that is the subject of the dignity and the efficiency of the legislative body itself. My Lord Mayor, there is no disguising the matter, there is no denying that the time has come when circumstances—not the mere views of a Minister or a Government—but circumstances, plain and undeniable as the sun in the heavens, challenge the people of England and the people of these three countries to determine *whether it is their wish or whether it is not their wish that the House of Commons should prove itself adequate to the great duties it has to perform.* . . . There will be, my Lord Mayor, as I believe, *an early and very urgent demand upon the wisdom of the representative assembly to consider of effective means to meet this great evil ;* and what I would humbly ask of this assembly, without the slightest distinction of party, is that this question may be kept out of the region of party disputes. *It is no interest of party.* . . . I claim that the settlement of this question, when it shall come forward, shall not be regarded as an interest of party or of the Administration of the day, but as a national interest, an imperial interest, to which it is the duty of every one of us to address his mind ; in the very same spirit of patriotic devotion, which he would show if an enemy were landing on our shores, or if the principles of disorder threatened the institutions

"which you, my Lord Mayor, have so justly commended to-night."

Sir Richard Cross, the late Home Secretary, was selected to reply to that speech. On Tuesday, Nov. 15, he delivered his reply, at Warrington. He said: "And now that leads me to a subject that I venture to say is of very great importance, because we are now told, on the authority of the Prime Minister himself, that, in consequence of this obstruction, *the first business which Parliament is to be invited to undertake is the reform of the procedure of the House of Commons.* . . . And first, I must willingly state I do not think from the bottom of my heart that *this ought to be a party question.* The Prime Minister has made an appeal more than once to us that it should be treated absolutely impartially. He has said that it is a national question, that *it is an imperial question*, and, as such, I am perfectly willing to treat it. . . . There is no doubt there have been men who, at all times and seasons, have made it their business in every possible way, to impede the business of the House of Commons, whether for right or for wrong, and *simply to put a stop to it.* I say honestly that all such wilful obstruction itself should be obstructed, that all wilful stopping of the business of the House of Commons ought to be stopped, and that all wilful perversion of the forms and procedure of the House, for any such end, ought to be punished. *But it is the man that does it who ought to be punished.* *You are not to alter the rules of the House, because a few do some wrong; but you are to punish the man who abuses the rules that are made.* . . . I only want to lay down a canon by which they should be guided; and that is, you must make your rules for those people who really want them; *you must not make a possible, or even a probable abuse by some, the measure of the liberty which all ought to have.* . . . But then I am perfectly startled by the views which have been brought forward, in the last few days, by the member for Birmingham, Mr.

"Chamberlain, a man who has not been in Parliament for any length of time. *He says that the procedure of the House is wholly to be remodelled; he says that the obstruction, the wilful obstruction, is only a very small part of the matter with which we have to deal. . . . If the Government choose to take it up in that spirit, and think that members will sit down the moment they are called upon, without saying another word, I, as representative of a great constituency, say that so long as I am saying what I have a right to say, as long as I keep within the rules, not transgressing or abusing the rules, so long as I am exercising my rights legitimately and honestly, then I shall maintain that I, as your representative, have a right to speak—and if you are going to frame rules so that a tyrannical majority may stop the mouth of a member who wants to say what he has a right to say, I for one will oppose it. . . . The time may come when the House of Commons may have to stand up strongly and firmly against the power of the Crown—exercised by the responsible Minister of the day; and I say that any arbitrary Minister, to whatever side he belongs, backed up by a tyrannical majority, would work injustice to one of your most valued institutions.*"

NO. XLI.

LEST the speech of Sir R. Cross should have turned the tide against Mr. Gladstone's proposals, it was arranged that Lord Hartington should make a rejoinder in Lancashire. He did so on Dec. 18. It will be observed, on reading his speech, that Lord Hartington pointed to a most drastic measure: no more questions to be asked of Ministers; no more representations of grievances before Supply; urgency to be established in Supply itself; the stages of consideration of Bills to be reduced; and so forth. And not only this. He pointed also to local government—to a species of Home Rule (the business to be done by Grand Com-

mittees of the House); and then he informed his hearers that he was not in the inner Cabinet, but was only speaking to order. He said he was speaking, "not as a member of the Government, whose decision upon this subject I do not yet know." That is, the session is again to be "the work of one man"—Mr. Gladstone! Clearly, we must have, in future, either government by the Privy Council, or else a "one-man despotism." The following was his speech:

"I should like to say two or three words upon the condition, the present condition, of business in the House of Commons, and on the necessity for some reform of the procedure of Parliament. . . . It is simply whether the country cares to have any of those great legislative reforms, for which it voted at the last election, carried into execution during the duration of the existing Parliament or not. There is the question of local government, and, connected with it, the difficult question of local taxation. . . . But to go to other measures. Do you care still, as you cared two years ago, about a thorough reform of the land laws—a reform of our land system which will make the land less of a monopoly in the hands of the few than it is now? And again, do you care, as you cared two years ago, that the county franchise should be assimilated to the borough franchise, and that that measure should be accompanied by a redistribution of seats? Do you care, as some of you cared two years ago, that the question of the restriction of intemperance and the reform of the licensing laws should be dealt with or not? If you want any of those things done, I have no hesitation in saying that the first thing to do is to reform the existing procedure in Parliament. Every one of these subjects offers itself—especially the question of Parliamentary reform—to an immense extent to the proceedings of Parliamentary obstruction. There is not one of them which does not present a variety of sides open to attack, and which the opponents of every kind will be able to avail themselves of under our existing system, and which,

"under the obstructive proceedings which have recently
"been brought to so great a perfection, may not be
"successfully obstructed. . . . It is easier to point to
"the great evils which now exist, than to point to the
"remedy which is to be found for them. *I hope that the*
"*remedy may not necessarily be of a stringent or of a coercive*
"*character. I doubt not that something may be done by the*
"*adoption of the principle of the subdivision of labour, and*
"*that some way may be found by which committees of the*
"*House may relieve the House itself from a great part of*
"*the labour which it now thinks it necessary to undergo.* In
"speaking my own opinion as a member of Parliament,
"and not as *a member of the Government, whose decision*
"*upon this subject I do not yet know,* I may say I am of
"opinion that no remedy will be found adequate, which
"does not give to the House, and to a majority of the
"House, far greater powers than it now possesses, for the
"purpose of disposing of its own time, and of deciding
"what subjects it will discuss, and at what length it shall
"discuss them. . . . *The stake at issue is no small one.*
"*The House of Commons is the mainspring of our institu-*
"*tions.* It is the most important part of our system of
"government. It is of cardinal, of vital importance to
"the interests of this country, that the House of Commons
"should not lose any part of the fame and dignity which
"it has enjoyed for many centuries. I fear, under present
"circumstances, it is rapidly losing some part of that
"fame and that dignity which it has hitherto enjoyed."

In returning thanks, immediately afterwards, for a vote of confidence, he again enforced the idea of the previous speech—that the palavering power of Parliament must be abolished, and its functions parcelled out among local bodies throughout the kingdom.

"It really is quite impossible for me to say what it may
"be possible for the Government to do, either in the next
"session or in immediately ensuing sessions. That depends
"upon what the Government may be able to do, and what

"Parliament may be willing to do in regard to that question on which I have already touched this evening—namely, *the simplification and reform of its proceedings*. I *do not think we shall be able to make much progress in the discussion of any of these questions, so long as we are obliged to work under the present unsatisfactory system*. I hope it will be possible for us this year to reform our procedure."

Lord Hartington held out a bait to almost every class of the community, to induce them to concur with Mr. Gladstone in revolutionizing the procedure of Parliament. To those who clamoured for decentralization, an extension of local government; to the farmers, a reform of the land laws in England and Scotland; to the Radicals, a reduction of the county franchise, and the redistribution of seats among electoral divisions; to the followers of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, a crusade against drink. On the 28th December,¹ Mr. Gladstone found it necessary to enforce this argument on the tenant farmers of England (who are the supporters of the Conservative leaders, and who probably had begun to make an outcry in the line which Sir R. Cross had taken up). He seized the opportunity, also, for hinting that his measure would go far beyond mere useful modification of the Practices of the House of Commons. The following was Mr. Gladstone's letter:—

"11, Downing Street, Whitehall, December 28.

"Sir,—I am directed by Mr. Gladstone to acquaint you that he has received the resolutions which were passed at a meeting of *tenant farmers* recently held at Aberdeen, and also the memorial which accompanied them. He can assure you that Her Majesty's Government *are sensible of the importance of wise reforms in the land laws*; but the time for considering such reforms must greatly depend upon the measures which may be adopted by the House of Commons *for the more effectual despatch of its business*.

"I am, your obedient servant, E. W. HAMILTON."

The time was drawing nigh for the re-assembling of

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, Dec. 31, 1881.

Parliament. The heat of the agitation had therefore to be increased. All the demagogic stokers and political firemen had to be set to work to rake up the furnaces of agitation. On the 5th of January it was Mr. Chamberlain's turn. He was ordered to speak in favour of the *clôture*, and to put it on ultra-Radical grounds. "*The first fight, and I am not certain it may not be the chief fight, will come over that question about reform of the House of Commons. . . .*" "How long are the nation, the great majority of the people, who are anxious for steady, intelligent, and constitutional progress—how long will they endure, having bided their time for the constitutional opportunity, after having declared emphatically and expressly their sovereign will and pleasure, that these shall be frustrated, set at nought by the adroit use of Parliamentary forms which is made by the representatives of a defeated minority? If this sort of thing is to go on, *it appears to me that Representative Government will become an absolute farce.* The primary object of a Parliamentary assembly is, in my opinion, to carry out the decisions at which the nation has arrived. . . . During these last two or three years, that pressure of the House of Commons, that *tacit expression of its will* has ceased to have the slightest effect, and I say, therefore, that *it is absolutely necessary that some substitute must be found for it*, unless the House of Commons is to become the laughing-stock of the country, and unless it is to be an instrument for choking the machinery of the Government, and of bringing all legislation to a standstill. *This is the real question of the moment, the question of the greatest importance.* It is all very well, but I must candidly tell you it is a mere work of supererogation for Liberal meetings and Liberal associations to pass resolutions, inviting the attention of the Government to reforms which they think to be urgent, *unless you are prepared to put your gloves on, and do strenuous battle in order to secure a reformation of the House of Commons.*"

This speech, which was intended to forward the question, by fanning the agitation, in reality served only to give a shock to the minds of many good, but phlegmatic persons. The newspapers of the 7th reflected the feelings of the country, and yet tried to turn these feelings to account in favour of the Government. The *Times* likened Obstruction to the "Parliamentary Temple-Bar," which (it said) must be "removed. But (it added) obviously the Government will "be very ill-advised if it should attempt to follow the practice of some Metropolitan authorities, who break up an "important thoroughfare, just at the time when the pressure "of traffic is at its height. The question of wilful Obstruction is really entirely distinct from that of the procedure of "the House of Commons. The forms of the House have "not hitherto been found inconsistent with a rate of legislation quite as rapid as the feeling of the country desired. ". . . *The first step clearly must be to strike at the root of "Obstruction itself.* Obstruction is the work of individual "members of Parliament, who can be punished for their "offences. If the existing penalties are not severe enough, "their severity must be increased. If individual members "abuse the forms of the House, the primary remedy is, not "to change the forms, but to punish the abuse." It then turned this feeling to the account of the Government, by admitting that there are some forms and practices which do waste time, and should be reformed ; and by finally proposing that the work of the House should be divided up among large committees. That is, it proposed that Home Rule should be extended piecemeal to the whole kingdom.

The *Standard* regarded the *clôture* as "peremptorily "checking the legitimate privileges of the Opposition. ". . . If the Opposition is to be extinguished, in however "discreet and modified a fashion, one of the guarantees "of Parliamentary Government will disappear. . . . The "Minister says to the House of Commons, 'Sign a blank "'cheque, and we will fill in the amount.' They go further "than this, and insist upon having a power for which there

"is no precedent in our political history." The *Morning Post* said it would "enable the leader of the majority to "silence opposition." The *Daily News* (Radical organ) argued in favour of the bare majority having the power to close a debate as soon as it should think fit, so that the leader of the House should *not* "be driven to continual "negotiations with the leader of the Opposition." The *Daily Telegraph* saw in Mr. Chamberlain's speech, and in his advocacy of the *clôture*, "a domineering spirit;" and said that "he paraded a superb contempt for the rights of minorities." The *Spectator* (Radical weekly) argued that "in "giving the House of Commons the right of *closure of talk* "by an ordinary majority, there need be no special pressure "on the rights of minorities." The Prime Minister was to "announce beforehand" how much time he would allow for any debate. The power of "squeezing down talk" (it said) must clearly be given only "to the Minister of the "day," who alone is sufficiently "master of the situation."

The mind of the country had evidently received a great shock (if the country may, by metaphor, be said to have a mind), and men's opinions were generally adverse to Mr. Gladstone's plan. The Radicals alone supported it. On the 9th, the *Morning Post* seemed to be veering round; it merely *doubted* whether the good of the *clôture* would not be outweighed by its hurtfulness. The *Liverpool Courier* feared that the "popular idol," Mr. Gladstone, had "passed "the boundary-line of discretion in committing himself to "the *clôture*. It is an extreme measure; it is abhorrent to "the national genius and prejudices. . . . The advocates of the *clôture* are forcing a French tyranny on the "English Parliament, in reckless disregard of the sentiments of the people; and, in the name of Liberty, are "aiming a fatal blow at Parliamentary freedom." The *Daily News*, in its vituperating rage, shrieked that the Conservative party, "the Levites of the Constitution," were making "common cause with the Irish Obstructionists." It was true that Mr. D'Israeli had done so; and true also



that Mr. Gladstone had done so. The fallacy of the *Daily News* consisted in attributing to the party, the motives and acts of its leader. On the 10th, the *Liverpool Courier* could find "no necessity or justification for the *clôture*," which it regarded as a "sweeping revolution," a "novel principle," "an instrument of coercion in the hands of Ministers," and "despotism in its purest essence." The *Western Morning News* mourned, "We are now about to curtail liberties which have been the foundation of our Parliamentary life. The necessity is admitted, and the urgency is confessed." Yet it added, "The fall of the House of Commons from liberty would be a catastrophe."

The suddenness of the proposal that debates should be closed by the vote of a mere majority, was that which had given a shock to men's minds throughout the country. Very few looked back, and asked themselves what necessity there was for reforming the rules at all; and still fewer looked forward to consider the effect of adopting such a proposal. That the proposal was suddenly adopted, was evident from the fact that it did not come prominently forward until the autumn of 1881, when it was at once rapidly pushed to the front. As to the necessity for it, few remembered that the obstruction of the four years previous to 1881, had been far greater, and more persistent, than it was in that year; and yet the evil of such a proposal was, during those four years, always held to be greater than the evil of obstruction itself. How then, when the obstruction had decreased, and almost vanished, could it be said that the evil of the *clôture* had become less than the evil of obstruction;—nay that the distance between the two evils had become so immeasurable, that the *clôture* had risen into an apotheosis of necessity? In 1881, the only Bill which met with any obstruction was the Coercion Bill; and the resistance to that bill was not so much obstruction, as legitimate opposition. So much for the absence of necessity which is perceived on looking back. Fewer still looked forward,

and saw, in the measure, the destruction of the ancient freedom of speech in the House of Commons; and no one detected in it the action of conspirators against Parliamentary Government, and against the Protestantism of the Monarchy and the British Constitution. With such a weapon in his hand, a Minister could repeal the Act of William and Mary.

A few Irishmen—suborned for the purpose, say you?—have triumphed over the House of Commons, and compelled the rules of glorious centuries to be abolished; say you so? Do you say that they will always triumph? Do you suppose that they will always care to obstruct? Are you, year by year, to bring in Coercion Bills for Ireland, in order to give them a plea and pabulum for Obstruction? Much better would it be to send that handful of Irishmen to the Tower, and preserve your ancient House of Commons, than keep your Irishmen and lose your liberties. So any man of common sense would have argued. Not that the House of Commons is a good legislative machine. Far from it. Its proper function is the statement of wants or grievances, and the voting of supplies. Let it, by all means, return to its proper function, then. What I object to, is, the endeavour to create light, by opposing darkness to darkness; instituting a conspiracy in order to remove an abuse.

In the United States, and other foreign Representative Assemblies, the *clôture* can work, because these assemblies are not legislative machines. Bills are not framed by the Assembly, but by Committees or Bureaux, who sit with closed doors. It is the Committee, not the House, which shapes the legislation. With us, the idea of legislation, or *projet de loi*, begins (as a general rule), with the Executive Government, and the idea is worked out, in a Government office, by Sir Henry Thring. When the representative of some interest or community desires legislation, he proposes a resolution in the House; and then, if he gets a majority, he leaves the Government to give effect to it. Now the

Executive Government, when it brings in a Bill, stakes its existence on pushing it through the House, and preserving all its clauses. In doing so, it is assisted by hundreds of obedient members who have never even looked at the Bill. Thus the Bill is passed in its entirety, unless the consent of the Executive be given to any alteration. But the consent of the Government to an alteration cannot be obtained, except by means of a thorough discussion in the House. Such a discussion is irksome to the Minister in charge of the Bill, who assumes beforehand that he is right, and that every one who differs from him must be wrong. It is solely because of this self-sufficient assumption, that a discussion, in which many members reiterate and urge the same point, is absolutely necessary.

The *débat*, on the other hand, will enable the Minister to give effect to his self-sufficient assumption, and to say beforehand: "Ye are all ignorant; I have made a good Bill for you, and you cannot know, as well as I do, the true state of the case; nevertheless, I will give you two hours' indulgence for amusing yourselves by foolish discussion,—to which, of course, I will pay no sort of regard." The Minister then will fold his arms, set his face, and sit out the two weary hours of talk. Say that an hour and fifty minutes have passed. A member rises, and begins to show glaring faults and absurdities in the Bill. "Thank Heaven the two hours have passed by," sighs the Minister. The Bill is enacted, and the House of Commons, not the Minister, is responsible for the errors and absurdities. If the Bill were framed by a Council, where secresy excluded bunkum, and where the oath and the signature of each councillor precludes party spirit, a good law might be framed, and the councillors would be responsible to the country. Then the country would point out any hardships, by a representation of grievances, in the House of Commons before Supply.

The country having shown, by the daily journals, that

its mind was moving adversely to the measure, it behoved Mr. Gladstone himself to step down into the arena. On Jan. 13, he spoke at Hawarden. After pointing out many hardships, and exaggerating many grievances which pressed upon farmers, (which he styled "the very serious evils from which you have suffered,") he said that the rules of the House of Commons stood in the way of all reform. Alter the rules as I suggest, (said he, in fact,) and you shall find ease, and happiness to your souls. He used the following words:—

"Now these are all matters, gentlemen, which, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, deserve and call for great attention. The mode of meeting the public emergencies in these matters is much too complicated a business for me to enter upon at the present moment. We are devoting our attention to it with all our energy, and we hope to bring it under the early attention of Parliament. I say the early attention of Parliament, because we are obliged now, if we speak of introducing anything into Parliament, to speak with great reserve, inasmuch as you know that the forms of Parliament have of late been used for purposes the very reverse of those for which they were intended. They were intended for the purpose of providing and effecting such legislation. They are used very much for the purpose of preventing any legislation at all. *The matter is, I may say, of such magnitude that Her Majesty's Government will have to deal with it in the coming session. Before bringing on great legislative measures of reform, it will be necessary to put the House of Commons in a condition satisfactorily to perform its duties.*"

The *Standard* (January 16), advanced a curious argument. Obstruction (it said) is a disease, or rather a symptom of an internal disorder. The "best men" no longer care to speak in the House; and no speeches in the House have any extended influence. If a good man has anything to say, he holds a meeting. The real dis-

cussion of political affairs is on the platform, and then in the press. Wherefore it is hardly worth while to adopt the *clôture*, or even to remove obstruction. "The *clôture* " would not affect the circumstances from which the House " of Commons is really suffering; the growth of rival " institutions dividing with it the fame and popularity " which were formerly all its own." The natural conclusion to such reasoning is this: The House of Commons is not worth preserving; give free play to its mortal disease, and let it die.

No. XLII.

AT the beginning of the year 1882, the opposition to the *clôture* seemed to be growing. The Conservative party was gradually consolidating itself against "very extreme measures." The Irishmen would be, of course, compelled, by their constituents, to resist it. The *Times* of January 17 therefore informed us that those "Irish suspects" who were M.P.'s, would not be released from gaol for the meeting of Parliament. We may suppose Mr. Gladstone to have said, in effect: "Yet the Irish members who are " not in prison may be of service to the great cause. " They may stop all progress, *ab initio*, by moving a series " of resolutions—one for each of the 500 suspects in gaol. " This would be a great scandal; and yet it would be in " accordance with the avowed intention, when that famous " clause in that very Irish Coercion Bill, under which the " suspects were arrested, was laid before the House of " Commons. This enormous scandal will serve to put so " much pressure on the House of Commons, that, in des- " peration, they will all vote for the proposed alteration of " rules. Such a resort to the old tactics is necessary; for " the *Times* article of January 18 is against the *clôture*; " and the Earl of Zetland, Earl Grey, and the eldest son of " the Marquis of Ripon have openly left the Liberal ranks, " on account of the dark and mysterious policy of the " Government. There are also many signs which fore-

"shadow the removal of old party landmarks, and the "defection of many more men of note. The two parties "are already dead. A new national party must arise." So we may suppose Mr. Gladstone to have spoken his thoughts in the Cabinet meeting. Those thoughts were reflected in the *Times* (January 18) in an article, which concluded by enumerating dangers and difficulties in the political world, at home and abroad, and by suggesting a back-door of escape for Mr. Gladstone : " It would be un- "wise to add to all these dangers, the bitterness that would "be engendered, among Liberals as well as Conservatives, "if the Ministerial majority, morally weakened by significant defections, were to impose the *clôture*, in its crudest "form, upon the House of Commons."

The next day the *Daily News* produced an article in favour of "*clôture* by a simple majority," saying : "The "Government (in 1881) asked for Urgency for Supply, but "was refused, although a large majority voted for it, and "*the urgent necessity at the moment was obvious and great.*" As the event proved, there was no urgent necessity at all ; and Supply was got through with an unexpected and unexampled rapidity and ease. The refusal of the House was therefore the means of saving Parliament, at that time, from an unexpected restriction of its freedom of debate ; while the proposal of the *clôture*, and the assumption of great urgency, revealed the conspiracy against the House, which was being carried on.

On January 22, Sir W. Harcourt was sent down to Burton-on-Trent, to continue the agitation in favour of the *clôture*. He argued that the best way to restore liberty to the House of Commons, which was then dominated by the Irish members, was to curtail its liberty of speech ; and that the ancient privilege of freedom of discussion would be most effectively secured by gagging the minority altogether. Sir William was always a funny fellow. The following was literally his argument :—

"No. This Parliament has got a great deal of work which

“ it ought to do, and which it will do, I hope, before it has
“ done ; and when that work is done will be the time for
“ the country to judge it and its performances. But if this
“ work is to be done, you must have a machine capable of
“ doing it. *When you are going to reap a heavy harvest,*
“ you sharpen your scythes and look after your threshing
“ machines. It is admitted on all hands that the House of
“ Commons’ apparatus is not now in good working order.
“ I saw a speech the other day—sensible and moderate, as
“ his speeches always are—made in Lancashire by my pre-
“ decessor, the late Home Secretary, and even he admitted
“ the necessity of the task. Well, even the Tories, with
“ their light crops—and they were very light crops—could
“ not manage to harvest them, and they came out with
“ rules against obstruction. I supported those rules as far
“ as they went, but I predicted that they would be ineffi-
“ cient, and they have proved wholly ineffectual. The
“ dilatory resources afforded by the present forms of the
“ House to men who really seem to want to prevent busi-
“ ness being done, are so inexhaustible that you cannot
“ grapple with them by measures against individuals. . . .
“ *According to Parliamentary principle* it is for the majority
“ to decide every question. But if a minority are allowed
“ to protract a discussion indefinitely, so as to prevent the
“ majority deciding the question, the whole object of the
“ Parliamentary system is defeated and destroyed. And
“ then you will see it is the minority, and not the majority,
“ that decides whether a measure is to pass or whether it is
“ not to pass. Well, that is to destroy the whole system of
“ Parliamentary Government. It is a form of Government
“ which no civilized or sensible nation has ever adopted.
“ You may just as well allow a minority at an election to pro-
“ tract the declaration of the poll so that no member could
“ ever be elected. It is exactly the same thing. . . . In
“ a country *with a free press* and with political intelligence,
“ discussion cannot be stifled in Parliament or out of it.
“ What we demand is not to oppress minorities, but that

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"minorities shall not be allowed to oppress and destroy the rights of majorities. Hitherto in the history of Parliament, by an honourable understanding, by a tacit acquiescence, the rule has been that a decision in a reasonable time should always be arrived at. Unhappily we can no longer depend upon that. Experience has shown that we cannot do so, and, therefore, we must make rules which shall carry out what has hitherto been the prescriptive usage of Parliament."

That political discussion *may* go on in the press, is undoubtedly true—if *the press is free*. But, if the press is not free? if one newspaper is secured, in the interest of the Government, by means of early intelligence? if another paper belongs to a Radical member of the Cabinet? and so forth—then how can free discussion go on in the press? Moreover, I do not accept what Sir Wm. Harcourt said about the right of the majority to rule. What is the majority? and what inherent right has it to rule? If Brown, Jones, and Robinson say that two sides of a triangle are together longer than the third side; and if a tinker, a tailor, an apothecary, and a plough-boy deny it, then the latter party are the majority. Is the third side, then, longer than the two other sides? So again, if one hundred and ten *prolétaires* determine to take away land and houses from the rightful owners, and if one hundred owners object to it, on which side is the right? Sir Wm. Harcourt not only asserted that the right is always on the side of the majority, whatever they may say or do, but that the minority may not even raise their voices against the injustice. He, as it were, said to the minority: "Shut up"—which is the meaning of *clôture*. As long as a few of the wisest in the land used to select the wisest of their number to represent their grievances in Parliament, there was little danger of the majority acting unjustly. Now, however, every ignorant clown has a vote, and such constitute the majority. They do not even pretend to elect the wisest or most honourable. They vote for

the one who gives most beer or sovereigns. Thus the majority of the elected representatives are pretty sure to be wrong, and to act unjustly, and to take away property from the rightful owners, and hand it over to the *prolétaires*, that is, their constituents. Add to this evil the new Radical organization of "the 200" and "the 300," and you make matters worse. These "three hundred," elected by the riff-raff of the place, plot and lay their stupid scheming heads together, and manufacture a cry or watchword according to order; and then all the ignorant riff-raff, who elected them, vote as they are told, and elect a "Re-presentative." The single principle of these persons is to get themselves to the top—to scramble up over the shoulders and heads of those above them. In short, their aim is *bouleversement*, or putting the bottom at the top, and the top at the bottom. Further than this, the "three hundred" merely act according to the orders of some central committee in London. Thus they become mere agents in carrying out a great conspiracy, which has been hatched by one, or by a very few unknown wire-pullers. That was the rule to which Sir Wm. Harcourt would have us submit, while he would also make us hold our tongues, and not cry out for right and justice!

The *Daily News*, of the 25th of January, published a remarkable leader. A meeting of the Cabinet (it said) was merely a gathering for political gossip. The Cabinet never did any business. It, too, should be reformed. That would be far better than a reform of Parliamentary procedure. All the Cabinet business was done (it said) "by "a sort of informal inner Cabinet, consisting of three or "four of the really vital members of the Government." The rank and file of the Cabinet (it said) were merely informed, a little earlier than the rest of the world, what had been already decided on! So said the *Daily News*. He who dislikes the "personal Government" of one,—a one-man Government, so lately declaimed against by Liberals—he who fears the tyranny of a Triumvirate, let

him then advocate a return to the Government of the Sovereign in Council! Honest Joe Cowen, the member for Newcastle, saw this plainly enough, as may be perceived by any one who will read between the lines of his speech, at Newcastle, on January 28, 1882. After urging a return to the good old practice, namely, that the constituencies should pay the entire costs of elections out of their rates, and that all other expenditure should be penally visited, he said: "But while changes might be made easily and advantageously, it was to be hoped that no unnatural craving for legislation would tempt Parliament to surrender any of the rights of free discussion or any of the privileges of minorities. Majorities were often wrong, and nearly always exacting and intolerant. *If any proposal was made to place in the hands of the majority (which would really be the hands of the Government), the power of closing a debate when Ministers pleased, it would be resisted by every means justified by honour and sanctioned by usage. To give such an arbitrary power to any majority—whether Liberal, Conservative, or Radical—would be to destroy the deliberative character of Parliament, to unsettle legislation, and to decree the dictatorship of the House.* It would turn political contests, from honourable struggles, into scrambles for office."

In this little bit, no less than four maxims appear. They are indeed true maxims. How often has been quoted, against the modern greed for legislation, the saying of Tacitus: *Plurimæ leges, pessima Respublica!* How often have we heard that majorities are more often wrong than right! Ay! sometimes, in a fit of impatience, it is said that majorities are always wrong! How often have we railed passionately, but truly, against the danger of the dictatorship of a Prime Minister—against the Prime Minister putting himself in the place of the Crown! Parliament must be free to deliberate on the grievances of the constituencies; free to represent those grievances to the Crown; free to call Ministers to account for their

individual advice to the Crown ; free to deliberate on that advice ; and free to address the Crown for an impeachment of the Minister. But the law is above Parliament, and cannot be touched by the House of Commons. Parliament can only declare the law, lest Parliament should be too powerful and break it up.

As January drew to a close, and the period of the opening of Parliament approached, Viscount Sherbrooke (Robert Lowe) published, in the *Nineteenth Century*, an article on the *clôture*. He was merely swimming with the stream, just ahead of the rest of the world. He, as a peer, abused the House of Commons as a vulgar and degraded body, with its habits and procedures which no gentleman could tolerate. The fault of this, he asserted to be rooted in the constituencies, that is, the people : "The member "learns their language ; he adopts their views ; he accommodates himself to their ideas. A man may be a model "member if returned by one class of electors, who would "be a pest and a nuisance if forced to seek the suffrages "of another. It is vain to complain of the misconduct of "the members of the House of Commons : they are what "their constituents make them." He then dilated upon "the false and dangerous lesson that it is by numbers and "force, and not by reason and calm reflection, that the "affairs of great communities are managed." He called out loudly to the Conservatives to help in muzzling the House of Commons. The only way of doing that (said he) is the *clôture*, for it is, alas ! impossible to gag the electorate. Lord Sherbrooke, in short, thought that the whole Parliamentary system,—whether you thus speak of the country or the Legislature,—had fallen into such a violent, impracticable state of anarchy, that it was time for all parties to—— To do what ? As Lord Sherbrooke was only swimming with the stream, he advised all parties to—confer dictatorial powers on the Minister of the day !
O tempora ! O mores !

Mr. W. H. Smith spoke, on January 30, at Exeter

Hall. He evinced an uncomfortable feeling that the Liberal party had somehow laboured to bring about the present crisis in the House of Commons; that the fault did not lie in the House of Commons itself, but in the *mot d'ordre* which had been given, by their leader, to the obedient Liberal members; and further, that the end and aim of all this conspiracy was: "*certain great constitutional changes which are impending.*" These were Mr. Smith's words: "They were told that it was quite necessary that the majority should have the power of terminating debates at any time they might desire it. *They were told, by the Prime Minister, that it was not possible that Parliament should go on any longer under its present rules and regulations,* which had served it for three hundred years in times of great trial and difficulty, when the liberty of the people was at stake. *They had been told the other day by a Minister of the Crown that a better Parliament never existed.* And here they had the singular phenomenon that, for the best Parliament that ever existed, for the largest majority ever wielded by a Prime Minister, they must have the *clôture* in order that the minority might be silenced, *because they were told lately, by a Cabinet Minister, that great constitutional changes were impending.*"

The Government were not inclined to let the matter rest, nor to allow the agitation to grow slack. The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Sir Charles Dilke, made a speech, on January 31, at the Vestry Hall, Chelsea, in which he said: "The forms of the House will sooner or later have to be dealt with in a twofold manner—by *repression of obstruction, and by delegation of duties to other bodies.* The former is the more pressing want. That which Sir M. Hicks-Beach has called 'the worst Parliament which ever sat,' but which we know to be a gathering of *unusually wise, patriotic, and able men,* debarred from doing the work they are met to do, will not, in my opinion, tolerate obstruction for many more weeks

“ from now. Deadlock, they declare, shall end. The power
“ to close debate is fully possessed by the Parliaments of
“ Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the
“ Netherlands, and Switzerland ; it is possessed in the
“ form of a strong ‘ previous question ’ by the Parliaments
“ of Spain, of the United States, of Victoria, and of South
“ Australia, and by one House (the Legislative Council)
“ at the Cape. It has become necessary in this, as it has
“ been in certain other matters, to follow the example of
“ some of our own colonies, from whom we took the form of
“ ballot we have adopted here. No one can seriously con-
“ tend that we ought to be content to pass one important
“ Bill a year, by sacrificing every other measure. As it is
“ the duty, to use the words of Joseph de Maistre, of men
“ as men to ask themselves the question, ‘ Wherein have I
“ ‘ advanced the general work ? ’ so it is the special duty of
“ legislators to ask themselves that question.” It must be
observed that, in the earlier part of his speech, Mr. Smith
“ put the saddle on the right horse.” He showed conclu-
sively that the obstruction had been caused, wilfully caused,
by Mr. Gladstone’s own party. The Under-Secretary for
Foreign Affairs was then ordered to sound the country on
Mr. Gladstone’s policy of granting Home Rule—“ the dele-
“ gation of duties to other bodies.” At the same time Mr.
Speaker was sent to Cottenham, near Cambridge, to in-
crease the agitation by the following words, delivered with
all the weight of a Speaker’s authority. The Speaker con-
sidered that “ he should be wanting in his duty to his con-
“ stituents if on a subject of that character he was silent.”
He further admitted that “ the duty of the Speaker, as the
“ servant of the House, was *to see that the rules of the*
“ *House were observed,—those rules being laid down by the*
“ *House itself.*” Yet in the very next sentence he accused
himself of having disregarded the ancient rules of the
House, and framed rules himself for the conduct of the
House. The Speaker then proceeded to say, in explana-
tion of that violation of the rules of the House, during the

last session, by the Speaker himself—the time when he suddenly interrupted and peremptorily closed a debate : “ On that very day last year there commenced a memorable sitting of the House of Commons, *in the course of which it became my duty to close a debate by interrupting it and putting the question.* I will not detain you by stating the reasons which induced me to take that step ; suffice it to say that I so acted because *I knew that the integrity of Parliamentary Government was at stake,* and therefore I did not hesitate in the course which I thought it my duty to pursue. What I did I did advisedly, and under like conditions I would do the same again. . . . The House at its next day’s sitting conferred upon the Speaker *unprecedented powers to frame rules for the conduct of the business of the House* while the state of public business was urgent. Under those powers I accordingly framed certain rules, which proved effectual. However, they ceased to be operative when the state of urgency terminated, and they had no longer any vitality. . . . It may not be generally known that *the House has at present no power to close a debate,* and under the existing rules the House is at the mercy of small minorities, who on various grounds desire to obstruct the progress of business. *The will of the House of Commons is expressed by its votes. . . . Neither the House nor the Speaker can close a debate* on any question, as long as a member entitled to speak presents himself to address the House. *I know of no power by which a debate may be brought to a close* except by the act of the Sovereign, when Parliament is prorogued. Face to face with a grave crisis, *I closed a debate last session,* but the House has not as yet signified its pleasure as to the action of the Speaker, should a similar crisis occur. It was said that freedom of speech might be endangered, if the House assumes the power of closing a debate. Now, *freedom of speech is the breath of the life of the House of Commons,* and certainly I will be no party to putting it in peril.

“ But I am persuaded that the House, in its wisdom, may find the way of safeguarding liberty of speech, and of combining order with freedom of debate.”

On February 7, the day of the assembling of Parliament, the leading journal had an article on the subject. It “predicted with assured confidence” that the “Irish Irreconcilables” would again offer obstruction during the Debate on the Address, and that “no loyal members of the House, whether they belonged to the Opposition or the Advanced wing of the Liberals, could unite with Mr. Parnell’s adherents.” The *Times* concluded by trusting “that both the Constitutional parties would join, *as they did twelve months ago*, to defend the authority of Parliament against open and implacable hostility.” Not satisfied with the leading article, the *Times* also published an “Analysis” of the number and length of sittings during the last session ; the amount of time which had been consumed after midnight ; the number of nights which had been passed in each debate ; the durations and manner of the obstructions ; the number of divisions, with the tale of the minorities ; the number of the Speaker’s interpositions on points of order ; the number of questions asked ; and the number of speeches made by various members. It drew, certainly, a terrific and heart-rending picture,—enough to soften the most obdurate heart, and win the most backsliding member, into following Mr. Gladstone and voting for the *clôture*.

No. XLIII.

ON the first evening of the sitting of Parliament, 1882, Mr. Gladstone gave notice of his motions relative to the procedure of Parliament. The first resolution placed the power of *clôture* in the hands of the Speaker, or Chairman of Committees, subject to a division, indeed, but without discussion. During the last year, the *clôture* could be

imposed, under the rules of *Urgency*, as long as the urgency endured. It could then be imposed only by a majority of three-fourths of the members present in the House. The proposal of Mr. Gladstone, on February 7, 1882, was that a bare majority of one should impose it, provided that more than 200 members supported it, or less than 40 opposed it. Thus it might be imposed by 201 against 200; or by 40 against 39; or by 21 against 20; and so on. It was also proposed that the Speaker or Chairman should have the power of curbing irrelevance and repetition, by "ordering a member to discontinue his "speech." The order of February, 1880, for the suspension of members by the Speaker or Chairman, was proposed to be enlarged. The resolutions contained, also, various other proposals for limiting the freedom of speech. Moreover, it was proposed that the House should be divided into great standing Committees, for the consideration of certain classes of measures.

It was very apparent that the Ministerial party would thus always have the power of stopping debate. At first the Speaker or Chairman might, it was thought, be chary of using the power; but weariness, lassitude, and boredom would soon assert their sway, and the resort to such an easy escape from *ennui* would offer an irresistible temptation. Moreover, the appetite would grow with the indulgence of it, until discussion would reach a vanishing point, and the House of Commons would have become a thing of the past. Of course the Government would always take care that a party man should be chosen for Speaker, and another for Chairman of Committees. So it has been, indeed, for some time. Those posts have always been the rewards for assiduous services to a party. The last Speaker, Brand, was the Liberal "whip," and performed the *coup d'état* in 1881. The former Chairman of Committees, Dr. Lyon Playfair, was Mr. Gladstone's Postmaster General, and we remember how he acted in 1881. Party ties would, therefore, induce both Speaker and Chair-

man to aid the Government in their distress ; and as both these officials are always on chairs which they cannot leave as long as the House sits, while members of the Government may walk in and out of the House when they please, it may be supposed that these officials will always be the more ready to put a stop to discussion, than even the Government itself would be.

Now let us consider how the Speaker or Chairman of a Committee is to perceive that which, according to the phraseology of the Rules, is called an "appearance" of "the evident sense of the House." A number of members, who, not being able to speak, have devised a substitute for speech by making inarticulate noises and sounds most brutish, such as miauwing, braying, and cock-crowing, interspersed with one articulate sound, namely "D'vide, d'vide!"—they are the ones to make it "appear," to the Speaker, that "the evident *sense* of the House" is in favour of an immediate division. Under the new rule, the knot of rustic members would become an organized department of Government ; and the power of miauwing to perfection, or braying to the life, would be the best qualification for a seat in Parliament. The Prime Minister will then tell the whips to let Bedlam loose, as soon as a debate shall have become inconvenient, or when he wants to dine out, or when "an exposition of sleep" has come over him, and the tumultuous storm of noises will at once make the "appearance of the evident sense" become manifest to the Speaker.

The Speaker, moreover, and the Chairman of Committees, will also be of a different class of persons in future. Up to this time, they have had no power or authority of their own. They were but the organs of the House ; and their duty was simply to see that the Rules of the House were observed. In the future, they will be invested with the most despotic powers. It did not matter, before, what party bias they might have ; they could not put it in action. From the passing of the Rules, it will be

impossible for them to avoid acting in a party sense ; and therefore their decisions, being no longer judicial, will no longer be respected.

If it were merely the preservation of the ancient House of Commons that was in question, we might have accepted it in sorrow. If it were merely the freedom of speech, and the liberties of the nation that were endangered, we could have fought to the last to preserve them, and been proud of a defeat in such a cause. But when we looked forward and saw that as soon as these Rules should be fully acknowledged, the Act of Settlement would be repealed, and the voice of the country, in favour of the law of William and Mary and the Protestant succession, would be stifled ; and a declared Romanist or tool of the Jesuits might sit on the throne, and the Protestantism of the country would be crushed under the heel of Papal despotism triumphant ; then the outlook filled us with horror, and visions of the ruthless and bloody tyranny which would quickly follow, distressed us.

That the aim was to extinguish discussion, and not merely to put an end to obstruction, was sufficiently evident from the proposal itself. No minority, however large, no regular Opposition, however respectable, would be able in future to continue a debate which the Government disliked ; 201 would be able to impose the *clôture* on 200. As Ministers must, in the nature of things, be supported by a majority (otherwise they cease to be a Ministry), it followed that the Government would always be able to silence the House whenever it should find it convenient.

The *Morning Post*, on February 9, saw with a penetrating insight, and gave expression to the truth. It asserted that the new Rules were not directed against Irish obstruction, but against English liberty. The *Daily Telegraph*, too, regarded the step as most "grave and perilous," and predicted that the first rule alone would prove absolutely fatal to the established character of the British House of Commons, and would furnish the tombstone for

the freedom of its debates. The *Times*, on various occasions, pointed out that the *clôture* rule had been placed first, and had been made a Cabinet question, so as to coerce members into voting for it, under fear of a penal dissolution, and loss of their seats (February 11). It then added these remarkable words: "The victory would only "be gained by *abasing the House of Commons* in the eyes "of the nation, and by dealing what might easily prove to "be *an irreparable blow to the stability and cohesion of the "Liberal party.*"

Little did the *Times* seem to perceive that these results were the very ends which Mr. Gladstone had steadily kept before him for many years! It continued: "No one can "doubt that this question of procedure, especially as regards the first rule, is the critical question of the session "and *a turning-point in the fortunes of the Liberal party.* "No one, who takes the trouble to inform himself of the "drift of public opinion, can believe that the first rule, as "it stands, has commended itself unreservedly to the judgment of any one. The real opinion of the country is "not to be gathered from organs which follow their "leader, whithersoever he goes, with undeviating fidelity, "and without even taking time to form a judgment of "their own." It concluded the leader in these words: "If the *clôture* by a bare majority is proposed in any "form, we shall give it our uncompromising opposition. "As it now stands in the first rule, it is not only objectionable, but ridiculous. We believe that the House "of Commons already sees this. Sooner or later we are "convinced that the country will see it. If the Cabinet is "still blind, or if its chief is still inexorable, it is possible "that they may have their way for the moment; but *they "will assuredly degrade the House of Commons and not im- "probably shatter the Liberal party.*"

Certainly; but to "shatter the Liberal party" was another of Mr. Gladstone's aims. We remember how he worked for that end, year after year, and abandoned the

party in 1874! Liberalism is disliked by Romanism, and is the sworn enemy of the Jesuits.

The same day, the *Morning Post* printed in large type the following letter from that talented Romanist Home Ruler, Mr. O'Donnell.

"Sir,—Allow me to state that the announcement in your columns of the intention of the Irish Parliamentary party to support Sir Stafford Northcote's opposition to Mr. Gladstone's proposed gagging of Parliament is at least premature. The Irish Parliamentary party is by no means as interested as you seem to suppose in the success of the Conservative leader's defence of English constitutional traditions. Mr. Gladstone's rules for *the coercion of Parliament* touch Irish national interests in the very smallest degree, and *may very possibly promote the Irish cause to a valuable extent.*

"The Liberal party is pledged to grant a measure of self-government to Ireland, which, as is to be seen from Mr. Gladstone's speech of yesterday, must, even if it stop short of Home Rule, remove so large a share of Irish business from the cognisance of the Imperial Parliament as to make the procedure of the Imperial Parliament a matter of comparative indifference to Irishmen. Besides, the Irish national movement depends no longer in any appreciable degree upon agitation in Parliament. The means at our disposal are very different to-day from what they were five years ago. It is even a *matter of sincere satisfaction to many Irishmen that THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT IS LIKELY TO BE BROUGHT DOWN TO THE LEVEL CONTEMPLATED BY THE LIBERAL CHIEFS.*

"*If our object be, as is frequently asserted, the destruction of established institutions, the weakening of respect for monarchical and parliamentary authority, and the creation of forces and movements outside the Constitution, we are unable to see how such objects can be impeded,*

“ if they are not greatly facilitated and advanced, by
 “ measures which will *place the representation of Great*
 “ *Britain at the mercy of caucuses and ‘committees of*
 “ *‘selection,’ organised wire-pulling,* and the other contriv-
 “ ances which, as I have ventured to remind the House,
 “ have been adopted or adapted, by the ‘Boss Kellys’ of
 “ Birmingham, from the glories of Tammany Hall.

“ As we can afford to be perfectly candid, and as we do
 “ not wish to labour under a misconception of our views,
 “ I beg English Conservatives, who have refused to help
 “ Irish freedom, now to concern themselves about English
 “ freedom without counting too confidently upon Irish
 “ assistance.

“ I trust to your fairness to publish this necessary ex-
 “ planation, and I have the honour to remain, your obedient
 “ servant,

“ FRANK HUGH O'DONNELL.”

It was very remarkable that the “machine” established by Mr. Chamberlain before the elections of 1880,—the mainspring of which was in the hands of “the National Federation of Liberal Associations,” of Birmingham,—should have exerted itself to the utmost in favour of the *clôture*. Was it endeavouring to extinguish the liberties of England? or had it been beguiled by Mr. Gladstone and his friends? Mr. Auberon Herbert, lately a Liberal member, wrote an account of the manner in which this political “hectograph” manufactured, reproduced, and multiplied “public opinion.” That process was undertaken by the “machine” in favour of the *clôture*. It did more; it influenced members directly through their constituencies. The *Times* of February 13, reproduced the original decree of the National Liberal Federation. It said: “The Government, have been placed in office by the “Liberal party, in order that they may carry a series of “measures, for which the country has long been waiting. “It is only necessary to refer to the reform of county

"government, a revision of the land laws, and an extension of the franchise in counties, to all of which Mr. Gladstone's Administration stands pledged, in order to show how essential it is that the power to obstruct public business in the House, which has of late years been so flagrantly abused, should be effectively checked. The Government have accordingly put into definite shape, and propose to give the force of authority to *rules of procedure*, by which, in the main, the House has, by the common consent of its members, been actually governed for many years past, which until a recent period have been honourably observed, and without which the business of a deliberative assembly cannot be carried on *unless license in debate be prevented*. Representation becomes of no effect, for, as we have seen, a small number of members, by persistently prolonging debate, can stop the progress of every important Bill. . . . Unless obstruction can be stopped there is no hope of obtaining these results, and unless the rules which the Government declare to be absolutely necessary for the conduct of public business are adopted, obstruction cannot be stopped, and, consequently, the legislative reforms upon which the Liberal party have set their hearts must be indefinitely delayed. It seems to us, therefore, imperative that the Liberal organizations throughout the country should, in the strongest manner, and without a moment's delay, express their determination that the whole strength of the Liberal party shall be put forth in support of the Government in this crisis."

The National Federation of the Liberal Associations throughout the kingdom, thus placed a different issue before us. The *clôture* was resorted to (it said), in order to enable the Liberal Government to pass Radical measures, which the Opposition would otherwise oppose. This was a curious argument! Party government was to be done away with,—not by the re-establishment of the functions of the Privy Council, but by the extinction of

the freedom of debate and the muzzling of all who should venture to oppose! The *Newcastle Chronicle* could well exclaim: "A more direct and undisguised attack on the liberty of the British House of Commons never was made. It is not an amendment of procedure; it is a direct and palpable subversion of liberty."

The "National Federation of Liberal Associations" of Birmingham, the political "hectograph," at once wired the word to all the local Liberal Associations, and set them in motion, according to order. Every newspaper was influenced, every member received his *cahier*, all society was filled with whisperings, and rumours, and false accounts, and fallacies, and specious arguments, to further the scheme. The "machine" was at work, all over England and Scotland, manufacturing "public opinion." The *Times* of February 15 announced the resolutions which had been passed at meetings, "convened in response to the circular issued on Saturday by the National Liberal Federation," by the Liberal Councils at Stoke, Clitheroe, and Plymouth; as well as the "Liberal Nine Hundred of Liverpool," the "Council of Manchester," and so forth. The effect produced on members of Parliament may be learned from an example given by Mr. Joseph Cowen, M.P., the proprietor and London correspondent of the *Newcastle Chronicle* (Feb. 15th).

"It is to be regretted that Liberal members have not more backbone and cannot muster courage sufficient to stand by their convictions, and take the consequences. One well-known member said to me, 'I hate the *clôture* and all its surroundings as strongly as you do. I have been many years in Parliament, have been in many a minority, and I know from experience the domineering disposition of all majorities, whether Liberal or Conservative; but I *do not wish to lose my seat*. The local caucuses, with little knowledge of the question and no experience of the House, have passed resolutions in favour of the new plan, and I am not strong enough to

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“fight them. Last year *I sank my convictions to serve my party, and voted for coercion.* I consequently alienated the Irish element in my borough. If I were to lose the organized Liberals I might as well resign.’ This is the sort of pressure that is being brought to bear on the more independent section of the Liberal party ; and it will succeed. But its success will be purchased at a heavy cost. The member I refer to also observes :— ‘I smart under such despotism, and long for an opportunity to break from it. *There is despotism both outside and inside Parliament.* I may obey ; but the party cannot expect me to love them. I may vote for them, or I may abstain from voting ; but my services being forced, my own sense of justice being not only ignored but outraged, I only give an outward and formal, but not a willing obedience to their behest.’ If the Liberals who are using this pressure would consider, they would see that this course of policy is driving the party to destruction.”

In truth, “the pressure which was being brought to bear upon avowed or suspected dissidents (from the *clôture* rule) was *tremendous.*” So said the *Times* of February 16. The National Federation of Liberal Associations, with the authority of a “National Convention,” dictated to the thousand local caucuses, who, with Jesuitical obedience, and Jesuitical acerbity, were quick to obey the behest, which might have emanated from the Jesuit society. Such was the Liberal machine for dictation and coercion, the engine of the “enlightened” for the obfuscation of public opinion, and the re-introduction of the Dark Ages.

All this was, however, considered necessary for “the expedition of business.” The case was very “urgent.” There were a number of Liberal measures lying in various pigeon-holes, and the Liberals were determined to pass them while they were in power, lest they should never attain to power again. Not a moment therefore was to be lost. Every instant was of the greatest value to the Liberal cause. But perhaps Mr. Gladstone had not the Liberal

cause at heart? Another cause was, perhaps, uppermost in his mind ; while the Liberal uniform remained on his back and the Liberal professions on his sleeve. Let us see. The Peers—good, quiet, humdrum politicians—had not much to do. They had been called together, and it was necessary to find some pretence for meeting. Lord Donoughmore, therefore, proposed that they should form a committee for the consideration of the Land Act, and its administration. That would while away the time. It was a capital suggestion, and was readily agreed to. Every one was happy and contented that Friday, at having found something to do. On Saturday and Sunday the fire of indignation burned in Mr. Gladstone's breast. Terror, too, was in his heart, with gnawing and corroding suspicions. What if some of the Lords had been reading Macaulay's history, and had discovered the parallel between Lord Tyrconnel and Mr. Gladstone himself? What if the real but secret aim of the Land Act should be brought into awkward relief by the Lords' Committee? Mr. Gladstone went to his place of worship ; but still these distressing thoughts weighed heavily on his soul. The anthem rolled its psalm of praise along the sky, and calmer thoughts took the place of passion in Mr. Gladstone's breast. May we not imagine that he said to himself: 'What if I should turn the Lords' motion to account? My aim is to clip the wings of Parliament, and destroy Representative Institutions. Parliament has two heads. I break up the House of Commons, and thus I place my heel on one of the heads ; but the other will still be there. Both heads must be crushed.'

On Monday morning, Feb. 20, he sought out Lord Granville, and the result appeared at the meetings of both Houses. In the House of Lords, Lord Granville said, with the suavest manner, the broad smile playing on his mouth, as follows: "It will be only respectful to your lordships that I should state at once the course which the members of the Government in this House will pursue

"with regard to the committee which is to be appointed on the Irish Land Act and the condition of Ireland. We have consulted our colleagues, and we are of opinion that the objections stated by my noble friend, and which would have been reiterated by me if the noble marquis had attempted to answer the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, are of so grave a character that we should not be justified in taking any part in the constitution or in the proceedings of the committee."

Mr. Gladstone rose in the House of Commons. See! His posture erect; his sallow complexion; his overhanging brows and piercing eyes; and the corners of his mouth drawn down, all proclaiming the imperious will, the boisterous and impetuous character, and the biform form and Parthian purpose of his soul. He said: "I beg to give notice that on Monday next I propose to move the following resolution:—'That a Parliamentary inquiry at the present time into the working of the Irish Land Act tends to defeat the operation of that Act, and must be injurious to the interests of good government in Ireland.'"

The agitation against the House of Lords had begun. The sluice-gates of angry debate had been opened. Who could tell when the torrents of talk would end, or whither they would lead? The *clôture* resolution had not been passed; and as for the supposed urgency of it, that was little more thought of. Mr. Gladstone had determined to gag the House of Commons, and to break the House of Commons into fragments; to menace the House of Lords, to censure the House of Lords, and so to disgrace the House of Lords before the country. Every one in the House of Commons was aware that it is always highly irregular to refer, in the House of Commons, to anything that has taken place in the House of Lords, or to repeat any word that has there been spoken. Yet Mr. Speaker Brand ruled, when the question was put to him: "In answer to the question, all I can say at present is that the notice of motion of the right hon. gentleman is regular,

"and that I can see no reason for objecting to it on "technical grounds."

If Mr. Gladstone had risen and merely stated that what had been resolved "in another place" (according to accustomed phraseology) would have no effect on the future policy of the Government, it would perhaps have been regular. But to raise a debate on the proceedings of the House of Lords was clearly not regular. Nor was it the act of a statesman. He did all he could to raise an agitation fraught with peril to the State, without in any way offering a remedy for any of the evils which he might have supposed, in a heated moment, would result from the success of Lord Donoughmore's resolution. What could be more unconstitutional than to ask one branch of the Legislature to censure the other for doing what it had the most undoubted right to do? Why should he thus cast to the winds the practice of centuries, and those orders of both Houses which forbade one House to invade, in the slightest degree, the independence of the other? Did he think that his menace would have the effect of coercing the Lords into stultifying their House by reversing their vote? Did he hope thus also to degrade it in the eyes of the nation? Did he wish to raise a fierce agitation throughout the country against the very existence of the House of Lords? Did he desire again to fan the flames of sedition in Ireland, by bringing about a debate on the Irish Land question and his "remedial measures" of 1881? Did he desire to heat party animosities to a white heat, and inflame party passions to a revolutionary rage? Did he desire himself to cause such an obstruction in legislation, that the people should arise and sweep away both Houses? What else were the "grave reasons having relation to the first "necessities of society in Ireland," which he said did amply justify his extraordinary step? It was true that the outrages had increased, in virtue of the action of his "remedial measure." But then the Government had themselves encouraged the outrages, by publicly withdrawing

protection from the "caretakers,"—that is, from those who had been placed, by law, in charge of farms from which tenants had been evicted. Agitation in Ireland; agitation in England; agitation in Scotland; obstruction in the House of Commons; and a conflict between the two Houses of Parliament:—such was the policy of Mr. Gladstone. What was the end which, by these means, he hoped to attain?

NO. XLIV.

IN consequence of the outcry which had been raised in the press, Mr. Gladstone, on Feb. 20, 1882, moved his *clôture* resolution, in an amended form, which he announced as follows: "The resolution now ends with the proviso, "Provided that the question shall not be decided in the affirmative if a division be taken, unless it shall appear to have been supported by more than 200 members.' "We do not propose any change in that part of the resolution. Then (as we propose) the following words will come:—'Or to have been opposed by 40 members and supported by more than 100 members.'" That is to say, 39 members may be overcome by 101 members, or a majority of five to two; while 40 members would require 201 members, or five to one, to vanquish them. Yet 300 members would be beaten by 301, and 200 members by 201! This, too, in face of his own declaration on the same day (on the Bradlaugh question) that three times last year he had been in a minority, and "*the minority was right*." Mr. Gladstone, it will be perceived, took care of small minorities. It was his desire that the Irish party, for example, should not be overcome except by five to one. But he did not care for the legitimate opposition of a large minority, which should be extinguished by an excess of one vote. If 201 vote to close a debate, and 200 wish to continue, the one member will constitute "the evident sense of the House."

Let us continue Mr. Gladstone's speech on the *clôture*. He traced the origin and causes of obstruction; and the pretended Liberal Minister laid the blame on the Reform Bill of 1832: "The fundamental change which "has occurred is *owing to the passing of the first great "Reform Bill. From that moment forward the position "of the House was fundamentally altered. At once, "from 1833, the pressure and calls upon the House were "felt to be painful and almost intolerable. Considerable "efforts were made to meet these calls; but in spite of "these efforts, they have grown more and more upon us, "and I will instance the last twelve years, the last six "years, and the last two years. During these years, from "causes which it will be my duty to point out, these calls "have grown until they have become, indeed, intolerable: "intolerable to those who think that they are members of "this House, not for the purpose merely of spending a "certain number of hours more or less agreeably or disagreeably within its walls, but to regulate the changes of "the Empire and to preserve the liberties of these countries. "The growth of these labours is extraordinary. I will not "attempt to give an exhaustive catalogue."*

The quickwitted Irish members saw at once that Mr. Gladstone was driving at the necessity of establishing a separate Irish Parliament. He continued: "Has the "House shunned or attempted to shun its duties? Is it "that the House feels its labours to be intolerable and "finds it necessary to contract them? Here is a most "interesting fact I should like to bring to the notice of "hon. members. *At the time of the Reform Act* there was "a sudden and vast expansion of Parliamentary duty. "That expansion was found intolerable, and Parliament "did not continue it."

Mr. Gladstone then turned to the report of the number of hours consumed in the House of Commons,—the report which was published in the *Times* on the morning of the assembling of Parliament. He then added: "The plan

"we propose divides itself roughly into two parts, one of which relates to procedure, and the other relates to *devolution or delegation. The latter is an attempt to economise the labour of Parliament as it has been economised everywhere else.* I do not know whether it will surprise the House, but I venture to hold strongly the opinion, that, although certain measures of procedure are vitally essential, yet that *a device for the delegation of our labours is the more important.* I consider that it will not be possible for the House to raise itself to the level where it can discharge its duties properly to the country, *unless it can devise some considerable kind of scheme of delegation."*

Here then he advanced, again, his argument in favour of Home Rule, or an independent Parliament in Dublin. The argument was the same as that which had been advanced by Mr. Butt, Mr. Parnell, and Mr. O'Connor Power; viz., the House of Commons is unable to discharge all its duties, and therefore, purely Irish affairs must be delegated to Dublin. This, Mr. Gladstone regarded as more important than any reform of the rules of procedure. The question of obstruction he then enlarged upon, yet he never told the House that obstruction had been devised and put in motion in order to bring about the autonomy of Ireland, and to crumple up the Parliament of England: "And here I come to consider what is commonly called obstruction. It is not a very easy matter to define obstruction; and I will not attempt to define it for any one but myself. I will only give my description of it. To me it appears to be the disposition, either of the minority of the House or of individuals, to resist the prevailing will of the House otherwise than by argument. I use these words carefully, because I have contended myself, and *I am still ready to contend, that what may appear to the majority of the House to be the persistent and even reiterated pressure of argument, is not always obstructive.* . . . Generally, then, I think obstruction, as it has

“ been spoken so much of in late years, may be considered
“ *the disposition of the minority or of individuals to resist the*
“ *will of the House otherwise than by argument.* I will just
“ point to three stages in that unfortunate and ill-omened
“ progression to which I have had occasion to advert.
“ Undoubtedly it was the opinion either of the House or
“ of the majority of the House that, in the Parliament of
“ 1868, obstruction was sufficiently manifested. But the ob-
“ struction which was then manifested, even in the opinion
“ of the majority, did not present the gravest features which
“ obstruction has since gradually developed. I take that
“ Parliament as having exhibited obstruction in its first stages.
“ Those who were the majority of the House thought it was
“ tolerably pronounced. But they, nevertheless, advisedly
“ abstained from proposing any method whatever, of a
“ penal or restrictive kind, for the purpose of checking it,
“ showing, I hope, a *due respect for liberty of speech*, even while
“ they smarted, and while the House was most seriously
“ impeded by proceedings which, though pursued no doubt
“ honourably and conscientiously, it yet thought were mis-
“ chievous. I come next to the Parliament of 1874. It
“ was in that Parliament, I think it unquestionable, that
“ there was a power developed, and that obstruction began
“ to manifest, ambiguously perhaps, but yet to many
“ intelligibly, certain features which had not before presented
“ themselves. The two great subjects on which obstruction
“ was experienced, in that Parliament, were the subjects of
“ the South African Bill and Army flogging. But, in both
“ of them, the great length of the debates which occurred
“ was mixed with circumstances which make it *not easy to*
“ *form a perfectly accurate and impartial estimate of the*
“ *obstructive forces that were put in action*, because—I believe
“ I am right in regard to the South African Bill, and I
“ know I am right in regard to the Army Discipline Bill, in
“ saying that very important changes were introduced into
“ these measures, and were the fruit and progress of long
“ debates, and where that is so, it is not fair to drive home,

“without a great deal of hesitation, the charge of obstruction. However, in the opinion of the House, some measure was called for, and with great moderation the right hon. gentleman, who was then leader of the House, devised and proposed to the House a standing order which was accepted with very general approval. Now we come to the Parliament of 1880; and if the Parliament of 1874 exhibited a development in comparison with the Parliament of 1868, there is no doubt whatever that the Parliament of 1880 exhibits a most grave development in comparison with the Parliament of 1874. I mean that it became evident—I do not question the patriotism or the uprightness of the views they entertain—that *a limited portion of the members of this House were disposed not only to show that the House was incapable of discharging all its legislative functions, but to make it incapable of doing so.* Those who look back over the history of that remarkable session will not doubt the substantial truth of what I say. Last year we arrived at a climax in which you, sir, found yourself compelled to adopt, what you termed at the time *an exceptional measure—to take into your own hands the exercise of a power not committed to you either by the orders of the House or by the usages of the House.* You did so in circumstances which I believe—at least in the opinion of nine-tenths, I may say of nineteen-twentieths of the House—earned for you an additional measure of their respect and gratitude.”

Then advertng to his “Urgency” rules, he said: “The Government asked for measures of immediate and urgent necessity. They obtained the rules of urgency, which enabled them to press forward those measures in a manner which would otherwise have been impossible. How did they obtain those rules? Why, sir, they obtained those rules owing to a most extraordinary error in tact [or “was it intentional?”] on the part of a certain number of members of this House which I ever saw committed, under which they contrived most kindly to place them-

“selves in such a position that we were able to deal with them in a single division. Otherwise we might have been occupied with divisions throughout the night, and at the close of them would have been totally out of condition for dealing with the question of urgency.”

Having said before, on this very evening (in the Bradlaugh debate), that three times he was in a minority, and that “the minority were right,” he here stated the fundamental principle that “the will of the majority should prevail ;” not that justice and right should prevail ; not that law should be observed ; but that the might of numbers should cause all to bend and bow down to it. “There is but one sound principle in this House, and that is that *the majority of the House should prevail*. The whole of our proceedings are founded upon it.”

Mr. Gladstone concluded by moving the first resolution. Sir Stafford Northcote followed with a speech of apparent opposition ; but so weak, that it deadened all opposition, and disheartened opponents. It was really of the greatest assistance to Mr. Gladstone. Yet he must have seen, as every one of any experience must have seen, that, in spite of the fantastic tawdry tinsel in which the resolution was enveloped, it would place the complete control of the House and its debates in the hands of the Minister of the day. To go about puling that no Government would abuse those powers, was mere childish folly or idiotic drivelling, which could deceive no one. That resolution would make the Prime Minister a despot, and speedily extinguish the House of Commons altogether.

It had been remarked that, although on every previous occasion when a change in the rules and orders of the House was contemplated, the Government consulted the Opposition leaders, and came to some agreement with them ; yet, on this occasion, no member of the House, except the Speaker, had been taken into the confidence of Mr. Gladstone ; that not the slightest regard had been paid to the views of the Opposition ; and that the Govern-

ment had assumed the most uncompromising attitude, declaring that a penal dissolution of Parliament should take place, unless the House should agree to the *clôture* in the form that Mr. Gladstone proposed it. If that were true, why did Sir Stafford not offer a real opposition? And yet he knew that the whole future history of the House of Commons would assume a new character, and that the very being of the House of Commons would be altered by the adoption of that rule. The future House of Commons would, as long as it should retain any life at all, be disconnected from the past; and the old House of Commons would come to an end with the passing of the rule; although the new kind of Assembly, bearing the old name, might for a time struggle on with a rickety and mangey existence. What shall we say when we consider this in connection with the fact that Mr. Gladstone insulted the House of Lords, by giving notice of a resolution to censure that august body, because it determined, in the exercise of its undoubted rights, to investigate the working of the Land Act?—the Land Act which had so utterly belied the reiterated statements on which its authors procured its enactment, which had cut down rents in a way that its authors said it would never cut them down; and which had increased outrage and sedition, although its authors had been so positive that it would bring peace and content? What shall we say, except that Mr. Gladstone was effecting a Revolution, and abolishing the Legislature of both Houses? What shall we say, except that he was striking at the very first principles of Representative Government? Why should he otherwise have provoked a serious conflict between the two branches of the Legislature, at the very time that he was seeking to establish the autonomy, or rather separation of Ireland, and was sweeping away the Protestant landlords of Ireland in order to effect that purpose? Why should he have created these serious blocks on all useful legislation, by raising interminable discussions on the *clôture*, and creating a conflict

between the two Houses, except it was to abolish them both?

The *Times* of February 23 contained two letters of warning from supporters of Mr. Gladstone. The first was from Mr. Peter Taylor, the ultra-Radical member for Leicester; the other was from Mr. Auberon Herbert, the brother of Lord Carnarvon. The following is an extract from Mr. Taylor's letter: "That the Radical party in the House of Commons should sit quietly by, and see the Government *deliberately forge the weapon whose chief force it is certain will in the future be used against the party of progress*, is to my mind amazing. It becomes, however, less annoying, though not less painful, when one becomes aware that not a few of the aforesaid Radicals are acting under the strongest pressure from without, and in the teeth of their own convictions. A well-known Radical member replied to my question as to whether it was possible he was going to support the *clôture* by saying, '*I detest it, but I am no more free to vote against it than I should be to refuse my purse on a dark night to a man who held a revolver at my head.*' . . . It seems we are threatened with a dissolution if the Government should be defeated on the *clôture*, and it is supposed that a new election would see the Tories once more in power. So be it, say I for one, rather than diminish the usefulness and degenerate the methods of the British House of Commons."

Now let us hear the Hon. Auberon Herbert on the working of the Caucus: "As soon as the signs of any opposition are perceived, a circular, such as that which appeared in the *Times* on Monday, the 13th, is drafted and sent off to the local associations to furnish a text on which resolutions are to be framed, and the feelings of the country sent up in a convenient and compact form to London. It is difficult to read that circular, and to doubt as regards the inspiration to which we owe it. The very words used betray the concealed prompter. It is not the voice of one speaking from outside, but from inside the

"Government, who begs 'for support of rules which, after
" 'anxious and mature deliberation, Her Majesty's Ministers
" 'have submitted to Parliament as absolutely necessary for
" 'the purpose in view,' and again, 'rules . . . which
" 'the Government declare to be absolutely necessary for
" 'the conduct of public business.' We are all, of course,
" delighted to hear that the Government have expended
" anxious and mature deliberation ; but who, except some
" one from inside, is competent to give us this information ?
" . . . So much about the authorship seems clear, and
" whether Mr. Chamberlain, or the Federated Secretary, or
" the Federated Chairman, or some other gentleman from
" Birmingham, strung the sentences together matters but
" little. The point that has importance is that this docu-
" ment, which begs for uninquiring confidence in the wisdom
" of Ministers, and is composed much in the spirit of an
" Encyclical, is the product not of any spontaneous feeling
" in the country, not even of so much spontaneous feeling
" as might be generated if you brought a roomful of
" federated committee-men together from different parts of
" the country, put them round a table, and allowed them,
" like the good people at a conjurer's show, to imagine that
" they chose the particular card out of the cards presented
" to them, but that its true birthplace has been either in a
" Minister's study or the Whip's room at Westminster.
" Such, then, is the working of the Caucus machinery.
" Few questions are now really placed before the people
" in the constituencies for their honest consideration and
" true judgment. The political markets are mostly rigged,
" and the results are known and arranged beforehand by
" the managers. The Ministers claim that the voice of the
" country approves and urges them forward ; in reality, it is
" only a skilful contrivance by which their own voices come
" back to them gloriously magnified. Mr. Chamberlain
" stands at one end of the electioneering telephone, and
" the words which he whispers to it travel on, and, by an
" improved method to which ordinary science has not yet

“attained, are repeated by every wire diverging to the provinces ; while, just as Professor Hughes’s admirable invention of the microphone turns the tread of a fly into the distant trampling of the elephant, so Mr. Chamberlain’s sentences come back to Westminster deepened in tone by the imitated thunder of an aroused people. . . . Of course, behind this political machinery lies a far graver evil. It would be wilful blindness not to recognise it. Unless there were in our constituencies *great suppression of individual convictions* and reckless party feeling, no mere management or manipulation could poison our political life.”

Thus Mr. Auberon Herbert exposed Mr. Gladstone’s system. Mr. Gladstone, while carrying out the Jesuit policy of the reign of James II., insisted on finding in his followers the unquestioning and unreasoning obedience which is required of all Jesuits and their adherents. Mr. D’Israeli, it will be remembered, required the same submission on the part of all his followers, and proceeded to crush any one who refused to yield it or showed any sign of independence. The Tory country gentlemen, who formed what Mr. Mill insolently called “the stupid party,” were too stiff-backed to yield up their own convictions without question, and too honest to deny their convictions by public speech or vote. Mr. Gladstone found the Liberal party more submissive or less honest, and bade fair to accomplish that in which Lord Beaconsfield had failed.

Another Liberal member wrote a letter “*On the Position of Liberal Members*,” which appeared in the *Times* of Feb. 24. That gentleman called “attention to the disastrous effect the Caucus machinery has produced upon the relations which subsist between the leaders of the Liberal party and its rank and file in this House. Up to a comparatively recent period it was the practice from time to time to call meetings of the party, when the form, at least, of consultation as to the common policy was gone through ; but what was, perhaps, more important, the

“whips made it their constant business to ascertain from individual members their personal views and the feeling of their constituencies upon questions of importance, as a guide to the Cabinet in arriving at conclusions, and as a means of ascertaining and of removing differences. This was the practice of Sir William Hayter. . . . Of late years it is notorious that the views of private members of the House, however experienced or influential, as representing large constituencies, are rarely if ever asked ; and if advice is proffered, it is received with more or less of indifference or contempt. Since 1880—to go no farther back—the party have not been consulted, either individually or collectively, but *an ukase is issued, and implicit obedience to it demanded*. The fact is that the heads of the party, relying on the coercive action of the Caucus to insure *obedience*, regard the individual member as of less importance than the secretary of the local organization, who virtually directs his vote. *It is clear to me that the result to be expected from this system is already apparent, and will shortly culminate in the disintegration of the great majority placed at Mr. Gladstone's disposal in 1880*. Members with any self-respect cannot but resent the tone of dictation assumed by their leaders ; and though circumstances may compel obedience to the mandate of the Caucus, a vote so obtained leaves behind a sense of humiliation rarely forgiven and never forgotten.”

On Feb. 27, Mr. Gladstone moved to postpone the orders of the day until after his motion of censure on the House of Lords. Sir Stafford Northcote's speech, in so-called opposition to Mr. Gladstone, evinced a studied weakness, mixed with milksop flattery. According to the *Times*, it was “faint-hearted in tone and inconclusive in substance.” The motion of censure was therefore speedily arrived at, and moved by Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Gibson made an able speech in reply, in which he charged Mr. Gladstone with having created and provoked the crisis of which he had complained ; because that he had kept

back, and not permitted to be urged in the House of Lords, at the outset, the reasons, which had just been hinted at by Mr. Gladstone, against the proposed inquiry into the principles which had guided the Commissioners and Sub-commissioners in their judgments under the Land Act. Mr. Gibson was right. To gag the House of Commons, and handcuff the House of Lords, was evidently Mr. Gladstone's aim as a means to his ulterior end. He desired the crisis of which he had taken advantage. Sir Walter Barttelot very aptly retorted on Mr. Gladstone by saying in effect: "If you urge that an inquiry by the House of Lords, into the working of the Land Act, will be fraught with the gravest dangers for Ireland, will not a long debate upon it in the House of Commons be far more injurious, than an inquiry conducted in a quiet room upstairs? Yet you, Mr. Gladstone, have wantonly raised such a debate in the Commons." Mr. McCarthy, indeed, the leader of the Irish party during Mr. Parnell's absence, openly announced their intention of taking part in the debate and voting against the Government, with the object of discrediting the Land Act; while Mr. O'Donnell complained of Sir Stafford Northcote for moving the Previous Question, with the object of excluding those various amendments, of which notice had been given, which would have reopened the whole agrarian question. Yes! that was doubtless precisely the reason which had induced Sir Stafford to interpose so suddenly with the Previous Question. He perhaps desired to exclude those amendments; he sought to stifle debate. The milksop speech was obviously, therefore, the result of a complicity with Mr. Gladstone.

The *St. James's Gazette* contained, on March 1, an article evincing such profundity and perspicacity—with, perhaps, more knowledge of the recondite meaning of events, and the secret policy of Mr. Gladstone, than quite appeared on the surface—that I do not hesitate to quote lengthy extracts from it.

"Our institutions are undergoing a dangerous depra-
"vation ; and if we hand them on without having arrested
"it, we may be *preparing the way to their dissolution by*
"*means we cannot now foresee with precision.* For, just let
"us calmly run over in our minds what is being done, and
"what has been done. *We are in presence of an attempt*
"*to silence both Houses of Parliament.* The House of
"Commons is to pass a self-denying ordinance, under
"which it is to discuss the proposals of the Minister no
"longer than the majority pleases. But the majority is
"the Minister. The identity has for two years past been
"almost complete, and the suggestions, (the *clôture* with
"the action of the Caucus, and the motion of censure on
"the House of Lords) of which we have spoken, mean
"that it is to be perfected. As to the House of Lords,
"there is an open endeavour to terrorize it. It may be
"remembered that last year the organs of the majority of
"the House of Commons, now itself about to be enslaved,
"boldly denied the right of the House of Lords to share
"in legislation. They boasted that, by their clamour, they
"had prevented the House of Lords from engrafting, upon
"the Land Bill, amendments which in the light of existing
"circumstances we can see to have been eminently wise
"and urgently necessary. *The present plea of the Conserva-*
"*tive leaders of the Upper House is that they made those*
"*concessions because they were deceived.* They say that,
"so far as they can make out from the materials before
"them, *one Minister was allowed to make statements which*
"*another Minister sitting by his side knew to be false in*
"*fact.* Imprudently perhaps, but most naturally, they wish
"to inquire how all this came about ; but the reply of
"the Minister is an order to his captains of thousands to
"order the majority of the House of Commons to support
"him in censuring them, and they are sought to be made
"responsible for a state of public affairs which threatens
"to be not anarchy but chaos.

"We have therefore actually before our eyes a memor-

“able scene in the great drama of English history. *In our time the pretext of Revolution in one part of the empire is being used to prevent the Estates of the Realm, not from disputing, but from debating, the measures of the Government.* The Prime Minister, clothed with the authority of the Crown, is inflicting, on the Houses of Parliament, an equally effectual but meaner humiliation than if he had burned the woolsack and sent the mace to Christie and Manson’s. *He refuses to one House speech; to the other, what is less than speech, the right of inquiry.* But even more striking than the facts are the imperceptible changes which have led to them, and the recency of origin. It is to be carefully observed that the Minister, in his demands upon the House of Commons, is not asking for greater liberty of executive action. One serious complaint against him is, that the very crisis, which he makes the excuse for seeking to obtain such tremendous privileges, was in reality brought about by slackness in exercising executive powers already in existence, and delay in asking for additional powers which he thought indispensable. The suggestion, that he shall be allowed to close the mouth of the House of Commons, is put upon the ground that he is desirous not of acting but of legislating. He wishes for less dilatory talk about his own legislative proposals. Thus the extremely modern opinion that it is part of the business of the Executive Government to submit to Parliament not only measures necessary for the conduct of public affairs, but measures intended to introduce sweeping social changes, has produced in our time *the extraordinary doctrine that the Government, and not Parliament, is the real Legislature; and that the duty of the majority of the representatives is not to sift the proposals of the Minister, but to see that they are carried through. . . . There is, in fact, no sort of doubt that Mr. Gladstone’s New Procedure for the House of Commons, and his censure of the House of Lords, are integral portions of one and the same policy.* It

“would be an idle speculation to inquire how the mind of the Minister has been brought to these conclusions, or whether he distinctly realizes all they imply. *What is important is the fact that THEY MENACE THE ENTIRE BRITISH CONSTITUTION.* It cannot be mere accident that the Conservative Opposition was one day told not to be so frightened at the *clôture*, because it had the House of Lords to insure discussion, and that a few days afterwards the *clôture* resolution was displaced by the notice of censure on the House of Lords. *The whole of the new policy hangs together; and in its perfect consistency it means a danger of the utmost gravity to the organs of freedom in the country in which modern liberty was born.*” Quite true! For the few who followed events to their causes, and who connected the events of one day with those of another day, in order to arrive at the principle of them, there was no doubt that the *clôture* resolution, and the motion of censure on the House of Lords, were “integral portions of one and the same policy.” Was there any doubt that all Mr. Gladstone’s policy hung together in “perfect consistency,” and that the aim of the Liberal Ministry and Liberal Cabinet was the destruction of “the organs of freedom in the country in which modern liberty was born”?

NO. XLV.

THE true aim of Mr. Gladstone was made more apparent by the events of the next day. The “Order of Reference” of the House of Lords, passed on Lord Donoughmore’s motion, was: “To inquire into the working of recent legislation relating to land in Ireland, and its effect on the condition of the country.”

On March 2, it was announced that Earl Cairns, the Chairman of the Committee, had written to Mr. Forster, the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland,

asking him to appear before the Committee and give evidence. He stated that the Committee had resolved : "that they do not consider it to be within the scope of the "reference made to them by the House, to inquire into the "correctness of any decision at which the Commissioners "or the Sub-commissioners, in the exercise of their judicial functions, may have arrived."

It must be remembered that Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons, reiterated (as he said) the offer previously made by Lord Granville in the House of Lords, and called the House of Commons to bear witness to his "official and responsible declaration," addressed in "explicit and determined" language to the House of Lords. That declaration was in the following terms :—"Contrive "in any way you like formally to exclude from the inquiry "the judicial administration of the Act, and to every other "form of the inquiry we will waive the serious objections "we entertain."

Compare this declaration, this offer of compromise, with the resolution of the Committee of the House of Lords, which was conveyed to Mr. Forster by Lord Cairns. Wherein did it differ? Perhaps it was not "formally" resolved! Otherwise the requirement of the terms of surrender cover exactly the same ground. On the omission of the word "formally," perhaps, Mr. Gladstone rested his case. At all events, he sent word that it was not satisfactory, and that Mr. Forster would not be allowed to appear to give evidence before the Lords. Lord Cairns had practically surrendered the position taken up by the House of Peers; he had virtually conceded that the Land Act must not be inquired into or interfered with; and yet Mr. Gladstone persisted in his vote of censure on the House of Lords. He must have had some other aim in view than that which he stated to the House. It was his recondite policy which had not been fulfilled; his occult aim that had not been attained.

He clearly intended, at all events, to inflict a humiliation

on the House of Lords, in the face of the country. It was he, in the first instance, who had cut off the direct path of retreat from the Lords, by giving public notice of his vote of censure. The Peers could then no longer acquiesce in the pretensions it involved. They could not admit that the majority in the House of Commons had a right to control and censure the House of Lords, as if it were not an independent authority, but were merely an assembly in subordination to a supreme House of Commons.

Let us, for a moment, revert to the original position of affairs. Every one had been informed that the Land Act was being administered, not as the Act was represented to be when it was passed, but as something very different. The Sub-commissioners, and even the Commissioners, were currently reported to be carrying out a secret principle for dispossessing the landlords, and not acting as judges in determining fair rents and dealing justly to both landlords and tenants. The Act was said not to be administered at all, in fact, but to be used merely as a cover for a mock-judicial extortion and robbery. Was it not natural that the Peers should desire to find out whether the current belief was true? Was it not their duty, as the highest Law Court in the realm, to ascertain whether a gross injustice was not being extensively practised under pretence of administering the law?

From the point of view of the Government, the same anxiety should have been manifested. The assurances they had given as to the meaning and operation of the Act,—their repeated asseverations, by which they had procured the passing of the Act, had been most notoriously falsified. Instead of the reductions in rent having been very small, they were 25, 30, and even 50 per cent. Instead of very few small landlords being all that would be touched by the Act, it was hitting every one very hard. Instead of the Act having been dispassionately and justly administered, the Commissioners admitted that they had been regardless of the Act, deciding according to certain

“general principles which had been settled by the three Chief Commissioners at a meeting in Dublin, before a sod had been turned.” Would it not have been natural that the Government should have wished to ascertain the real facts, and thus either have proved that their assurances had not been falsified, or else to punish the Commissioners for being traitors to the law, and true to the Land League. Was it not the duty of the Government to cause such an inquiry to be made? Yet they refused it, and said that any inquiry, even if privately conducted in a room upstairs, must inevitably produce the most dreadful consequences in Ireland. They, however, themselves invited a debate on the Land Act, in the House of Commons, when any persons, heated by party feeling and smarting under recent losses, could make the most reckless assertions against the Act, without the danger of being cross-examined: and when their words would be published through the length and breadth of the land, instead of being buried in the pages of a voluminous Blue-book. Was it not then obvious that Mr. Gladstone's aim was, not to restrict the inquiry, but to degrade, discredit, and damn the House of Lords? The House of Lords must openly and avowedly submit to him and to the dictation of a majority in the House of Commons.

If a calm and quasi-judicial inquiry by Peers would cause a revolution in Ireland, what would a furious partisan debate in the Commons do? Listen to Mr. Sexton, on March 2, inveighing, in fiery eloquence, against the Land Act, and proving it such a failure that an inquiry was absolutely necessary! and he a Romanist Irish member! Listen to the criticisms of the Opposition! Harken to the denunciations of the Home Rulers! Yet not a member of the Government interposed to offer a reply to the criticisms and denunciations! On all sides, there was unanimity in favour of an inquiry into the Land Act, and in pouring out condemnations of the Land Act as a failure. The Government might even have closed the

debate on that Thursday ; for all parties were tired of it. They did not desire to do so. They sought to prolong the inquiry, and multiply the criticisms.

Lest a suspicion of partiality should arise, let us look at the judgment pronounced by an organ hitherto favourable to the Government,—the *Times* of March 3 : “The attitude of the Government was one of *extreme reserve*. No speeches were made by the rank and file of the Ministerialists. Nor did any one rise on the Treasury bench, until the Solicitor-General for Ireland interposed in the debate towards its close. The discussion was carried on by the Conservatives and the Irish members, who adduced a variety of arguments and testimonies in support of the contention that an inquiry was practicable and expedient. Yet it was understood that the Government had used no pressure to bring the debate to a close ; though if that had been done it was evident that neither the leaders of the Opposition nor the Land League party would have made resistance. The Whips had arranged, according to prevailing rumour, that the debate should be again adjourned ; and in the meantime it was continued, as we have stated, almost exclusively by various critics of the Land Act. Nothing was said on the Ministerial side, upon the aspect of the matter which was most interesting to members of the House of Commons. It was not explained why the vote of censure is to be pressed, after the communication made by Lord Cairns to Mr. Forster, and why it is deemed necessary to protract a discussion, which involves waste of valuable time and stirs up party spirit, when it is clear that the Opposition are not bent on making a determined stand against the master of many legions. . . . It is certainly remarkable that no representative of the Cabinet was put forward last night to state how this declaration of the Lords’ Committee falls short of the guarantee which the Prime Minister on Monday pronounced indispensable.”

For another week this malefic debate was still pending. Even Mr. Gladstone's friends and admirers began to murmur that "the interpolation of such a debate, amidst "the crowded business of a session, was wholly unnecessary "and vexatious." Night after night had, in their eyes, been thrown away; and the debate was no nearer an end than before. Not a member of the Government, except the Solicitor-General for Ireland, had spoken since Mr. Gladstone's introductory speech; and no one had attempted to touch upon or explain the "first necessities" of government, and the "primary interests of society in Ireland," which required the House of Commons to pass a censure on the House of Lords for venturing to inquire into the Land Act. No one attempted to explain why the "urgent" business of the Legislature should be blocked, for days, by the very man who had proposed to muzzle the House of Commons, in order to get that business done. No one had attempted the task, because they would have had to explain how muzzling the House of Commons and gagging the House of Lords were parts of one policy, for getting rid of that Representative form of Government, so hated by the Jesuit party.

At last, on March 9, the debate in degradation of the House of Lords had been kept long enough before the country; the division took place; and the vote of censure was passed. All the obloquy that was possible had been heaped on the House of Lords.

On Saturday, the 11th of March, the following was the judgment formed by the editor of the *Times*, whose testimony may be regarded as impartial and conclusive: "The "debate on procedure in the House of Commons has been "once again postponed in the name of more urgent business. . . . On Monday week, just one month will have "passed since the new rules were introduced for discussion; "just six weeks will have passed since Parliament met. "The intervals have been busy, but they have been almost "absolutely barren of result. *Little or nothing has been*

"done, because little or nothing has been attempted. . . . The
 "performance has fallen even more than usually short of
 "the promise. Obstruction, in the ordinary sense of the
 "word, has not been to blame here. The work of obstruc-
 "tion has none the less been effectually done. Public
 "business has been almost at a standstill, while the time
 "of the House has been taken up, its working power frit-
 "tered away, and its energies exhausted in a species of
 "strenuous idleness. . . . *The House has done nothing;*
 "*but it has done as much as the Government has hitherto*
 "*asked it to do.* . . . The new Rules of Procedure,
 "if they are passed at all, will be passed only at the
 "sacrifice of a working year. . . . The Rules, in fact,
 "cover so wide a field, and in some respects *are so revo-*
 "*lutionary in their aim,* that the House may well pause,
 "and may deem a session not altogether wasted in getting
 "rid of them or in rendering them harmless. . . . The
 "rule for closing debate by a bare majority, if carried
 "at all, will be carried by main force. The general sense
 "of the House is known not to be favourable to it. *The*
 "*proposals are distinctly those of the Government.* . . . It
 "is only *under pressure* that they will be approved. Mem-
 "bers will vote for them, not because they like them, but
 "because they think it a less evil to accept than to reject
 "them and to face the prospect of a dissolution." Verily,
 Mr. Gladstone's difficulties were thickening! The *Times*
 leader proceeded thus: "It is fair cause of complaint,
 "not only that the Liberal party has not been taken into
 "the counsels of the Government, but that neither has the
 "Conservative party. The subject is one in which both
 "parties are concerned, and in which both have an almost
 "equal right of speech. The way in which the Government
 "has set about its self-imposed task *raises the suspicion that*
 "*the NEW RULES HAVE MORE MEANING THAN IS ACKNOW-*
 "*LEDGED FOR THEM, and that they are intended to serve as*
 "*the prelude for some UNDECLARED DRASTIC MEASURES*
 "*of which no hint has been given* in the Queen's Speech,

“and which will be as much of a surprise as the new Rules themselves have been.”

The leading journal, looking to the far horizon, saw in the new Rules a meaning which no one had acknowledged. The *Times* could discern, in the dim impenetrability of Mr. Gladstone's mind, some drastic measures which he had not declared! Then there was danger in pressing the new Rules? Yes! There was no doubt that Mr. Gladstone's difficulties were thickening. On Monday, March 13, the *Daily News*—the Ministerial journal—showed, by its leading article, that the people of England were getting their eyes opened. It declared that: “Ministers must be prepared to show that they have left nothing undone to promote economy of time and labour, and to bring before the House of Commons the measures proposed in the Speech from the Throne.” They had surrendered a fortnight, or rather the four Government nights of a fortnight, to “stale recriminations” and “criticism which was necessarily futile, if only because it was altogether premature;” and, as nothing could possibly have been gained by such an injurious waste of time, “a clear and decided statement, from the Prime Minister, of the view taken by the Government, on the conduct of the Lords, would have done all the good and none of the harm which had resulted from a prolonged, and, in the circumstances, a mischievous controversy.” When Mr. Gladstone's own journals turned against him, his policy must have indeed been surrounded with difficulties, and opposed by obstacles. The rats do not leave a rotten ship until it is sinking! But what was the cause of the dangers and difficulties? Merely this: a little light had been thrown on Mr. Gladstone's secret aim.

And yet the very next day, March 14, we learned that the address, very numerously signed by Liberal members of Parliament, praying for the adoption of a two-thirds majority for the imposition of the *cloture*, had elicited from Mr. Gladstone the reply that “the Govern-

"ment were unable to comply with the request, and that
"they would press on their first resolution until the judg-
"ment of the House had been obtained upon it."

NO. XLVI.

IN the evening of March 14, Mr. Childers, on being asked to state an hour after which he would not bring on the Army Estimates, said that it "was absolutely necessary," in order to comply with the law, that "the first two votes for the Army and Navy should be reported not later than Monday next. If they were not so reported, it was difficult to see how illegality could possibly be avoided. At any rate, they could not be responsible if they were not reported at that time. There were only two days in this week in which the Government could possibly take these votes—namely, on Monday and Thursday." Mr. O'Donnell very pertinently—or impertinently—asked whether the Government were aware of the urgent and imperative haste required in the Army and Navy Estimates "when they invited the House to enter upon a fortnight's abstract discussion"? Some members expressed their willingness to postpone their motions, which were down for that evening, on going into Supply, if Mr. Gladstone would give them an opportunity of moving them the next week; but they received the curt and discourteous answer contained in these few words: "It is not in my power to do so." Others desired an assurance that an early opportunity would be given for the discussion of the Army and Navy Estimates, reminding the Government that they had been beguiled, the previous year, into giving way to the Government, and that Mr. Gladstone had put off the fulfilment of his promise until August. Mr. Gladstone replied: "I quite agree that it is not creditable that such important questions should be discussed in August, but I would also point out that the entire arrangement for the discharge of public business is as far as possible from being creditable."

The address to the Crown had been voted a month previously, and none of the subjects promised in the Queen's Speech, except the first brush with the *clôture* resolution, had been entered upon. The rest of the time had been wasted in useless debates, initiated by Mr. Gladstone himself. He then blamed the House for that waste of time which had made the *immediate* voting of the Army and Navy Estimates so urgent, and he hinted that the *clôture* and his other drastic resolutions, must first be passed, before he would enter upon any business. "The preliminary conversation," said the *Times*, "on the arrangement of public business, took a sharp and almost angry tone, which did not stimulate the good nature, or even the public spirit, of the members appealed to."

Mr. J. Cowen asked the Prime Minister if he would postpone the debate on the resolution until after Easter, so as to allow the principal votes to be taken in the meantime. Mr. Gladstone replied: "I cannot, sir, entertain the proposal;" and further, Mr. Gladstone said that: "It was then March, and what the Government believed was, that by taking the judgment of the House upon matters of procedure, and by endeavouring to arrange a good system both of procedure, strictly so-called, and of a division of labour in the way of delegation of labour, they were really offering to the House the best securities they could for the discussion of the Estimates in proper time. . . . It was with a view to the proper disposal of Supply that he was about to submit his resolutions to the House. One of the principal objects they had in view—whatever might be the form which those resolutions might ultimately assume—was the effective and early discussion of matters in Supply."

Sir Stafford Northcote urged that it was an admitted principle of the Constitution that the statement of grievances should precede the granting of Supply, and that members had "a perfect right" to bring their grievances forward.

Mr. O'Donnell said: "The prospect before them was "that they were not to have an opportunity of discussing "important questions at all, until the *clôture* was passed ; "and then the *clôture* would prevent them from discussing "important questions. . . . They were now asked, by "the Premier, to hurry forward in a by no means decent "fashion the discussion of the Estimates, on the ground of "shortness of time, simply because the Premier had wasted "the time of the House, since the commencement of the "session, upon grounds now acknowledged to be utterly "fallacious."

When all the legitimate discussion on the subject had been exhausted, the great spectre of Irish obstruction was again brought on the stage, in order to create that urgency which Mr. Gladstone had professed his desire to avoid, and to discipline the House into a ready acquiescence with Mr. Gladstone in his drastic proposals for the procedure of the House. Mr. Redmond rose to call attention to the treatment of the Irish "suspects." The object of this intervention was made apparent by an attempt to count out the House. On the failure of that attempt to procure delay with indolence, the delay was sought to be attained by means of activity. The Irish members all ran in full cry after Mr. Forster, after the wrongs of the Basutos, after calumnious charges against the Cape Government. It was not until one o'clock in the morning that Mr. Childers could commence his statement. The effect, as evinced in the lobbies at night, was satisfactory to Mr. Gladstone. He had achieved a partial, although perhaps a temporary, success. The *clôture* resolution was said on all hands to be "drastic," to be "stringent," to be "peremptory," and "Oh! how necessary if we are to avoid for the future such "lamentable occurrences as those of this night."

Yet the delay had not occurred from one protracted debate; and the *clôture* would, therefore, have been unavailable. It had arisen from the ventilation of numerous questions; or rather, from the passions of members whom

Mr. Gladstone had excited. "Yet," it was said, "Mr. Gladstone's twelfth resolution, which will preclude members from making known the grievances of their constituents, before a Supply is granted to Her Majesty, 'would be effective!'" Yes, truly; an overturn of the Constitution would certainly prevent the advantages of our Constitution from being enjoyed! and Mr. Gladstone is the man to do that!

The next day, Mr. Anderson asked Mr. Gladstone whether he would postpone the *clôture* resolution until after Rules 2 and 12 of the Resolutions (relating to urgency of Supply), so as to enable the House to proceed speedily with that business. Mr. Gladstone answered emphatically that the Government had considered that matter carefully before they had given notice of their Resolutions, and that they would adhere to the order which they had decided on. Mr. Healy asked whether Mr. Gladstone intended to make use of the *clôture* resolution as soon as it should be passed, in order to assist him in passing the others, and Mr. Gladstone acknowledged that such was his intention.

The House doubtless bore in mind the occasion last year, when Mr. Gladstone asked that "Urgency in Supply" should be granted, on the ground that it would otherwise be "absolutely impossible" to get the votes passed in time to enable the Government to comply with the requirements of the law; and when Sir Stafford showed that it was quite possible to do that which Mr. Gladstone had declared to be "absolutely impossible"; and when the event had given the lie to Mr. Gladstone's assertion. Hence, no doubt, the irritation of the House on the present occasion. They feared that it was not the fulfilment of the law which Mr. Gladstone desired, but the subversion of the Constitution; not the saving of time, but the loss of freedom of speech in the House of Commons. The plea urged by Mr. Childers, and reiterated by Mr. Gladstone in 1882, was identical with the plea which he had urged and reiterated in 1881; and it was as incorrect.

The pressure put upon Mr. Gladstone, to induce him to reconsider his decision regarding the *clôture*, and to assent to a majority of two-thirds, was strong and untiring. But Mr. Gladstone remained firm. The reason which made his moderate Liberal supporters desire it, was probably the reason which made Mr. Gladstone repudiate it,—a two-thirds majority would not be so destructive of the House of Commons as a bare majority. At last the 20th of March arrived, the day for the resumption of the debate on the Procedure Resolutions. The *Times* had struggled to the light, and had approached it just at the time of the vernal equinox. It thus expressed itself in a leader: "The debate which will be resumed to-day, "on the first of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions relating to the "procedure of the House of Commons, is almost *without* "a parallel for gravity and far-reaching effect in our Parliamentary history. . . . We have no wish to discourage "the ardour of Parliamentary reformers, but we may, at any "rate, express a hope that the characteristic excellencies of "the English Constitution will be respected, even by those "who are fascinated by the symmetry or seeming ease of "movement in foreign systems. . . . It is necessary to "dismiss from consideration, in the debate which will be "resumed to-day, almost the whole of the argument of the "Prime Minister in moving the first resolution. Nine-tenths of his speech might be applauded and adopted by "members who nevertheless might feel constrained to vote "for Mr. Marriott's amendment. The force of Mr. Gladstone's contention, that it was *needful* to provide some "power for closing debates in the teeth of obstruction— "which he defined to be 'resistance to the prevailing will of "the House, otherwise than by argument'—stands out in "striking contrast to the weakness of the case, as he presented it, for placing that power in the hands of a bare "majority. . . . It is agreed that, for a long period, "during which the reputation of the House of Commons, "as a legislative assembly, was not approached by any

"similar body in the world, it was found possible to dispense with any formal rule of *clôture*. Our Parliamentary debates furnished a model for the imitation of foreigners, and the amount of work, legislative and other, transacted in many sessions within the recollection of the present generation, was matter of amazement to Continental and American politicians."

Such was the judgment of the *Times* on the struggle in the House of Commons. It was an unequal struggle, because of the perfidious advice given to a new member, Mr. Marriott, by one in authority, who was supposed to be impartial and without party bias; advice given, it appears, with the purpose of damaging Mr. Marriott's case, and improving the slender chances for Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Marriott's amendment originally stood thus: "No Rules of Procedure will be satisfactory to this House which confer the power of closing a debate upon a bare majority of members." The amendment was clearly directed against the *clôture* being imposed by a very small majority. Mr. Speaker Brand, however, sent for Mr. Marriott before the amendment was moved,¹ and informed him that "bare" was "not a parliamentary word." Mr. Marriott, in accordance with the Speaker's desire, removed the word, he "being unperceptive of the consequences." It was a pity that the Speaker had not published a dictionary, distinguishing such words as were parliamentary from those that were unparliamentary; he might also have noted the words which are "in order" when they issue from the lips of a Cabinet Minister,—such as Sir William Harcourt,—although they are "clearly out of order" when used by any other member. This code would have explained any variety and inconsistency which there might seem to be in the decisions of the Chair, and would have given a perception of the unity which doubtless underlay that variety. It would have been curious also, for those who are fond of antiquarian lore, to have traced how and when

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, March 30.

the word "bare" had dropped out of Parliamentary usage. It must certainly have been since the date of "the Bare-bones Parliament."

To return to Mr. Marriott's amendment. As cunningly altered by the Speaker, it read thus: "No Rules of Procedure will be satisfactory to this House which confer the power of closing a debate upon a majority of members," as if it should be conferred only on a minority! Those that desired to oppose Mr. Gladstone's *clôture*, were constrained to vote for that proposition!

This ruse of the Speaker was successfully used in debate. Lord Hartington urged, with force, that Mr. Marriott: "did not confine his amendment to a simple majority; it extended to a four-fifths majority, or *any* majority." Sir William Harcourt insisted that: "if the English language has any meaning at all, the declaration of the member for Brighton is that *no* majority shall be allowed to close debate." Thus the Ministry became *participes criminis*, by taking advantage of that change in the amendment, which the Speaker, with such cunning, had insisted on.

No. XLVII.

THURSDAY, March 30, was the day agreed upon, by all parties, for the division on Mr. Marriott's amendment. The *Times* leader contained a last despairing appeal to the House against Mr. Gladstone's *clôture*. It was almost a cry of anguish: "Were all extraneous and illegitimate influences to be removed, were the voting to be secret,—as, indeed, is the practice in some assemblies where the *clôture* is in force,—were there no menace of resignation or dissolution, and were the local wire-pullers restrained from interfering to warp the free judgment of the House, the majority in favour of Mr. Marriott's amendment would be overwhelming. There can hardly be a Minister on the Treasury Bench who is so ignorant of what is in

“the minds of members, as to dispute the assertion that, if Mr. Gladstone’s resolution be carried in its present form, it will be imposed by a majority of votes in the teeth of a majority of convictions. . . . They have it in their power to prevent a change in the Parliamentary institutions of the country, which they believe to be *disastrous, and which, it is to be feared, if once admitted, will be irreparable.*” In spite of the *Times*, however,—that once omnipotent “Jupiter Olympus”;—in spite of the other newspapers, not even excepting the *Daily News*; in spite of all that independent men saw, and felt, and loudly expressed; in spite of the dissent, in bated breath, of every “Liberal member” you met, to Mr. Gladstone’s proposal, yet Mr. Marriott was defeated by thirty-nine votes. Where corruption has invaded the State, and widely spread among the members of the Legislative Assembly; where no man has, for many years, been pushed to the front rank, unless he had “*committed himself*” into the hands of the dark intriguers and wire-pullers who never appeared; where the highest men in the State, who hold the chains of the rest and wield the thongs which urge forward their slaves, are themselves the slaves to a secret and irresponsible tribunal, which issues its mandates, and always pursues any disobedience with the most relentless malignity and vengeance; where all patriotism has died out, and care for self is the only feeling that remains in every breast;—in such a land you have but to know or divine the policy of that tribunal, and you can predict the action of its Government. Nor is it difficult to divine that policy, if you have become possessed of the master key which unlocks the dark recesses of their minds; if you have learned the end which, for centuries, they have kept unswervingly in view. Thus it was that the intention to push the *clôture* with the barest possible majority was known—the barest majority; that is, the smallest majority which the House could be got to accept. It was known; because the destruction of the free House

of Commons was a necessary means to the end in view. Mr. Gladstone proposed the *clôture* and forced it upon the House of Commons; and yet he had on February 27, 1880, uttered the following words: "The *clôture* is not the "stoppage of a particular member who is supposed to "have offended; it is the stoppage of a debate; and, therefore, to bring in the *clôture* for the purposes which this "resolution contemplates *would be simply to enact that the "House would punish itself and the great interests with "which it is charged*, in consequence of the offence of a "particular member." "Punish itself," by the loss of all freedom of speech. "Punish itself," by divesting itself of the power to do its duty. "Punish itself," by witnessing the destruction of the House of Commons and the Representative system.

The obstruction which prevailed in 1879 had, in the space of two years, considerably diminished. But the Liberal party had unexpectedly gained a majority in the general election of April, 1880. Mr. Gladstone had wrested, from Lord Hartington's hand, the office of Prime Minister, which the Queen had committed to the noble Marquis. The Cabinet had been cajoled into accepting the *clôture*; or else had been individually commanded, by their imperious masters, to accept it; and in February, 1882, Mr. Gladstone imposed it on the House, under a threat of dissolution, and of a withdrawal of Liberal support from every Liberal candidate who should refuse to support the *clôture*. He who seems to have created the Obstruction, imposed the *clôture* to put down the Obstruction. He who imposed the *clôture*, thus poisoned the very being of Parliament which he professed a pride in guiding.

At the close of the debate, on March 23, 1882, Mr. O'Donnell openly charged him with complicity in Obstruction: "The Irish party were now in the position of *the discarded "associates of the Obstructionists on the Ministerial bench.*" Mr. Callan, mistaking the real drift of Mr. Gladstone's efforts, supposed that Mr. Gladstone had imposed the *clôture* in

order to be able to impose Coercion Bills on Ireland. Mr. Gladstone could well have done that, in the irritated state of feeling in the country, without the *clôture*; at all events he could have done it in one evening, by suspending the Irish members, as he had done before. No; that was not the intent of Mr. Gladstone; he was aiming, against Parliamentary Government, a poisoned shaft, feathered by the plumes plucked from the breast of Parliament itself; while, at the same time, he was working out the autonomy of Ireland, and her liberation from the rights and influence of her Protestant landlords.

During the Easter recess, the Government were not idle. They continued their operations for the completion of the military mine which he had placed under Parliament. Yet the destruction of the House of Commons must entail the loss of the liberties of England, and must place an absolute power in the hands of the First Minister of the Crown. That would be the very worst kind of Cæsarism. To restrict the House of Commons to its legitimate functions,—the statement of the grievances of the people; the voting of supplies; and the supreme duty of calling to account the advisers of the Crown, for the advice they may have given to the Crown; to reconstitute the Privy Council in accordance with the Constitution of the country;—such a measure would be a guarantee for the liberties of the people. But such a measure, *until the Privy Council had been flooded with Romanist and quasi-Romanist members*, would, according to the Jesuit view, be premature. It would preserve the liberties of England, and uphold the Protestant religion as by law established.

The *Times* of May 8 announced the unexpected difficulties which had met Mr. Gladstone in the prosecution of his scheme. It said: "It is felt to be important to arrive "at some compromise upon the Procedure Resolutions. As "the matter now stands, there is no visible termination to "the discussion of the first resolution itself, while the whole "remaining portion of the session is almost demonstrably

"inadequate for dealing with the whole series, and at the same time attending to necessary business. . . . The country will learn, with a sense of profound relief, that it will, in any case, be relieved from the incubus of the *clôture*. It has long been thoroughly weary of the discussion, and has signally failed to respond in any way to the *frenzied appeals made to it for assistance* in passing the obnoxious first rule. *Everything has been done to get up a movement among the constituencies*, but after all their exertions the local caucuses have been left very much to themselves. . . . Should the Government, in view of the defiance now hurled at it, elect to drop the Procedure Rules altogether, the temper of the country is such that *it would have no difficulty in dealing with Obstruction*." These fears were allayed, apprehensions were gradually forgotten, and suspicions were discredited, by the matter being laid absolutely to rest.

The *World* of June 7 thus stated the position of the question: "The Rules of Procedure have dropped out of sight of time; but *they have not been forgotten either by the Government or by their supporters. It is quite a mistake to suppose that they are abandoned*. For months before the session opened, Mr. Gladstone had been proclaiming that this was *the first and greatest of all questions*; and to abandon every effort to settle it now, would be a serious blow to the reputation and authority of the Government."

The *Times*, on June 12, endeavoured to keep the question alive by the following leading article; and on the same evening Mr. Monck asked Mr. Gladstone whether he would not declare urgency for the "Prevention of Crime Bill." Mr. Gladstone's reply was entirely in the sense of the *Times* article, and so forcibly recalled the words of the article as to make persons declare that the article had been supplied to the *Times* by Mr. Gladstone himself. The aim of Mr. Gladstone was evidently to get himself urged into proclaiming *urgency*.

"To-day the House of Commons will resume the discussion in Committee of the Prevention of Crime Bill. The House went into Committee on the Bill before Whitsuntide, and, in nine sittings, the measure had not advanced beyond the third line of the fourth clause, leaving fourteen pages of amendments to be considered in due course. It is not surprising that, in these circumstances, public impatience at the slow progress of legislation—declared by the Government to be absolutely necessary for the maintenance of order and the repression of outrage in Ireland—should increase from day to day. The prevalent feeling out of doors has hitherto, for sound and solid reasons, been rather ignored than encouraged by practical politicians of every party. But the time is coming—if, indeed, it be not already come—when members of Parliament will be brought face to face with the demand that the obstruction of the Prevention of Crime Bill shall be overcome by resort to 'urgency.' . . . Those whose interest it is to uphold the reign of terror in Ireland are drawing fresh courage from the promise of immediate impunity. . . . We have no doubt that the Ministry, taking all these matters into consideration, appreciate the force of the demand for urgency, or some alternative scheme for expediting the business now before the House of Commons. . . . When we contemplate the unpleasant alternative at present before Parliament, our regret is revived for the tactical blunder that was perpetrated at the beginning of the session, when the Prime Minister refused to modify the *clôture* resolution in a sense acceptable not only to the Ministerialists, but to the Opposition. . . . *If Mr. Gladstone had not persisted in demanding clôture by a bare majority*, the power of closing prolonged debates by a two-thirds vote would now be in force, probably with many less disputable supplementary provisions, and would accomplish all that can be anticipated from the re-enactment of the Speaker's Rules of Urgency in expediting the progress of the Bill now before the House."

Soon afterwards another leader, of a more despairing character, appeared in the *Times*, as well as similar articles in the other papers. It was evident that the Government were doing all in their power to raise a feeling of indignation, in the wearied and disgusted mind of the nation, against a House of Commons which could consume so much time over a "Crimes Prevention (Ireland) Bill." The thoughts of the more intellectual were well expressed, and the state of the country aptly painted, by the *St. James's Gazette* of June 19: "An attempt is apparently once more "to be made to represent the *clôture* as demanded by a "country burning with reasonable indignation at the delays "which legislation encounters in the House of Commons. "It is assumed that the experience of the present session "must have convinced the most obstinate sceptic of the "need of doing something; and as 'something' always turns "out to be another word for the *clôture*, the point is proved "as soon as stated. . . . It is well to say plainly that "in the present session there has not been, and does not "promise to be, *any delay in the conduct of public business "except that caused by the action of the Government.* This "may seem a strong statement, but it is one that can be "completely made good. . . . If there has been any "delay, *it has plainly been the fault of the Government.* "They insisted on wasting the early part of the session in "debating the *clôture* and the rights of the House of Lords, "and so using up the scanty interval which could be spared "from the affairs of Ireland. . . . *It is admitted that "there has been no obstruction*, strictly so-called—no merely "dilatatory amendments, no see-saws between motions for "the adjournment of the debate and motions for the adjournment of the House. . . . The experience of the "past session has contributed nothing to the case for new "restrictions on debate."

No. XLVIII.

ON June 20, 1882, Mr. Gorst asked a question of Mr. Gladstone bearing upon the *clôture* debate; namely, whether a Junior Lord of the Treasury had correctly described the intentions of the Government of which he was a member, in asserting their fixed determination to pass the Procedure Rules? Mr. Gladstone replied:—"My attention has been called to the speech of the hon. gentleman, and I observe with pleasure that he has exercised considerable caution in his statements. He says that he does not pretend to express the intention of the Government; but he appears to think that the course he suggests would be a reasonable one. It is very natural that the hon. member, having perfect confidence in Her Majesty's Government, should believe that they intend to adopt a reasonable course in the matter." Later in the evening Mr. Gladstone rose to move: "that the Arrears (Ireland) Bill have precedence, on every day on which it is put down, over all other orders and notices of motion, with the exception of the Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Bill." Mr. Gladstone hinted, in his speech, very strongly at an autumn session, in order to pass the "Procedure" Resolutions.

This menace appeared the more grave, and, at the same time, the more ridiculous, from the list of business which Mr. Gladstone expected to have accomplished beforehand. After the Coercion Bill and the Arrears Bill (which latter was not even in Committee), Mr. Gladstone purposed to take the Budget Bill, which had not been even touched. Then the Corrupt Practices Bill, the Disfranchisement Bill, and the Ballot Act Amendment Bill. Of course debates on Supply, on the Egyptian difficulty, on the new Zulu war, on the Afghan difficulty, and on foreign policy, must intervene. Then Mr. Gladstone promised an Irish Land Act Amendment Bill, which, said he, "comprises

"several questions," and "he did not know that he could enumerate them all from recollection"! What! no finality in the old Landed Estates Act? no finality in the Land Act of 1870? and no finality in the Land Act of 1881?

Mr. Gladstone's memory served him so far as to enable him to recall the "more important" points in the promised Land Act Amendment Bill. He said there was "the question of leases, upon which certain recommendations have been submitted to the Government by the Land Commissioners. There is the question relating to the labourers; with respect to which also certain recommendations have been submitted. And, thirdly, there are the purchase clauses." Two months before, the Land Act was, in Mr. Gladstone's eyes, too new to require amendment, and too sacred to be touched. A few days before, the Arrears Bill, and possibly a scheme for the extension of the purchase clauses, were the only amendments that Mr. Gladstone purposed to entertain. He had expressly said so before the date of the Kilmainham Treaty, in the debate on Mr. Redmond's Bill. He then declined to adopt the proposals with regard to leases; he refused to make a correction in the judicial definition of "tenant's improvements." But the "appetite grows with what it feeds on." Besides, Mr. Gladstone wished to exhibit an overwhelming amount of business, in order to goad the House of Commons into passing the Procedure Rules, and so accomplishing its own ruin.

Mr. Gladstone continued his speech by suggesting that the three Agricultural Holdings Bills, and the two Scotch Bills relating to endowments and entails, should respectively be referred to *Grand Committees*. Of course the next step would be to refer all Irish Bills to a Grand Committee of Irish members; and, in order to save them the inconvenience of coming to London, that Committee might just as well sit in St. Stephen's Green, Dublin. Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to mention the Irish Sunday Closing Bill,

the Floods Bill, the Settled Lands Bill. But immediately after the Irish Bills, the Budget Bill, and the Corrupt Practices Bill, Mr. Gladstone would press the "Procedure Resolutions," and if they should not be terminated by August, the House could assemble again in October. Mr. Gladstone concluded thus:—"At the present moment I have no positive announcement to make excepting this, that the Government remain more than ever convinced that *a satisfactory settlement of the question of procedure may, in one sense, be said to transcend every other measure*—in this sense, that upon it depends the efficiency as well as the dignity of the great legislative instrument by which the business of the Empire is mainly carried on—namely, the British House of Commons. With the evils of the present system we shall deem it our duty to deal, if any method be open to us. *We shall deem it our duty not to remit the settlement of this question of procedure to another session of Parliament in the coming year.* When Parliament meets for its annual session in February next, or about its usual time, whatever precisely that time may be, it shall not have about its neck the terrible embarrassment brought about by the present state of its rules and orders, but shall be enabled to set about with something like its old energy and dignity to the transaction of its business. *At the present moment I do not go further.*"

Mr. W. H. Smith at once saw in Mr. Gladstone's resolution, which Sir Stafford Northcote had agreed to, a blow at the liberties of Parliament. He said: "that the motion was that the Arrears of Rent Bill should have precedence on every day on which it was set down. The effect of that would be to enable the Government to take other business on Government nights, and the Arrears of Rent Bill on Wednesdays, and on the morning sittings of Tuesday and Friday. No doubt it was the intention of the Government to take the Arrears of Rent Bill from day to day; but *the motion would enable them simply to appropriate the days of private members.*"

It was whispered, at the time, when Mr. Gladstone desisted for a little, from urging on the *clôture* debate, that a considerable pressure had been brought to bear on Mr. Gladstone, by his own followers,—nay, even by some of his Cabinet also, to make him give way. That was the reason why he postponed the continuance of the debate for a while. Then it was that the use of assassination, in Ireland, became apparent. There was at once a revulsion of feeling, in favour of a more despotic power of *clôture*. This was remarked in the leader of the *Times*, the next day: “*We know as a matter of fact that immediately before the assassinations in the Phoenix Park had thrown Parliamentary business into confusion, the Government had come to acknowledge the expediency of making a concession to those who distrusted the absolute power of a bare majority. . . . If the clôture resolution could have expedited the progress of the Crime Bill, the majority of two-thirds would have been at the service of the Ministry. UNLESS THE CLÔTURE IS TO BE USED FOR OTHER OBJECTS THAN THOSE AVOWED BY MR. GLADSTONE, THIS OUGHT TO BE ENOUGH.*”

The organ of Mr. Gladstone's party, *The Daily News*, however (June 23), explained that Mr. Gladstone did not intend to adhere to his offered concession. He did “not feel that overtures, made six weeks ago, with the object of saving what was left of the session, held good under the altered circumstances of to-day.” According to this journal, Mr. Gladstone's aim in making the compromise, was “to save the time of the House.” It followed that Mr. Gladstone's aim in making the original proposal, from which he departed in offering the compromise, was not to save the time of the House. What was then his aim? The *Standard*, indeed, contended (June 23) that: “the marked persistence with which the Prime Minister resorted, in season and out of season, in Parliament and elsewhere, to the necessity for reforming the procedure of the House of Commons, not unnaturally led people to

“surmise that *some deeper purpose underlay this unusual iteration than appeared on the surface.*”

On June 24, that staunch Liberal organ, the *Spectator*, hoped that the Government did not contemplate “making that very unfortunate and unwise concession to the two-third Liberals. If the Liberals of England have got a single deep belief in them, it is that the House of Commons needs reform a great deal more than the constitutencies themselves—nay, that *the resolutions on Procedure err not by being too strong, but by being too weak.*”

On June 26, the Conservative Whip, Sir W. Hart Dyke, proposed that the *clôture* resolution should be postponed until after the other resolutions on Procedure. To this, Mr. Gladstone objected decidedly. On this, the *Times*, next morning, produced a leader, in which it said: “It cannot be doubted that, setting aside the *clôture*, the House would have readily adopted the remaining resolutions, so far at least as they were concerned with ‘Procedure,’ in the strict sense, and not with the scheme of delegating work to Grand Committees. Among the rules which would be in force, had the Government refrained from challenging a conflict upon the first resolution, is one the effect of which would be to prevent such waste of time as was witnessed last night.”

It must, therefore, have been apparent to the editor of the *Times*, that Mr. Gladstone's aim in proposing the *clôture* resolution was not to save the time of the House, but to effect some other object. This fact was still more apparent to the *Morning Advertiser*, which, on June 27, said in its leader: “What does it all mean? . . . *What is the cause of the singular tolerance of the obstructive opposition of the Home Rulers to the Prevention of Crime Bill, which the Prime Minister takes so much pains to exhibit?* Again, how are we to interpret the recent jeremiads over the perversity of the House of Commons, and the hard fate of the Government, which has been prevented by that perversity, and solely by that, from passing any one of the mea-

"sures to which it is pledged, and the value of which it thinks cannot be over-estimated? And finally, what is the secret of the appeal to the public to put pressure upon the House of Commons to accept the reforms of procedure which Mr. Gladstone pronounces necessary, but which he asserts it is unwilling to consider?"

NO. XLIX.

THE *Times*, and other morning papers, at the end of June, 1882, announced, with all the parade of paragraph and heading of "large caps," that the Government had arranged to sit continuously,—to hold an "all-night sitting,"—on the Irish Coercion Bill. It was confessed that there had been no actual obstruction; but "yet the Bill had occupied a very long time." So the all-night sitting was announced for Friday, June 30, as a distinct challenge to the Irish members to obstruct the business. Nay more; this preliminary announcement of the intention of the Government, was a trailing of the Parliamentary coat-tail before all the constituencies of Ireland, with the challenge "to tread upon it if they dared." Of course the constituencies were not slow in ordering their representatives to resist, to the utmost, this new arbitrary act of the Government. Mr. Gladstone had irritated the Irish, and put them on their mettle. To make matters worse, the Government also gave notice of four or five pages of new amendments to the Bill, with a view of increasing its stringency, at the very time that they challenged the Irish members to obstruct, or else to own themselves to be craven hounds, and permit the House to finish it at one sitting. On Thursday June 29, Mr. Gladstone rose, directly after question time, and gave the following notice: "Sir, Her Majesty's Government are very sensible of the great difficulties in which the House is placed with respect to the remainder of the time of the present session. We shall endeavour to get on as far as possible with the clauses of the Prevention

"of Crime (Ireland) Bill in Committee during the present week, even if it entails the necessity of asking the House to-morrow to prolong its sitting further than usual." Thus Mr. Gladstone threw down the gage, and Messrs. Parnell & Co., who probably were in the secret, were not slow in picking it up.

Towards the morning of Saturday, Mr. T. P. O'Connor appealed to the Chair against "the chatterings of Mr. Lyulph Stanley;" but no notice was taken of his appeal. Then Mr. Redmond spoke, and Mr. O'Connor called Mr. Lyulph Stanley to order; but the Chairman, Mr. Shaw-Lefevre, declared that he had not heard anything to justify his interference. Mr. Callan, however, insisted on what he designated as "the shameless conduct" of Mr. Stanley; whereupon Colonel Carrington rose to order, and asked if such an expression might be applied to a member. Mr. Lefevre, however, merely told Mr. Redmond to continue his speech. This Mr. Redmond did, and openly charged the Ministerial members with "endeavouring to import bad blood into the discussion and precipitating a scene." At six o'clock in the morning, Sir W. Harcourt declared that "he had never seen so wanton, intolerable, and unjustifiable a waste of public time; fourteen hours having already been consumed in the consideration of unreasonable amendments, and none more unreasonable than the present one." Mr. Dwyer Gray retorted that "never had a more intolerable and unjustifiable attack been made on members;" and he accused the Home Secretary, Sir William Harcourt, of having been asleep all the time. Sir William replied that "the statement was certainly not true." Mr. Healy maintained that the Irish members had not moved a single motion for the purpose of causing delay. Mr. Sexton and Mr. Parnell also repudiated the charge of obstruction. Sir W. Harcourt then declared that "the obstruction had been deliberate, and had been intended beforehand, and carried out adroitly; but its iniquity had not concealed the deliberate intent of blocking

"the measure." He invited "the House and the country" "to note the conduct of the Irish members." True, Sir William ! most true ! it had been deliberately intended ; and the ultimate purpose was the passing of the gagging rules. Mr. Parnell laid the blame on Sir William and the Government, in "deliberately attempting to excite the temper of the House." True, Mr. Parnell ! Most true ! Mr. Sexton, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Leamy, and Mr. Healy, also exonerated the Irish members from blame, and cast it upon the Government ; Mr. Biddulph expressed his opinion that it was all "a miserable farce." The Chairman then said that as "a number of members had systematically obstructed the proceedings, he considered it his duty to name them." He named sixteen Irish members. Mr. O'Donnell called the statement of the Chairman "an infamy." The Chairman retorted by saying that Mr. O'Donnell had made a "ridiculous statement." Mr. O'Donnell said he had been "foully named, although he had been absent all the night." The sixteen members were then suspended, and Mr. Speaker was sent for. Mr. Callan then complained that he had been named, although he had not opened his lips since Dr. Playfair had been in the Chair, and exclaimed that the Chairman "had stated an utter falsehood ;" but, the report states, that "no notice was taken by the Speaker of these interruptions." The suspended members then left in a body ; and the House proceeded with the Prevention of Crimes (Ireland) Bill. Presently nine more members were suspended.

There is no doubt that some of those Irish members had been dealt with in a flagrantly unjust manner. Thus a good cause of complaint was given to the Irish constituencies, while their ire and indignation were adequately aroused, and they very naturally protracted the discussion with the sputterings of their wrath. On the morning of Saturday, July 1, a letter from one of the suspended members, Mr. Healy, appeared in the *Times*, justifying their conduct on the ground that the Government had just

put down four and a half pages of amendments and new clauses to the Bill which they were endeavouring to force so rapidly through the House. Did the Government not know their own minds during the long intervals between the discussions on the Bill? or did they take this extraordinary course in order to make the Irish members believe that they had been cheated, bamboozled, beguiled, and flummoxed? Did Mr. Gladstone do this in order effectually to kindle the rage of the Irish members, and brace them up to more daring efforts, and more glaring scandals, and a course of conduct which would enable him to abolish the House of Commons altogether?

Why did not the Government—knowing beforehand that the Bill would meet with bitter and prolonged opposition, if not obstruction—make it as short as possible, so as to preclude extended debate? Why did the Government insist upon crowding details, one after another, into the measure? Why did they not merely arm the Irish Executive with exceptional powers, and leave the Irish Privy Council to frame the necessary rules for the exercise of those powers? One clause would then have been sufficient. In order to show the prevailing opinion, the remarks of the *St. James's Gazette*, of July 1, are worthy of being reproduced: "Impulsive as ever, the Government *had* resolved upon forcing the Bill through an all-night session, "and far on into the next, which is this passing day. To "carry out this idea with security and ease, the machinery "of relays was resorted to. A certain number of Government members were engaged to sit till an early hour this "morning; they were then to be relieved by others, who "were to face the Irish till eight o'clock; at which hour "a third relay was to come up smiling, and continue the "contest of physical endurance. And so forth, and through "the day: which at the time we write is still shining upon "a heated rabble of legislators quite unfitted by temper "and fatigue for legislation.

"What gave the impulse to this sudden and startling

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"resolution? What did it? . . . *Possibly the natural wildness of the impulse was not untempered by calculation. . . .*
"Possibly there was even more in the Ministerial expedient, which will make the June to July sitting famous in Parliamentary records. It is occasionally advisable to exasperate your enemy; because then he may be impelled to do something desperate by way of retaliation, which on the whole you would rather he did. . . . This at any rate was quite upon the cards: an all-night and all-day sitting being nothing less than a challenge to downright obstruction, and obstruction downright might be counted on. As the hours passed by, and the Irish members saw themselves beaten by superior staying powers, nothing could be more likely than that they would become irritated, wrathful, unmannerly. . . . To say nothing of what, to many a more or less suspicious mind, will appear a set design of irritating these notoriously excitable men into such extravagances of resistance, as would warrant their extrusion from the House before the contest of physical endurance had been fought out. Better surely to have gone to the necessary end by more straightforward means. Better to have solved the difficulty by the application of martial law to Ireland; for to all appearance it must come to that sooner or later."

Martial law in Ireland would have stopped the crime. Suspension of Irish members would have stopped obstruction. But then the Representative system would not have been destroyed. It must also be remembered that there had been no obstruction by the Irish members. They had merely offered that opposition in committee which Mr. Gladstone had already declared to be "legitimate," and which they were bound, in duty to their constituents, to offer. The *St. James's Gazette* of July 3, in common with other papers, admitted as much: "Of 'obstruction' clear and absolute *there was none*. Nevertheless, when at about nine o'clock on Saturday morning Mr. Redmond became particularly provoking, the Chairman drew out a prepared

"list of sixteen members, and named them for suspension in a batch. This list not only included Mr. Parnell himself and all the more pertinacious of his following, but some who declare that they *never opened their lips at all* on this memorable occasion." Dr. Lyon Playfair in fact regarded the sixteen members as "habitual criminals," against whom there was no specific charge, but who (he was pleased to think) should not be suffered to remain at large. If they *had* obstructed, he should have warned them severally at the time. But he had found in them no fault that he could point to. Perhaps he was emulous of the glory and the G.C.B., which had been obtained by Mr. Speaker Brand, in performing the *coup d'état*. Mr. Speaker, doubtless flattered by this attempt at imitation—and what more flattering than imitation?—would clearly not permit Dr. Playfair's conduct to be called in question, on Monday. The Speaker is infallible; and the Chairman of Committees, who apes the Speaker, must therefore be infallible likewise.

No. L.

ON the 4th of July, the public journals took fright at the progress of Mr. Gladstone's inroad on the liberties of the House, and the new conquests that, with Speaker Brand's powerful assistance, he had made during the last "all-night's sitting." It was an adroit and stealthy conquest; for no one, at the time, perceived it; and, therefore, it was unresisted. It will be remembered that Speaker Brand, on January 31, 1881, defined Wilful Obstruction as arising when members, although speaking in order as to the question before the House at the time, are yet guilty, by reason of an agreement between themselves to speak on the question, in order to take up the time of the House. As the Speaker refrained from applying his definition, it was neither challenged nor understood, and, therefore, was by degrees accepted. In the recent all-night sitting, however,

the Speaker claimed the right, under the *definition*, to punish a number of members for doing that *which each* of them had a perfect right to do. The effect was to furnish the Speaker and the Chairman of Committees with a curious kind of *clôture*. For that object, all *that the* Speaker has to do is to declare that members have *entered* into a combination to speak. The Chairman of Committees, Dr. Playfair, went beyond the Speaker in declaring that, for a member to be guilty of obstruction, it is not necessary for him to be bodily present. He may have spoken and gone home before the Chairman, through weariness or inconvenience, had imagined the existence of a combination to speak between that member and others. The mere recollection of his speech will be enough to condemn him to suspension or expulsion.

When these facts were calmly considered in the morning, the country became uneasy, and the newspapers reflected the uneasiness. The *St. James's Gazette*, for example, said (July 4): "As men ought to be satisfied "with results which they have *deliberately planned*, it is to "be presumed that the Government are satisfied with what "has come of the all-night sitting. A wholly unexpected "extension has been given to the powers of the Speaker "and the Chairman of Committees, in regard to Obstruction. . . . The Government may be of opinion that, "to furnish the quivers of Sir Henry Brand and Mr. "Playfair with an additional arrow, is a gain of sufficient "magnitude to be worth an all-night sitting. . . . As "neither the suspension of twenty-five members, nor the "general demoralization and loss of temper which has "come upon the House as a consequence of Saturday's "proceedings, are good things in themselves, *we must look "elsewhere for an explanation of the Ministerial determination to provoke them.*"

On Tuesday, July 4, Mr. Gladstone's urgency motion was to be brought forward. But during question-time, previously to that motion, Mr. Ashmead Bartlett asked

whether, if the motion for urgency were carried, it would prevent a discussion being raised, on the usual motion for the adjournment of the House, on the important question of our relations with foreign countries?

The Speaker: "In the event of the motion being agreed to, it will become *my* duty, in pursuance of the resolution, to frame such rules and orders as, in *my* discretion, appear proper under the circumstances of the case."

Mr. Gladstone then moved the motion for urgency, on which there was, of course, a division without previous debate. After that division, the Speaker said: "The House having resolved that the state of public business is urgent, I desire to lay on the table of the House certain rules, *framed by ME, for the regulation of the business of the House*—while the state of public business is urgent."

The Clerk then read the new rule, which was to the effect, that when it appeared to the Chairman of the Committee that it was the general sense of the Committee that the question should be put, that motion should be forthwith put; and if it were decided in the affirmative by a majority of 3 to 1, the main question should be at once put.

Thereupon Mr. McCarthy asked for the indulgence of the House, while he stated that the hon. members who usually acted with him had agreed to the following resolution:—"That, inasmuch as the Irish Parliamentary party have been expelled from the House of Commons, under the threat of physical force, during the consideration of a measure affecting the vital rights and liberties of Ireland; and as the Government, during the enforced absence of Irish members from the House, have passed material portions of that measure through Committee, thus depriving the representatives of the Irish people of the right to discuss and vote upon coercive proposals for Ireland: we, therefore, hereby resolve to take no further

"part in the proceedings of the Committee on the Coercion Bill, and we cast upon the Government the sole responsibility for the Bill which has been urged through the House of Commons by force, violence, and subterfuge ; and which, when passed into law, will be devoid of moral force, and will not be a constitutional act of Parliament."

It was well observed at the time, that if the suspension of the twenty-five Irish members on Saturday, July 1, was a godsend to the Irish party, the resolution read by Mr. McCarthy clinched and secured the fullest benefits to the Irish or Gladstonian cause. It was certain to restore the diminishing subscriptions from America ; it was certain to restore the popularity of the cause in America : it was certain to rehabilitate it in Ireland ; it was certain to irritate the minds of the English members and their constituencies against the Irish, and make them consent to a loss of their own Parliamentary liberties, in order to gag the Irishmen. The Irish knew that all resistance to the Prevention of Crime Bill was useless ; they also knew that it was necessary to light up the dying embers of "Patriotism." Mr. Gladstone had of course his reasons for desiring the all-night sitting. Irish patriotism on the one side, and possibly the hatred of the liberties of Parliament on the other—both which were flaccid, flabby, and flagging—would be revived by an all-night sitting, and the suspension of twenty-five members. There was something there to appeal to the imagination of the people.

It was, nevertheless, a curious fact that, after Urgency had been voted, no less than sixty amendments to the Prevention of Crime Bill appeared on the notice paper ; and of these, no less than fifty-five were given by Mr. Trevelyan, the Chief Secretary for Ireland. Either the Government had been the fountain-head of Obstruction ; or else the Government kept back the most vital and most contestable points of their scheme of coercion, until after the rule as to Urgency had been voted. Whichever it was

the Government of Mr. Gladstone stood self-convicted of the attempt to strangle the House of Commons, and deal a fatal blow at the liberties of England.

On July 5, Mr. Speaker Brand said to the House, when asked how long the Rules of Urgency would be operative: "If in the course of my duty I should think it right to state, in pursuance of the resolution, that the state of public business is no longer urgent, then these rules will cease to take effect." And further, "At the same time, I think it right to state that *the House has committed to me very large powers, and that if these rules now laid upon the table are not sufficient for the purpose, my power to frame further rules is by no means exhausted.*" On the 11th, the *Times* printed a letter from the Right Hon. Edward Pleydell Bouverie, whose acquaintance with the rules of the House was well known. His independent authority was therefore regarded as of great weight. He said of the House of Commons: "Liberty, in that place, seems to be rapidly dwindling into permission from a Minister or a caucus to speak one's mind, so long as it is in accordance with their views, and no longer." He referred to the recent action of Mr. Speaker Brand, as "a proceeding which has entirely ignored the ancient and accepted rules of Parliament." Of the act of the Chairman of Committees, he said: "Such a practice, if once sanctioned, may lead to great abuse, and can be worked to silence and exclude from the House any member, however able, respected, and orderly he may be, on the mere *ipse dixit* of the Chairman." Mr. Bouverie saw plainly enough the danger to liberty of speech—the very life of the House of Commons; but he did not see that both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. D'Israeli had been sapping the representative institutions of the country, in order, it would appear, to the repeal of laws obnoxious to their cause, and to supplant Protestantism by Romanism in England and Scotland, as they had already done in Ireland. Mr. Bouverie did not consider that the results which he foresaw and bewailed,

were results that had been carefully calculated and intended. He saw the effects; he did not argue to the cause.

On the 10th of July, Mr. Gladstone announced that the House would presently be adjourned until October, when the Procedure Resolutions would be pressed on, to the exclusion of all other subjects. It was well known, at that time, that if Mr. Gladstone had accepted the two-thirds majority for the *clôture*, all the Procedure Resolutions could have been passed without delay, and the necessary business of the administration could have been finished as well. The announcement of the 10th was therefore taken as a plain intimation that he would insist upon the *clôture* by a bare majority.

The *coup d'état* of the Speaker last year had not been forgotten. The *coup d'état* of Dr. Lyon Playfair, the Chairman of Committees, was fresh in memory. Those officials of the House had carried matters with a very high hand, at a time when debate was supposed to be unrestricted, and while the liberties of the House and country were imagined to be intact. If those things could be done under the green tree, what would be done under the dry? What would be the condition of the House of Commons when Mr. Speaker and the Chairman of Committees should be armed with Mr. Gladstone's despotic Rules of Procedure?

On July 14, there appeared another letter in the *Times*; this time from Sir C. Gavan Duffy: "If the danger from "Obstruction was a serious one, it is full time to consider "whether it has not been encountered by methods which *in* "the end may prove more fatal to the character and influence "of Parliament—i.e., by the inordinate and illegitimate exercise of authority. I do not feel at liberty to trouble you "with details of forgotten transactions, but I ask you to "allow me to state that in my belief, during the last twelve "months and more, rules have repeatedly been imposed on "Irish members, to limit and impede debate, for which it

“ would be impossible to find any precedent in the journals
“ of the House, and which, *had they been enforced against*
“ *John Pym and John Hampden, might have strangled Eng-*
“ *lish liberty.*

“ With respect to the latest transaction of the Chairman
“ of Committees, if it be permissible to take a rule framed
“ for individual cases, and suddenly apply it, without notice
“ or warning, to a batch of cases, to include in this batch
“ members who were not present, and others who had con-
“ fessedly given no offence, and that *the officer setting this*
“ *example of arbitrary authority is to be sheltered from criti-*
“ *cism, I see no security for liberty of speech or action in the*
“ *case of members who are so unfortunate as to forfeit the*
“ *sympathy of the majority.*”

That was the deliberate opinion of a man of experience in Parliamentary affairs. His experience and acuteness had led him to the same conclusion as that which Mr. Bouverie had arrived at ; namely, that the liberties of England were being destroyed. The mistake which both of them made was that they accounted for Mr. Gladstone's action by assuming that it sprang from oversight or stupidity—an assumption which, except in this case, they would have strenuously denied, as became defenders of Mr. Gladstone's character for intellect and prudence. On all other occasions they both would have loudly asserted that Mr. Gladstone possessed the greatest acumen in England, and that he had at his elbow men who would effectually have guarded him from committing any oversight. Or perhaps we may say that neither of these gentlemen had the “courage of their opinions” (to use a vile but common phrase) ; they neither of them ventured to say, even to himself, that only because Mr. Gladstone approved an end, therefore he loved the means by which it was to be attained.

The “restriction and abridgment of the liberty of “debate,” be it remembered, had been before the House ever since its opening in February, as the question which

was vital to the very existence of the Ministry. It had divided the Ministerial party, and nearly wrecked the Government; and yet Mr. Gladstone had held on to it with an inexplicable tenacity, and had refused all compromise in regard to it. It had aroused more keen debates in the House, and a warmer controversy out of doors, than had been devoted to any domestic issue of late years. It had been put in the forefront of Mr. Gladstone's programme, as a matter which had to be considered and decided before any other should even be entered upon. Yet it was not nearly so large nor so important a question, as Mr. Gladstone admitted on July 13, as another which had all the while been kept in the background. The reason was, doubtless, that the *clôture* was to be first passed, in order that it might be used as a potent engine, by means of which the other and more important matter could be passed; a more important matter, namely, Home Rule for Ireland. Not only Home Rule for Ireland, but the disintegration and breaking up of Parliament into numerous smaller assemblies, in such a way as to weaken, or rather annihilate its power. The Liberal Minister and the Radical Cabinet were the instruments for breaking up the Liberal party!

NO. LI.

ON the 9th of August, 1882, the Lord Mayor of the City of London gave his usual banquet to the Ministers; and Mr. Gladstone seized on that festive occasion to poke up the slumbering embers of indignation against the House of Commons. He spoke first of a "*thoroughly searching and drastic reform of procedure*" being necessary to restore the House of Commons to a normal efficiency. He then asserted that the empire had so much increased, and that there were so many new calls for legislation, that it

was utterly impossible for the House of Commons to perform the duties of legislation. Other bodies must, therefore, he said, be instituted to do part of that work of legislation. In those words he clearly pointed to a very extended scheme of Home Rule. Then again, he continued, the House of Commons itself must be reformed, in order to enable it to perform *any* of its duties. Lastly, he warned the country that they must dismiss from their minds all flimsy and secondary objections, and unmanly fears; and drive from their imaginations all the bogies by which men are frightened against great changes: such as "*the destruction of the representative system*," "*the liberties of the people*," and "*the establishment of an absolute and irresponsible monarchy, or rather, empire.*"

On the 14th, Mr. Gladstone made the following statement, on the question, in the House of Commons: "As I have already stated, we propose that when the House meets on the 24th of October it shall address itself to the *great question of Procedure. To deal with that question is, in point of fact, the object and, so far as we can foresee, the sole object for which we ask the House to meet at that particular season of the year.* . . . I need not say that the session, so far as concerns legislation proposed by the Government, has been a session of utter ruin and discomfiture such as has never before occurred. . . . When the House meets it is our intention to resume the consideration of the resolutions as they stand." On that occasion, Mr. Gladstone declared that he was no longer bound by his written promise to accept the two-thirds majority; but would adhere to his intention of allowing the *clôture* to be imposed by a simple majority. The next morning (15th) the *Times* remarked, in its leader: "To those who have reflected upon the magnitude of the change which will be effected in the House of Commons and the Constitution by the *clôture*, this facile adoption, abandonment, and readoption of that sweeping measure will

"savour of unworthy levity. . . . The advances made during the session in the art of summarily putting down inconvenient speakers are in the circumstances far from reassuring. . . . It is not in human nature to submit without resentment to the imposition by sheer force of the will of the Government for no other visible reason than that it is the Government's will. . . . It is a peculiarly unfortunate weapon for the Liberal party to forge in such circumstances."

The *Times* of September 28 recurred in its leader to the "proposal for the revival of Grand Committees. No appeal to precedent or to ancient forms of procedure can conceal the fact that this is in reality a very considerable innovation. But it is a proposal of great interest, which deserves serious attention and careful discussion." It seemed to have been forgotten that the avowed end and aim of the proposals, was the suppression of wilful obstruction; and it was assumed that the suppression of obstruction was the same thing as the compulsory closing of debates at the will of a Prime Minister and his obedient party. Moreover, the efficiency of the legislative assembly was regarded as identical with its expeditious working, as if "slow and sure" were the same thing as "scamp it, and hurry-scurry." Undoubtedly the talkers are not always good workers; nor is discussiveness often joined with solid judgment. But the *clôture* would not tend to get men of solid judgment into the House. Even if one or two such reserved and silent thinkers should get there, yet the talkers would absorb the time of the House, and the *clôture* would not enable the others to speak. The very possibility of closing the debate sharply, would make the bumptious, fussy men all the more anxious to thrust themselves in, and make themselves heard. The Rules of Procedure were not proposed in order to increase the vigour and efficiency of Parliament; but in order to strangle it, in its old age and dotage.

At the meeting of the House, in October, it was well

known that Mr. Gladstone had withdrawn his compromise on the subject of the *clôture*, and would agree to nothing short of its imposition by a bare majority. Yet he had made it clear that no question of principle was herein involved. At a moment of unpopularity, when it seemed that he would lose the resolution altogether, he wrote to Mr. Gibson offering to accept the two-thirds majority, on condition of the opposition assisting to pass all the other resolutions. Thus he denied the substratum of principle. In October, Mr. Gladstone had regained much popularity by supposed successes in Egypt, and he seemed to have thought he was then in a position to advance much nearer to a destruction of the liberties of the House; reducing it to such a helpless condition, that he could repeal the Act of Settlement, and all other Acts which stood in the way of the Romish Church. He insisted upon the *clôture* by a bare majority. What he had before been ready to sacrifice for the sake of convenience, he now insisted on for the sake of his ulterior aim.

Yet men of all parties, and in all stations, still entertained a most irreconcilable aversion to his principles of procedure. But the Caucus, which had been instituted as a step to all these Gladstonian measures, compelled members to vote against their consciences and their openly declared opinions. A Minister who acts thus, ought to be able to assert, in his defence, that he entertained a reasonable and very strong conviction, that no other course would serve the interests of the State. Such an argument Mr. Gladstone precluded himself from using, by pleading that cases of intervention under his rule of *clôture* would be exceedingly rare. If so, he denied the ground of expediency, in favour of his proposed rule, as he had before denied the ground of principle. Why, then, should he have desired to get into his hands a fatal power which could at any time be used with overwhelming effect against the liberties of the House and nation, and against the Protestant religion as in this kingdom established? The

resolution concerning the Standing Committees, and the delegation of powers, was sufficient to manifest the cloven foot. He proposed to delegate, to different bodies, the powers of legislation in detail, on different subjects, thus opening up vast opportunities for manipulation in legislation ; and enabling the question of Home Rule to be at once settled favourably to the wishes of the Irish Nationalists.

Although the Procedure of the House of Commons was within the competence and purview of the House itself ; yet it will not be denied that any change in procedure which affects the liberty of subjects, or the freedom of speech of their representatives, could not be dealt with by the mere will and fiat of the House of Commons, and still less by the decree of a Prime Minister, backed by his Caucus. Such a thing touches the most vital part of the Constitution ; and could certainly not be legally effected except by the Sovereign and the estates of the realm. That some great and dark purpose lay behind Mr. Gladstone's proposals, was generally felt. So the *Times*, on October 23, remarked : "The resumption of Parliamentary business at this most unusual and inconvenient time of year, *proves that the Government have in view*, by these "Procedure Resolutions, *something of the most extreme and "urgent importance."*

If Obstructionists had been dealt with at the first, in accordance with the ancient and acknowledged rules of the House, the whole cancer could have been easily cut out, and there would have been no need for the *clôture*. Mr. Gladstone refused to act thus ; but, on the contrary, he favoured and encouraged obstruction, and allowed his front bench to teach the art of obstruction ; and then he furnished ample opportunities of obstruction ; and, at last, when the public mind had been sufficiently irritated by the obstruction, he proposed his resolutions on procedure. If the obstruction was really the work of between twenty and thirty members, who formed the Irish Nationalist

party, why would not a two-thirds majority have been always enough to overcome them? And if it was the work of that party, why did Mr. Gladstone and Lord Hartington secretly arrange with Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote last year (1885) to increase that Irish party, by their Reform and Redistribution Bills, to ninety members? It was not that the disease was disliked; but the drastic remedy was desired. Obstruction hampered the freedom of discussion in the House; but Mr. Gladstone's remedy was certain to destroy that freedom.

On Oct. 24, Mr. Gladstone thus nailed his colours to the mast: "The House is engaged in the discussion of the first resolution, and to that first resolution in its main proposition we undoubtedly intend to adhere. That was the declaration with which we bade farewell to the subject in the last sitting, and it is the declaration which I repeat as the ground of our proceedings."

Turn now to Sir Stafford Northcote's speech on Oct. 27: "There had been two or three very curious revelations made in the course of that debate. One, for which he had not been at all prepared, was that a Cabinet Minister did not understand the ground upon which the rules were framed, and did not know the resolutions themselves. . . . The Prime Minister had said that this rule was not intended to deal with cases of wilful obstruction, which he said ought to be dealt with and punished in a different manner. The revelations which had been made in the course of this debate showed clearly that these rules were not aimed at obstruction, but at something else; and what he wanted to know was what that something else was? He confessed that he looked upon these rules with very great suspicion, and that the more the debate proceeded the greater that suspicion became."

Thus Sir Stafford Northcote evidently let his knowledge escape him, of the conspiracy which was being carried on for the subversion of British liberties. "The rules," he said, "were not aimed at obstruction, but at something

"else;" and "a Cabinet Minister did not understand the ground upon which the resolutions had been framed." The secret aim of Mr. Gladstone had not been revealed to his Cabinet!

At this juncture (Oct. 28), the Papal organ, the *Moniteur de Rome*, had a leading article in defence of Mr. Gladstone. It concluded with these words: "The Conservatives resist the *clôture* from a stupid spirit of opposition; the Irish do the same because it is their interest to do so, and because the measure is ostensibly directed against themselves. Yet it is to be hoped that, after the tendencies manifested by the Parnellites, and, above all, after the public promise recently made by Mr. Herbert Gladstone, a member of Parliament and son of the Prime Minister, that 'the Government, while maintaining the Imperial supremacy in Ireland, is disposed to yield them the government of all Irish affairs,'—after this, it is to be hoped that the Irish party will not oppose the Government any more. Besides, *if those Irish members are properly inspired, they will not contravene any projects of a Minister who has the best disposition*, and whose actual position is so firm that he can, now more than ever, overcome any coalition which the Conservatives could offer to the Obstructionists." It was a curious fact that afterwards (Nov. 8) Mr. Gladstone used the very arguments which had appeared in the organ of the Pope.

On Oct. 30, the *Times*, in announcing that the division on the *clôture* resolution was to be taken on the Thursday after, asserted a complicity between Mr. Gladstone and Sir Stafford Northcote: "The confidence with which the Ministerial Whips have summoned their men for that day is, no doubt, *founded upon an understanding with the Opposition*;" and again: "*It must be by an understanding between the front benches.* . . . But Mr. Gladstone has shown no disposition to concede anything." It added that "a great many forms of severe pressure" are exerted; but "the present attitude of the Irish party has relieved

"the Ministry from the threatened attack of one section "of the most determined enemies of the *clôture*." They were obedient to the orders from Rome, which had been announced in the *Moniteur de Rome*. At the Pope's bidding they ceased to resist Mr. Gladstone. The House, be it remarked, had already vastly extended the operation of Mr. Gladstone's *clôture* resolution by deciding that the Chairman of Committees shall exercise the same powers as the Speaker.

Other papers of the same date, as for example the *St. James's Gazette*, also hinted at complicity between the two front benches: the Conservatives "so far seem to have "been indifferent to the chances of attenuating the evil, "which the course of the debate has, up to this time, "afforded them; and in letting these chances go unimproved, they have made their victory on the main "question more improbable than it would otherwise have "been;" if they had acted otherwise, "the Opposition "would at least have stood acquitted of all complicity with "the extinction of free debate in the House of Commons." The *Journal de Rome*, another organ of the Pope, took the Conservative party to task for offering any opposition at all to Mr. Gladstone's Procedure Resolutions. It was remarkable that the Papal organ did not utter a word of censure against Sir Stafford Northcote on that score. Sir Stafford, as we have seen, was suspected of "complicity." The *Journal de Rome* also urged, with all the authority of the Pope, that the Irish members should support Mr. Gladstone; and the *Times* of Nov. 1 informed us that "attempts, which may possibly be successful, had been "made to persuade the Irish members" to support the Government.

Yet it must not be supposed that Mr. Gladstone was what the Americans call "thorough," or "a whole man." He was a man of two halves,—anti-Papal in words, but very Papal otherwise. In his speech, Mr. Gladstone avowed the ground of his preference for the bare majority *clôture*

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to be a desire to prevent any interference with his Irish policy according to Irish ideas: "Under the two-thirds rule it would be possible for the larger minority (Conservatives), on the matter of closure, to overrule the majority (Gladstonians) and the smaller minority (Irish) combined."

NO. LII.

OF course the poor stupid Radical party have always believed Mr. Gladstone to be a Radical—because of his brave words. They did not judge him by his acts, and the fruits of those acts. They were misled by empty words. Still less did they, in memory, put all his acts together, and so judge, from their succession to their tendency. Therefore it was that the Radicals believed also that the *clôture* was a Liberal measure, and would be of use in passing Liberal measures.

The Radicals ran on that false scent, in full cry. The Irish ran on the true scent, and knew that Mr. Gladstone's *clôture* was intended to pass Roman Catholic measures (including Irish autonomy). The front Conservative bench, being in the plot, took care to disorganize the really opposing Conservative party; and so the simple *clôture* was carried that very night, or rather on the early morning of November 3, by the rejection of Mr. Gibson's amendment. The majority was 84. The Irish members had been very reticent during the debate; but, before its close, Mr. Parnell stated the views of the Irish party. Their views were thus summarized by the *Times*.

"To disorganize Parliamentary parties, to exacerbate Parliamentary conflicts, and to bring the House of Commons into disrepute, by driving one side into oppressive violence and the other into reckless and rancorous resistance, are among the means through which Mr. Parnell and his followers hope to accomplish the disruption of Imperial

"unity. In the operation of the *clôture* by a bare majority "they see the beginnings of a state of things in which "they hope to find their opportunity. *For these reasons, "and, perhaps, for others not yet apparent,* they have refrained "from joining with the Conservatives in an attack upon "the weakest point in Mr. Gladstone's scheme."

Remark the curious combination of Radicals, Democrats, Roman Catholics, and Nationalists, which conspired to accomplish that end. The Irish would feign have stayed away, in order to ward off the growing suspicion. But they could not be spared. Too many Liberals were wavering as to the two-thirds majority. Therefore the Irish had to vote against the two-thirds majority. Moreover, the same Prime Minister who annulled the sanctity of contract in Ireland, when the fulfilment would benefit Protestant landlords, insisted on receiving the *quid pro quo* when it was to benefit himself. It was on October 31 that the following intelligence was telegraphed from Dublin to the *St. James's Gazette* :—"It is stated that, in return for "the support of the Irish party on the *clôture*, Mr. Gladstone has undertaken to introduce a fresh scheme of Irish "legislation next session, embracing a *further development 'of the Land Act in the direction of peasant proprietary ; "an extension of the franchise ; and a scheme of local "government."*

On this the *St. James's Gazette* remarked (November 2) :—"That there exists some kind of understanding—to use "the least invidious term of those open for choice—*between "the Irish party and the Government, no man in his senses "can doubt."*

The truth of those suspicions became very apparent on the 7th of November. The Irish party, wishing for some public ratification of the compact, put up Mr. O'Connor Power to speak. Mr. Gladstone, in his reply, on that day, said :—"I will speak with frankness what is my own mind "with respect to those Irish representatives who are accus- "tomed to term themselves the Irish party. It appears to

"me it is possible to discern two founts of feeling in the party which is called Home Rulers. *Their object is to establish in some way or other what they sometimes call a national, sometimes an independent, it may be a separate legislative assembly.* Now, sir, let me make this frank admission. There is a portion, at any rate, of that party who, *to attain their end, wish to make the transaction of business in this House impossible;* whereas there are unquestionably others who, believing it to be vital to the existence of their country that they should attain legislative independence, still turn to the machinery which exists, to attain their purpose. *I have my own opinions upon the interests of Ireland.* About the Irish vote I have no business and very little inclination to speak. But I have had to do for many years with Irish affairs, and I am entitled to give my opinion without an undue amount of arrogance. But *I believe the complete and effective system for the business of the House is essential for meeting the wants of Ireland. If there be no time for English and Scotch legislation, there will be no time for Irish legislation.* . . . Was the hon. member in jest when he said, *Why do you not take advantage of this opportunity to advance the power of local self-government in Ireland?* Well, sir, I tell the hon. gentleman there is not a subject which I could name on which I personally feel a more profound anxiety than on the local self-government of Ireland, and local self-government upon a liberal and effective basis."

Lest any remarks of ours, on that speech and on the result of the division on the *clôture*, should appear prejudiced and partial, let us seek for the judgment of others. Let us obtain the expressions of contemporary opinion, in different newspapers, home and foreign. On November 9, the *Times* expressed its judgment in the following leader:—

"The 'Irish party' have undoubtedly been the authors, as they boast themselves, of the changes in procedure which the

" *House of Commons is now carrying out. It would be curious, but it would not be altogether surprising, if they were to profit indirectly by a revolution primarily directed against their subversive designs. Lord Randolph Churchill has lately held out the hand of fellowship to the followers of Mr. Parnell. . . . The Prime Minister's argument addressed to the Irish members was that when the clôtüre is in force public business will be rapidly despatched, and that among the measures the Government have at heart there is none more important than 'local self-government in Ireland on a 'liberal and effective basis.'* What Mr. Gladstone means by this phrase we do not presume to say: but in Ireland it will be too probably interpreted to mean *'Home Rule in some form.* Otherwise, it will be asked, why should the promise be held out to Mr. Parnell and his followers as an inducement to vote in favour of the clôtüre?"

The *Standard* said, on Mr. Gladstone's speech, that: "However much his words may be explained away, he can have wished to imply nothing less than that, in any plan for the rearrangement of the business of Parliament, *the demands of the Home Rulers shall not be ignored.* The Prime Minister has voluntarily contracted obligations towards the Irish Separatists which they may call upon him at any moment to discharge."

The Roman Catholic and Irish *Freeman's Journal* remarked "that this is not the first time on which Mr. Gladstone has indicated that *the question of Home Rule was in his thoughts; but he has never yet declared so clearly and distinctly his opinion of its necessity, or the extent to which it should be conceded,* as he did yesterday. The significance of that utterance can scarcely be exaggerated. Mr. Gladstone could not or would not dare to use words of this kind except there was some real meaning behind them."

The French *Débats* proclaimed that the adoption of the clôtüre in England was a Revolution: "The House of Commons abandons its old and glorious traditions, and

"becomes a machine for making laws by the hour. . . .
 "To allow the right of the House to shut the mouth of one
 "of its members *deals a mortal blow at one of the most*
 "*essential principles of Parliamentary institutions* as hitherto
 "understood across the Channel. *This principle of unlimited*
 "*liberty once abolished, the whole structure collapses.*"

To these extracts, some portions of Mr. Cowen's excellent speech of Nov. 10, may be added. "The House
 "had not heard much of the Obstruction in the last Parlia-
 "ment. The Obstruction last session was offered to one
 "specific measure; last Parliament it was to a whole batch
 "of measures: last session it was to one line of policy;
 "last Parliament it was to the entire policy and action of
 "the Government. . . . On a certain occasion the Prime
 "Minister made the well-known declaration about its being
 "the object of his life to thwart the policy of Lord Beacons-
 "field. The obstruction was offered, not only to foreign,
 "but also to domestic policy. Only the formal business of
 "the Government could be got through by dint of desperate
 "effort and struggle. *The Irish members got the blame;*
 "*the late Opposition got the benefit. The Irish members*
 "*pulled some of the chestnuts out of the fire. Some of them*
 "*who were in the late Parliament, if they were so minded,*
 "*could a tale unfold which would considerably disturb the*
 "*equanimity of cantankerous and censorious critics. If the*
 "*hon. member for Cavan would produce some passages from*
 "*his Parliamentary biography, they would be instructive.* He
 "might recollect a summer Wednesday, three years ago,
 "when he *acceded to a request* to oppose a Bankruptcy Bill.
 "That was Irish obstruction. *The fingers on the dial plate*
 "*were Irish; but not the mechanism that worked them.*
 "That Bill was beaten, and it had never advanced to a like
 "stage since. . . . If the *clôture* were put in force to close
 "a discussion after ten speeches had been made, why not
 "after two? . . . *All that enabled the House to triumph over*
 "*autocracy for centuries, they were asked to destroy, and they*
 "were asked to reduce the Assembly to a registry office

“for the decrees of caucuses, and the judgments of the party press. This must be the inevitable result. . . . What kind of judgment could be given where determinations preceded discussion, where one set of men deliberate and another set of men decide? If that was to be the case—and ‘vote as you are told’ was the motto—why need members be there? Instead of six hundred, sixty, or even six, would suffice. The decisions of the constituencies could be formulated by draughtsmen, and the executive could put them in operation. *Spontaneous* public opinion he respected, *when it was genuine*; if he differed from it, he deferred to it; but he paid no regard to *opinion that was manufactured, cast like metal plates to pattern*. They all knew the process. A central body passed a resolution; it was sent into the country, and it was adopted by a dozen or twenty irresponsible people, who signed a petition or a memorial to the Prime Minister. Of these dubious documents the Prime Minister had received 170 or 180, the constituencies knowing nothing of the men or of their meetings. *It was a fact that this was done; we had heard of organized hypocrisy, and he called this organized imposition*. They had heard about an organized hypocrisy, but this was an organized imposition.”

Lord Randolph Churchill had written a letter to the *Times* urging the Conservative party to offer every species of obstruction to the remaining resolutions, if the *clôture* resolution should be passed. He had all along, ever since he was his father's secretary in Ireland, cast in his lot very much with the Irish Roman Catholic party; and was suspected of urging obstruction in order to get the *clôture* resolution put in force without delay, so as to pass the remaining resolutions. On the 13th of November, Lord Randolph Churchill placed on the paper upwards of fifty new amendments to the Procedure Rules. Several of his friends also placed fresh amendments on the paper.

On the same day, the *Times* predicted that “the new weapon (the *clôture*) would not be allowed to rust”; and

that the Speaker would probably close the discussions on the remaining resolutions, and pass them in silence, should the discussions seem to him to be unduly prolonged. "It is not improbable (it continued), that the threats of resistance *à l'outrance*, which have been lately heard, *have been inspired* as much by a desire to test the pressure of the rule upon the Opposition, as by a revolt against the exercise, by the majority, of what the minority regard as an unrighteous power."

If the *Times* was behind the scenes, still more could the Papal organ, the *Moniteur de Rome*, of November 10, divulge the secret in an article entitled "CLÔTURE AND MR. GLADSTONE," which was probably little assuring to Englishmen. It said: "Moreover, it is very well known that Mr. Gladstone has, in pigeon holes, certain measures which he has very much at heart; and that he desires to realize, without delay, all the reforms which he has in view. The *clôture* he regards as an indispensable means of arriving at his end. It is, be it remembered, not the first time that Mr. Gladstone has struck a blow at the British Constitution. The Disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland was a measure as Radical as the *clôture*. The same may be said of the Land Act."

"It was known that Mr. Gladstone had certain projects next his heart," and that the *clôture* resolution was passed in order that he might realize them! What were those projects? Were they measures of Home Rule such as Parnell would desire? Probably. No man but Mr. Gladstone could have passed the *clôture*. He was there to do it; and (as was openly said by the *St. James's Gazette* of November 14) "if he has, in this matter, *been an instrument in the hands of others*, his friends may boast that he has *been an indispensable instrument*." Who, then, could congratulate themselves? The Irish Roman Catholic party. For many years they had sought to degrade, disintegrate, and destroy the English House of Commons; and they, with Mr. Gladstone's help, have succeeded.

Their victory was the overthrow of Parliamentary liberties in England. The Irish party rejoiced over the blindness of Englishmen, who could no more see Mr. Gladstone's real intention, than the Arabs saw the impending rush of the English troops at Tel-el-Kebir. The Irish knew that the adoption of the *clôture* was an act of suicide on the part of the House of Commons. They had goaded and vexed the House by obstruction, as they had been taught and told to do, and then smiled grimly as they saw the knife drawn across the throat of their victim, and the life-blood welling out in distressing flood. Those who found pleasure in shooting unsuspecting landlords from behind a hedge, could well laugh a ghastly laugh when those landlords destroyed themselves. For years the aim of the Irish has been to destroy that Parliament which, for eighty years, had kept from them their own Parliamentary institutions. They have wreaked their vengeance now.

No. LIII.

THE Irish party, besides tasting the sweetness of revenge, knew also the aim which Mr. Gladstone had in passing the *clôture*; they were aware of "the projects next his heart." England's necessity has always been Ireland's opportunity. The concord of English parties excludes Ireland's opportunity. Whenever party strife runs high, whenever party contentions are embittered, then each English party will sell its birthright for a horrid mess of Irish pottage, and grant to Ireland her most extravagant demands, in return for a quantum of Irish support. Future bitterness of parties was what Mr. Sexton looked for under the *clôture*. "Hitherto (he said), English politicians have been able to remain personal friends in spite of party differences; under the *clôture* there will grow up hatreds and rancours which will eat their corroding way even into private life." Each party will in turn feel the effects of being gagged

and beaten, without having been allowed to say a word in self-defence. This oppression and tyranny will surely engender rancour. When party rancours, animosities, hatreds, and revenge, run high, then will be the time for the Irish to drive good bargains; or, at least, these passions will serve as excuses for the traitor Ministers of the future, when they give way to Irish Roman Catholic demands, while simulating an ardour for Protestantism.

The debates of November 15 revealed to the astonished world the fact that Lord Beaconsfield, no less than Mr. Gladstone, had aimed blows at the liberty of speech in Parliament. The following passage is taken from a speech of Lord R. Churchill:—

“They were much indebted to the right hon. baronet “the member for Mid Kent (Sir W. Hart-Dyke) for having, “in the debate on the first rule, initiated them into the “practices of Government ‘Whips’ in communicating constantly, and, indeed, always, to the Chairman of Committees the wishes and the will of the Prime Minister of “the day. His right hon. friend, the member for Mid “Kent, had told the House that, during the Parliament of “1874, he never left the elbow of the Chairman of Committees, and used to say to the Chairman, ‘If this discussion is not put a stop to, what will the Prime Minister say?’ “Although the Prime Minister had professed to be greatly “shocked, he had not denied the existence of the practice.”

Mr. Gladstone replied: “The noble lord had adverted “to a statement of a very extraordinary character, which “was made by the hon. baronet the member for Mid Kent, “with reference to the conduct of the Whips when the “Chairman of Committees was in the chair, and which the “noble lord had said was allowed to pass without contradiction. For his own part, however, he had been so “much struck by that statement, that he had made a note “of it, for the purpose of commenting upon it. . . . He had “been so frequently called over the coals for making long “speeches, that he had not thought right to refer to the

"matter before. . . . Never, either directly in his own person, or indirectly through either of the Whips or any member of the Government, had he presumed to interfere with the judgment of the Chairman of Committees upon any question awaiting settlement by the House."

Lord John Manners, an ex-Cabinet Minister, replied to Mr. Gladstone: "If the right hon. gentleman meant that neither he, nor any member of a Government with which he had been connected, had any communication either with the Speaker, or the Chairman of Committees, he stated something which made a very great draught upon the credulity of the House. Who could complain, if a Minister thought that a member was unduly protracting the debate, or not speaking *ad rem*, that he should communicate with the Chairman on the subject?"

Mr. Gladstone asked how it was possible he could be aware of any communications that passed between the Chair and any member, that were made in an undertone, without leading to the interruption of the debate.

Lord J. Manners: "Exactly; but did the right hon. gentleman, with his vast experience, mean to contend that the right hon. member for Kent was the only official gentleman who had pointed out to the Speaker, or to the Chairman of Committees, that some member was unduly protracting debate? Surely it was often done, and it would be highly inconvenient if this practice were abandoned."

Mr. Raikes, the Chairman of Committees under Lord Beaconsfield, spoke subsequently: "The statement of his hon. friend was one in which he said his official duties during the last Parliament led to his being constantly at the elbow of the Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means, and urging him to get through the work as far as possible with regard to the views of the late Prime Minister. *Now as far as his own recollection went, his hon. friend was, no doubt, constantly at his elbow, owing to the circumstance of the chair being placed where it was,*

"and of his hon. friend being obliged constantly to pass in and out of the House."

The session was at last brought to a close, as soon as the House had passed Mr. Gladstone's suicidal resolutions. Yet the session itself was a complete answer to the assertion that those resolutions were at all necessary. It began by passing two Bills, which caused great excitement and raised very acrimonious feelings; so that the debates upon them were necessarily long,—the Crime Bill, and the Arrears Bill. Yet a large amount of other most important legislation was also passed. Namely: An Act to codify the law relating to Bills of Exchange, Cheques, and Promissory Notes (45, 46 Vic. c. 61); the Married Women's Property Act (c. 75); the Municipal Corporations Act 1882 (consisting of 260 sections and 10 schedules); and the Settled Land Act (c. 38). So that the argument which had been used to get the *clôture* passed, was evidently a false one.

That both parties of the House of Commons conspired to destroy the House of Commons, by passing Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, was plain to every one. It was openly hinted at in many papers. Take, for example, the *St. James's Gazette*, of Dec. 2: "The Rules of Procedure, and especially the *clôture*, have not been fought with the courage and persistence which the Opposition ought to have displayed. The greatest of the customary rights of the House of Commons has been *surrendered* with no just cause shown, and the resistance offered to the change has been of the feeblest kind. . . . With rare exceptions, the Opposition failed to appreciate the importance of the crisis. They did not realize that freedom of debate includes all other freedoms, and that if this goes, the tenure on which the rest are held is simply the forbearance of the majority. At least, if the Opposition did realize this, they were far too sparing of effort to avert the catastrophe."

This agreed with the testimony of Lord Randolph

Churchill, in reply to a deputation from Manchester (*Times*, Nov. 27): "The constitutional function of an Opposition was to oppose and not support the Government, and *those functions had during the three sessions of this Parliament been systematically neglected or ineffectually carried out.* Legitimate opportunities had arisen for conflict which ought to have resulted in the overthrow of the Ministry or in great damage thereto; and those opportunities had been allowed to pass by unavailed of."

The Papal organ, the *Moniteur de Rome*, of Jan. 18, 1883, evinced the foreknowledge of the Curia, as to the probable opportunities for bringing the *clôture* rule into effective operation. It prophesied correctly that, in the succeeding session of Parliament, Mr. Gladstone would extend the Borough Franchise to the counties, and added that "probably, from the ardent discussions to which such a Bill will give rise, it will give an opportunity for the application of the principle of the *clôture*."

The diplomatic despatch sent by the American Minister, to the Speaker of the House of Representatives in Washington (*Times*, Jan. 31, 1883), mentioned some facts and views which are well worthy of notice: "The proposed expedient for the more speedy despatch of business *did not originate with Mr. Gladstone*; he adopted it as his own. . . . A safer cure will perhaps be found *in enlarging the scope and functions of local government, especially in the case of Ireland*, and the tendency of opinion seems to be in this direction. . . . It will be very natural that relief from the block of business in Parliament should ere long be sought *in the shifting of some of its duties to other shoulders.*"

Mr. Lowell, that eminent Minister of the United States Government, had learned first that Mr. Gladstone was not himself the originator of his Rules of Procedure, but that they had been given to him to carry; and secondly, that it was in contemplation to give to Ireland a Parliament of her own, under the pretext of lightening the duties of the

Imperial Parliament,—both of which measures must have the effect of lessening the dignity and weight of the House of Commons.

There was a further element in the plot ; namely, breaking up the existing parties and constituting a new National party.

The Papal organ, the *Moniteur de Rome*, on the 20th of November, 1882, made, in the following terms, a prediction which doubtless proceeded from a perfect knowledge of the intrigues which had been set on foot by the Vatican itself : “ An important reconstitution of the political parties of England is now proceeding. We do not anticipate the retirement of the present Premier ; but even if he should retire, that would not interfere with the accomplishment of the programme for the new classification of Parliamentary forces. At present, there is in course of preparation in London—by means of agreement between the two sides, and the foundation of a great political Club—a serious alliance between the Liberal party and a fraction of the Conservative party, with the object of forming a working majority which would be able successfully to resist the Radicals, and the ultra-Tories. The formation of this great party, which we designate as a centre party, will become in England, the same as the Liberal-Conservative party, announced at Stradella, will be in Italy. There are constant meetings and social gatherings in London, with a view of coming to a mutual understanding on the policy to be followed, and the means of organizing. It is certain that the names of certain Peers and other statesmen, who are known to attend those meetings, give us reason to predict the success of the new party.” That was a public announcement of a scheme which had long been entertained ; which D’Israeli had mentioned in “Coningsby” and his other novels, and which I have heard the Jesuits, and even Pope Pio Nono himself, discourse about.

A leader in the *Times* of March 8, 1883, may be quoted

in evidence of the state of parties at that date. It forms a curious commentary on the revelations of the Pope's organ as to the machinations of the Jesuits: "*The break-down of the old machinery of party government* is perhaps the most striking political phenomenon of the present day. Each party sees it clearly enough in the case of the other, and each does its best to ignore it in its own. Among Liberal politicians *the disorganization of the Conservative party* is a favourite topic. It has been pointed out, until everybody is tired of hearing it, that they have no longer any distinctive principles, that they cannot formulate any policy capable at once of rallying their own forces and of recommending itself to the country at large, and that the habit of barren criticism is carried so far as to reduce each section to isolation. It is all perfectly true, but it is not the whole truth. *The Liberal party is in much the same plight as the Conservative*, though circumstances help it to preserve a better semblance of unity."

On the 2nd of May, Lord Granville and Mr. Gladstone attended a banquet at the National Liberal Club, and reproduced the warnings, which they had previously got inserted in the *Daily News*, *Standard*, and other newspapers. Lord Granville said: "I should be curious to know whether the country is aware that *during the late Administration the practice was perfected by a small section of the House of Commons*, who had least respect for the traditions and dignity of that House. I should be inquisitive as to whether it is believed that *a large party in the House of Commons at this moment pursue a veiled system of Obstruction, constructed on such scientific principles that it makes it almost impossible to formulate a particular complaint at any particular moment*, and which all the same greatly impedes the Government, who have the great responsibility of carrying on public legislation, and whether this does not go on notwithstanding the assistance that has been given by the improved procedure adopted."

Mr. Gladstone followed, and said : " It has been due, as " Lord Granville has so admirably shown, to *the artful " development of a system of Obstruction, and to the arrival of " a state of things in Ireland perhaps the most formidable " which has marked the checkered history of that country.*"

It will be observed that Mr. Gladstone's famous Rules of Procedure did not content him ; he aimed at something beyond. Moreover the charge which these two leaders of the Liberal party brought against the Conservative party was that the latter were pursuing a policy of Obstruction. The aim of the Jesuit party was, by means of Obstruction, so to discredit the House of Commons that Representative Government could be abolished. Mr. Gladstone therefore charged the Conservative party with supporting that policy, and doing all they could to discredit the House of Commons. In doing so, he admitted that the *clôture*, and the rules of Procedure, over which so much time had been wasted in the preceding year, were without the beneficial efficacy which he had promised ; they were, indeed, meant only to break up the House, just as an old building would be ruined by picking out the stones which support it near the foundation.

NO. LIV.

IN June, 1883, the Irish members, on going into Committee on the Corrupt Practices Bill, prolonged the debate by " a " succession of speeches, reiterating the same assertions." The next day, in a morning sitting, the same tactics were pursued by Lord Randolph Churchill and Sir W. Lawson. The whole sitting was then talked out by the Irish Nationalist members. That was on a Friday. Not content with that achievement, Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, and Mr. Gorst threatened to repeat the tactics on Monday. The *Times* of June 11 remarked that : " It is scarcely possible to hope for effectual help from the

"stringent code of rules on which so large a part of the
"time of Parliament was spent last year, and for the sake
"of which, not only was the unusual strain of an autumn
"session inflicted on members, but the long-established
"amenities of party warfare were dismissed as worn-out
"follies. If the new rules,—and especially the drastic
"remedy of the *clôture*,—had been easily available, it is not
"likely that, during the past four months, diversified by
"incidents like those of Thursday night and Friday after-
"noon, their application would not have been attempted.
" . . . It is difficult to define an extreme case ; but if the
"impunity with which a small set of members, speaking in
"succession from the same benches, talked out the Alcester
"Dotation Bill, last week, be a precedent, we cannot hope
"for much assistance from the new rules, . . . since
"*Ministerialists and Opposition would be allied in with-*
"*standing a renewed attack on the vitality of Parliamentary*
"*Government.*" If the *Times*, instead of arguing thus :
'the rules were not applied, and therefore they are not
'applicable'; had argued thus: 'the Government and
'Opposition, although allied, did not apply the rules which
'all men know to be easily applicable; therefore both
'Government and Opposition, for some reason, desired the
'Obstruction to continue';—if they had argued thus, then
they would have made patent a long-continued conspiracy.
On the 18th of June, indeed, the *Times* hinted that the
Government had actually aided the Obstructionist tactics,
by repeatedly changing their plans. And further aid the
Government gave, according to the *Times*, by making
various concessions to the Home Rule party, in order to
encourage them in their Obstruction. It appears that Mr.
Bright, in order to remove suspicion from his Government,
had charged the Conservative party with *allying themselves*
with "*a faction avowedly bent on paralysing Parliamentary*
"*Government, in order to wrest from the weariness or the*
"*fears of the English people, the repeal of the Act of Union.*"
This, Sir Stafford Northcote stoutly denied in the House ;

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and the *Times* remarked, on Mr. Bright's accusation, that "Ministers must not allow themselves to suppose that they "can shift from their own shoulders, by vague complaints "and unsupported taunts, the responsibility, which primarily "rests upon them, for the conduct of business in the House "of Commons." It added: "Mr. Parnell's tactics of last "week can be indefinitely renewed, and will be, so long as "there is any prospect of making them gainful. . . . It "was not then supposed, from the demeanour and the "language of the Prime Minister, that the party of exas- "peration would be *permitted to justify their proceedings, by "pointing to the trophies of victory.*" Mr. Bright also said: "The Conservatives are found in alliance with the Irish "rebel party, the main portion of whose funds come from "the avowed enemies of England, whose (the Conser- "vatives') oath of allegiance is broken by association with "its enemies."

On June 18, Mr. Bright, in the House of Commons, thus defended his speech in Birmingham: "The right "hon. gentleman (Sir Stafford) objects to my statement "that some members of the Conservative party have been "acting in alliance with certain gentlemen among the "Irish members. *There can be no doubt about their acting "with them.* I am free to admit that the term *alliance* is "capable of a meaning which I did not intend to give it. "I had no idea at all that there was any kind of arrange- "ment; but I found them acting together." As to the Liberal party, and their hand in the conspiracy, Mr. O'Connor Power, a Home Rule member, said: "It is a "notorious fact, that during the last Parliament, *there was "not an occasion, when what were rightly or wrongly called "obstructive tactics were practised against the Government by "a certain section of Irish members, that they did not get the "direct as well as indirect support of the Liberal party.*"

Mr. Gladstone postponed the controversial matters involved in the estimates,—especially those relating to Ireland,—to the end of the session, when the Irish always

wield a power out of all proportion to that contributed by the rest of the House. The Irish knew their power, and employed it to obstruct ; so that the *Times* exclaimed, on August 14, 1883 : " The Government and the House of Commons appear to be at the mercy of the Irish members " in this matter (*i.e.* the Irish Registration Bill)." The next day, the *Times* printed a jeremiad on the state of the House of Commons, still making what I regard as the old mistake of supposing that Mr. Gladstone's rules were intended to put an end to obstruction, instead of perceiving that the obstruction was apparently in order to get further rules passed, so as to put an end to Representative Government. The *Times* exclaimed : " The disorganization and " the degradation of Parliament are foremost among the " means by which, according to a cynical reckoning, Great " Britain is to be worried into the abandonment of Ireland, " and the surrender of loyal Irishmen to the tender mercies " of Land Leaguers, or Invincibles. . . . It is time for " the House of Commons to turn its face towards the men " who are doing all in their power to drag Parliamentary " institutions in the mire. . . . The House of Commons " will be degraded to the level of those who deliberately " import into political controversy the manners of the pot- " house and the malevolence of the Riband Lodge. . . . " It is impossible to suppose that the House will acquiesce " in the impotence to which it seemed to be doomed on " Monday night. If it were possible, the future of Parlia- " mentary Government in England would indeed be dark. " . . . The conspicuous and incontestable collapse of the " *clôture* and the whole artificial system of rules on which the " House of Commons wasted the better portion of its time " and energies last year, has amply justified our criticisms. " . . . At the next general election the party of exaspera- " tion will be largely reinforced ; and the probability of this " will certainly not be lessened by the passing of the Irish " Registration Bill, which was carried through committee " yesterday." It was in order to compel the House to pass

this Bill, that the obstruction was organized, and that Mr. Gladstone and the Speaker failed to make use of the new rules in order to put it down. Mr. Gibson declared that the Registration Bill was really a measure for extending the franchise in Ireland; and Mr. Trevelyan gave it a wider scope than it originally had, in deference to the demands of the Irish members. It was for this Bill that the Government also dropped the Constabulary Bill, and the Sunday Closing Bill. That is to say, they dropped a Bill whose object was to put down crime, together with a Bill to improve the moral character of the people, in order to pass a Bill which was to put power in the hands of a criminal and immoral race. The *Times* aptly called this, paying "black mail to the enemies of Parliamentary Government."

Yet Mr. Gladstone, who in the autumn session had taken advantage of the organized obstruction to enlarge the scope of the Redistribution Bill; Mr. Gladstone, who had before encouraged obstruction, and then taken advantage of it to pass great sweeping "Rules of Procedure," which robbed the House of all liberty of speech, and dealt a death-blow to its very existence; that Mr. Gladstone, on November 4, 1884, drew a second advantage from the obstruction of that autumn, and, at the Liberal Club, endeavoured to stir the mind of the country to make a second onslaught on Representative Government. He advocated "a great and drastic change in the form of the "procedure of the House;" and this in addition to his drastic rules of the previous years. That great and drastic change he affirmed to be "not less pressing, and not less "important than any constitutional question that was ever "brought before the people of this country;" and that "reform within" he desired, on account of "the astounding "condition of the rules of our procedure." Where are all these changes in the House of Commons to bring us? asked every one of his neighbour.

The debate on the Address was still proceeding, and Mr. Gladstone stated his belief that it would be kept up

for many nights more, and, in fine frenzy of eloquence, he ran to pour out his complaints at the National Liberal Club. Yet it was felt, and generally remarked, that Mr. Gladstone had in his hands the power to stop the debate on the Address; and that as he had failed to use that power, it was but fair to surmise that he had desired the debate to be prolonged, in order to furnish him with an excuse for making further "great and drastic changes," to the utter subversion of the House of Commons. It was remarked, also, that the debate had been prolonged by Mr. Gladstone's old instruments, the Irish members; Mr. Harrington, about the Maamtrasna trials; Mr. Sexton, about something else; and so on. The *Standard* openly asked why obstruction had never "shown its teeth until "Mr. Gladstone's first administration?" and prophesied that Mr. Gladstone's drastic remedies were "quite as likely "to kill the House of Commons, as to cure it." The *Daily Telegraph* remarked that the old parties had been broken up, and that the names *Tory* and *Liberal* were "as fossils "of the Pleistocene."

On Saturday, December 6, a sitting of the House had been appointed, and it met at 1.25 in the afternoon. There were two awkward Irish questions on the paper; and the Liberal Whip (Lord R. Grosvenor) at once moved the adjournment of the House, before the questions had been asked. This was contrary to one of Mr. Gladstone's new rules, which decreed that no adjournment could be made until all the questions on the notice paper had been answered. The Speaker was appealed to; but he ruled that "under "the exceptional circumstances of the case, the noble Lord "was justified in making the motion." On being asked "what exceptional circumstances could warrant a member "of the Government flying in the face of a distinct order "of the House, made two years ago, on the motion of "the Government itself?" Mr. Speaker answered: "The "exceptional circumstances, which, in my view, justify the "course taken by the noble Lord, are the proposed ad-

"journment of the session, and the announcement that no "Government business would be taken to-day." Mr. Callan appositely asked whether, if the absence of Government business could warrant a departure from the rules, and justify the adjournment of the House, the House existed merely for the convenience of the Government. The Speaker, however, ruled that no member was allowed "to "argue with the Chair." Here was a deliberate attempt, on the part of the Government, to set the rules of the House at defiance. There is no surer way of inducing confusion in proceedings, than to ignore all rules ;—a confusion such as would justify Mr. Gladstone in suppressing the House altogether. Moreover, it was a high-handed proceeding, which was, in itself, destructive of all liberty in the House. The members were to count as nothing ; the will of the Government as expressed by the most subordinate member, was everything, and supreme.

On the 24th February, 1885, Mr. Speaker exerted his power of cutting short a member's speech ; for he ordered Mr. Redmond, during his speech, to sit down. When Mr. Justin McCarthy rose to speak, the Speaker rose also, and said that "he considered the subject had been adequately "discussed ; and it was the evident sense of the House "that the time had come for putting the question." (The question was a motion for precedence of the adjourned debate on Egypt and the Soudan.) The Speaker, however, continued : "The question is, that Mr. O'Brien be "suspended from the service of the House." That being disposed of, Mr. Gladstone moved : "That the question be "now put." The Speaker, however, did not take the sense of the House upon this motion, but put, from the chair, "the amendment moved earlier in the debate by Mr. A. "O'Connor." On the Speaker's attention being called to this irregularity, he first said that Mr. Gladstone had put the question : "that the question be now put." It was pointed out that Mr. Gladstone moved it, but that no one could put it except the Speaker. The Speaker then said :

"I put the question from the chair, that the question be now put." This being contradicted, he said: "The question immediately before the House was the amendment; and I thought it my duty to put the question that the question be now put upon the amendment, as well as upon the main question." If this had any meaning, it denoted that the Speaker had put two questions at once, in the same breath! Mr. Parnell then spoke *from the front Opposition bench* (as if he were a recognised member of the future Tory Administration), and submitted that "only one question can be put at a time; and that we should be permitted to ascertain the sense of the House, in accordance with the Standing Order, on the first question, which was: that the question be now put." The Speaker insisted, in reply, that he had put that question in reference to the amendment; and he decided that he would now put it on the main question.

After the divisions thereupon, Mr. Parnell openly charged the Opposition with framing sham motions of no confidence in the Government, which were only "subterfuges, and not based on any real desire to upset the Government." He continued: "*If the rights of private members are continually interfered with, the time will assuredly come when they will be done away altogether.*" That was an eventful sitting. A member, speaking respectfully and to the point, was silenced. The *clôture* was, for the first time, imposed on the debate; and Mr. O'Brien, for rising to address the House, and saying, "We will remember this in Ireland," was named, and suspended.

On the 27th February, Mr. O'Brien's suspension was brought under the attention of the House, and the Speaker stated that he had named him in virtue of the words, "or otherwise," in Standing Order 11: "for disregarding a ruling or abusing the rules of the House, or otherwise, by persistently and wilfully obstructing the business of the House." But the desire to invite the House to consider the ruling of the Speaker, was summarily squelched.

The account of the scene, which appeared in the *St. James's Gazette*, was as follows: "There was (during the "debate) none of the display of impatience, none of the "outcry and interruption, which usually mark the evident "sense of the House, when that sense is in favour of the "immediate closing of a debate. Still, the Speaker, interpreting the feeling in most minds, though it had not "found voice, felt called on to declare that it was the "evident sense of the House that the subject had been "adequately discussed." When the Speaker had made the announcement, there was a great "outcry" and "uproar"; then "Mr. Gladstone sprang to his feet, armed with a little "book, and began rapidly turning over the leaves, to find "the proper rule for enforcing the *clôture*." Then the Speaker named Mr. O'Brien; and Mr. Gladstone again began turning over the leaves, to find the proper rule for suspending a member. After considerable "din," "Mr. "Gorst told the Speaker that the way he proposed to put "the question was *not regular, and not according to the "Standing Order*; and other members took the same "view." But none of those members were named for "disregarding the authority of the Chair."

That was not the first time that the Speaker had acted with a disregard of the rules of the House, as if he were a dictator, instead of the servant of the House; he acted as if he had been put in the chair for his pleasure, instead of having been elected to carry out and safeguard the rules of the House. If it was true that the Irish faction had got up obstruction for their own ends; if it was they who were enemies of both Conservatives and Liberals, then how important it was to preserve the authority of the rules of the House, and not to show how easily they could be set aside; more especially so, as Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Hartington, had agreed to provisions in the Reform Bill, whereby Mr. Parnell's party would be increased from 23 to nearly 90 in the next Parliament.

In the spring of 1885 (*Morning Post*, May 19) Mr. Gladstone began to throw off the mask a little, and evince his designs and his feelings toward the House. These were his words: "Those hon. gentlemen who interrupt me must either alter their mode of proceeding, or some one will have to suggest some method in which hereafter the debates of this House are to be conducted. *It is hardly possible for me to pay proper respect to the House*, and to preserve proper continuity of remark, when I am interrupted in a manner unparalleled in my recollection." Mr. Gladstone then added that he said this not on his own account, but "because I feel that a severe blow has been struck at the liberties and dignity of Parliament." Most true, Mr. Gladstone! But who struck the blow, nay repeated blows, at the liberties and dignity of Parliament? Yourself, with the assistance of the leaders of the Conservative party.

No. LV.

HAVING sufficiently explained the aim of the obstruction, which we have all endured during the past few years, and which the country has looked at with amazement, I must revert to the schemes of the Irish party, in whose behoof the obstruction was carried on. It tended to their benefit and aggrandisement, but to the ruin of the two great English parties, and the destruction of the House of Commons.

We have often heard it said—by Mr. D'Israeli, among others—that "the great moral power" which alone stands steadfast against the overwhelming tide of immorality, lawlessness, and injustice; that the rock which alone stems the flood of Godlessness and Atheism, is the Roman Catholic Church. How comes it then that the Roman Catholic bishops and priests have been the aiders and abettors of Revolutionary Atheism in Ireland? It was

they who formed, maintained, and guided the Irish party ; and that party, atheistical and revolutionary itself, has rendered Ireland atheistical and revolutionary. A letter from an earnest Roman Catholic gentleman, who is one of the acutest politicians in Ireland, is open before me. He says : " You are right in supposing that there is no sincerity in regard to Home Rule, nor in regard to *any* other tenet. " This insincerity and want of all honesty of purpose make " association with the Irish party *impossible for any one who desires to be honest*. This has sprung from what I believe " to be a mistaken principle of the Irish priests. . . . " The priests join in all the '*National*' cries and agitations, " in order to 'keep the lead' of the people in their own " hands. They do not seem to remember how St. Paul " withstood St. Peter for acting in a similar manner—St. " Paul refusing to give place to him for a single hour." Another Roman Catholic gentleman in Dublin, more conversant with all the petty intricacies of Irish politics than almost any other man, wrote on October 3, 1879 : " All " the blame may well be attributed to the [Conservative] " Government, and their Chancellor of the Exchequer [Sir " Stafford Northcote]. He might have crushed the obstruc- " tionists and covered them with contempt ; instead, by " his weakness, he made heroes of them ; and they returned, " having conquered the British Parliament, as they alleged, " to pose as patriots at home. The priests live by the " people, and want to appear as their champions. Hence " the action they are taking—the policy of which, if they " could only see before them, is as questionable as the " morality." Was it then weakness which caused Sir Stafford Northcote to make heroes of the Irish party ? or was it intention, and coincidence with the views of his chief and his master ?

Here is another letter, dated December 19, 1879 : " From " having belonged to the Irish party, I know some ins " and outs, which are not generally known. This much, " however, I will tell you at present : Butt played a double

“game ; he was brought to the top to aid the Fenians, the “strings of which agitation he held in his hand, from having “been counsel for them. Then, as I know, he agreed to “play into the hands of the (Mr. D’Israeli’s) Government. “. . . The priests went with the National cries, so as “to keep the lead of the people ; and the Fenians pushed “on the National cries until they ought to have got too “far for the priests.” Thus, then, it came that your “great “moral power,” your “steadfast rock ” of the modern world, has promoted revolution and atheism in Ireland. And thus it is that the Romanist bishops and priests have been the aiders and abettors of immoral, dishonest, and socialistic principles.

The proud English Constitution—the envy of foreign lands, the boast for ages of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the model of the Constitution of the United States—that English Constitution has been repeatedly suspended in Ireland, because of the absolute necessity of clapping fetters on the rebellious Irish. Would England wantonly tarnish the glory of her British Constitution and her laws ? Is it the fault of Great Britain that she has been forced to take measures so odious, measures so averse to all the instincts of her people ? She rules colonies in all parts of the globe ; and men of every race now glory in being her subjects. Against them she has never suspended the Constitution, which is the birthright of her people. Even savage tribes have not drawn her into such a course. Only Ireland, which enjoys the greatest proximity to her shores, fosters feelings most distant and adverse to England. Only Ireland, which has been favoured with a more beneficent legislation than England, has nurtured such hostility and animosity to England, as to compel England frequently to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. Great Britain has been the pioneer of civilization in the whole world ; yet Ireland has never been civilized, and has to be treated as less civilized than the Fiji Islanders and the Canadian Indians. What have the Romanist bishops,

assembled in Maynooth, declared as their philosophy of the Irish question? "Depart from our coasts," they have cried to England; "it is our intention to expatriate the English Protestant landlords, and hand over all their land to the Roman Catholic Irish peasantry." They have added the threat that, if this be not done by law, the gyves and fetters, which we place on Irish assassins, will only serve to increase the rage of the Irish people. The Fiji Islanders hold that it is necessary for the civilization of their island that the civilizing European should be turned out! And what means have the Romish bishops and priests employed to effect their purpose? An alliance with the Fenians—if, indeed, the Fenian Society is not merely an offshoot or tendril of the Jesuit Society—the Fenian Society, on which a simulated condemnation was passed in Rome! At the Synod of Maynooth, in 1875, under Cardinal Cullen, and at the secret meeting of September 7, they determined that the simulated condemnation should be relegated to small print, and an appendix; while the Synodical letters, addressed to the people of Ireland, should treat the Fenians "*cum magna caritate et benignitate*." So testify "The Acts and Decrees of the Synod," printed in Dublin by Browne and Nolan, in 1877.

Can it be said that Great Britain fails in goodwill towards Ireland alone of all her colonies? Call to mind the vast sums which have been sent to Ireland, from time to time, as alms from England, in the time of her want. Look at the ever-recurring efforts at "remedial legislation;" at the schools paid by the State; at the Roman Colleges and universities, which Protestant England has helped to found and endow; consider the destruction of the wealthy Protestant Church, to please the poor ignorant Irish, who called it "alien;" watch all the nursing and dandling of that Celtic spoiled child—of Cimmerian, Turanian, Hamitic blood, whenever it shrieks and whines, and whimpers that it is wretched.

The Irish complain of the Crimes Act, which put a stop to their Cardings and Moonlight murders ; and yet in England, where we have not earned such an Act by crime, **there** is "Palmer's Act," which is nearly as potent. The **Irish** exult in their Land Acts of 1870 and 1881, and the **Arrears** Act of 1882, by which English landlords in Ireland **have** been robbed and nearly ruined. They have their **Court** of Land Commissioners, to reduce the rents due to the landlords, and so drive the latter out of the country, in a way Tyrconnel did not succeed in doing. They have their compensation for disturbance and for improvements ; which is another means of ruining their landlords. Such things the English have not. The English have still to be honest and pay their debts. The Irish have been rocked, and dandled and petted by Gladstone and Co., because of their Roman Catholic Church. Witness the care and trouble exhibited by English Ministers in bringing about such a state of things in Ireland ! Since 1814 there have been repeated Royal Commissions to inquire, and Parliamentary debates to criticise. At one time it was the land ; at another time, public works ; and every bog, except the Serbonian bog of Irish discontent, was drained. Then the Romanist institutions of Ireland were subsidized and nursed ; and it was thought that, to free her religion and to strike down her rival, would lay the axe at the root of the evil ; for Irish discontent had already been traced to her religion. But the freer her Hierarchy, and the more powerful her priests, the more discontent there has been, and the fiercer the agitation in Ireland has burned, in spite of the physically ameliorated condition of her people.

The Jesuit Reviewer, Father Cathrein, S. J. (*Stimmen aus Maria Laach*, April 21, 1881), argued : "How little the continual alleviations for the Catholics of Ireland proceeded from good will, is proved, as by example, from the great agitation which was carried on from the year 1820, till it culminated in the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. It is proved also, to take another example,

"by the prolonged campaigns which were necessary in order to accomplish at last, the fall of the Irish Church in 1869. Even yet, the political equality of Ireland with England has not been fully worked out. *But in the midst of the inequalities, stands, thank God, the Act of Union of 1801, which destroyed the Legislative Independence of Ireland, and which has given rise to an agitation which will not die out until the Irish Parliament has been restored.*" What argument is this? The "remedial measures" of England, he says, are proved not to have proceeded from goodwill, because they were wrung from England by successful agitations! Who made those agitations, which proved victorious over England's will? Who placed England on tenter-hooks, and kept her there, writhing in her agonies and inquisition tortures, ever since 1820? There she is doomed still to writhe, it appears, until the complete autonomy of Ireland, and her separation from England has been granted! And that Jesuit thanked God that an Act of Union still existed, which Jesuit astuteness could transform into a basis for further agitation!

The plan of the Jesuits, which Tyrconnel attempted to carry out for them, must be borne in mind, and compared with the plan which Devoy, the Fenian,¹ has likewise attempted to carry out. We must remember, too, that it was the Jesuits who invented Home Rule. It was they who first formed the Irish party, and placed it under Mr. Butt. When it was discovered that Butt was playing a double game, he was hunted out by them, and died of a broken heart, and the party was given for a short time to Mr. Shaw, the Chairman of the Munster Bank. Mr. Shaw was afraid to go the lengths required of him, and so he was ousted in favour of Mr. Parnell. To Mr. Parnell was entrusted the realization of the following plan which was published for the instruction of the Irish people on December 11, 1878. The name of John Devoy, the Fenian, was attached to the document.

¹ Convicted of Fenianism in 1865.

No. LVI.

THE Jesuit plan was explained in a long letter from New York to the *Freeman's Journal*, dated December 11, 1878. It is a document of very remarkable ability and of the highest importance. To this document, the name of John Devoy was attached. The plan was to organize all Ireland exactly on the model of a Fenian Brotherhood. It was to be divided into a number of circles, which were to be governed by higher circles, and those again by higher circles, and so on, up to the supreme Vigilance Committee which was to rule the whole. Each circle was to be kept in utter ignorance of all the members, except one, of the circle immediately above it; and all the members were to yield implicit obedience, *tanquam ac cadaver*, to their superiors. I now give some extracts from the letter:—

“It is the abstention of the *Nationalists*, as a body, from the public life of Ireland, which gives trading politicians a chance of using a large number of them locally for personal ends. It is simply ridiculous to say that, individually, the majority of the Nationalists do not take part in elections of all kinds. But they do not enter the political arena *as an organization* with a programme and policy of their own. . . . The result is that the advanced Nationalist party exerts less influence over the current of public events in Ireland, less influence in determining the opinion of the world, as to Ireland's wants and wishes, than its numbers would entitle it to, if it took its proper share in public life, and was *organized* for public action. . . . It has been long felt by many that the policy of abstention from public life is a policy of effacement—a policy which multiplies the difficulties in the way of *Irish independence*, and gives enormous advantages to the friends of English rule. . . .

“The object aimed at by the advanced Nationalist party, the recovery of Ireland's national independence, and the

"severance of all political connection with England, is one that would require the utmost efforts, and the greatest sacrifices, on the part of the whole Irish people. . . . I am convinced that the whole Irish people can be enlisted in an effort to *free their national land*, and that they have within themselves the power to overcome all obstacles in their way. I feel satisfied that Ireland could maintain her existence as *an independent nation*, become a respectable Power in Europe, provide comfortably for a large population within her borders, and rival England in commerce and manufacturing. I contend she can never attain the development to which her geographical position, her natural resources, and the moral and intellectual gifts of her people entitle her, without becoming *complete mistress of her own destinies, and severing the connection with England*. . . . Ireland desires independence, simply because it is her right, and because she can best manage her own affairs ; *not on account of any of the many grievances she endures at the hands of England*. . . . I yield to no man living in the lengths I am prepared to go to get rid of foreign domination in Ireland. . . .

"While I admit that Nationalists now vote at these elections, I deny that they *act as a body*, or with any settled plan or purpose. With the majority of these local or municipal bodies in our possession, even without the Parliamentary representation, *we should be in a position to do many things we can only dream of now*. With the municipal bodies, and men of spirit and determination as Parliamentary representatives, backed by the country and by millions of the Irish race scattered over the world, there would be no necessity to go to London either to beg or to obstruct. . . . No party, or combination of parties in Ireland can ever hope to win the support of the majority of the people, except it honestly proposes a *Radical reform of the land system*. No matter what may be said of individual landlords, the whole system was founded on robbery and fraud. . . .

"The system was forced upon us by England, and the
 "majority of the present landlords are the inheritors of
 "the robber horde sent over by Elizabeth and James the
 "First, by Cromwell and William of Orange, to garrison
 "the country for England. *It is the interest of Ireland,*
 "*that the land should be owned by those who till the soil.*
 "*Listen to the mutterings of the coming storm* IN ENGLAND
 "and ask yourselves what is going to become of the land
 "monopoly, after a few more years of commercial and
 "manufacturing depression,—*a depression sure to continue,*
 "*because the causes of it are on the increase.* . . . What,
 "may I ask, would become of the Irish landlords, espe-
 "cially the rack-renting, evicting ones, *in case of a social*
 "*convulsion in England?* It is a question which they
 "themselves must decide, *within the next few years.* With
 "them, or without them, the question will be settled before
 "long; and many who now think the foregoing assertions
 "extravagant, will consider them very moderate indeed
 "by-and-by.

"The Education question is only approached at present
 "from a purely religious standpoint. There is no reason
 "why it should not be treated also from a utilitarian
 "point of view, not to speak of a National one. *The*
 "*curse of Ireland for several centuries past, after foreign*
 "*rule—indeed, as a direct result of foreign rule—is* SEC-
 "TARIANISM — (i.e., sects outside the Roman Catholic
 "Church). . . . Why not insist on the history of
 "Ireland being taught in all our schools? *and on the*
 "*nationalization (Romanizing) of the schools where Protes-*
 "*tants are trained?* It cannot be expected that men
 "trained up in anti-Irish ideas will make good Irishmen;
 "*nor can it be expected that any large number of Protestants*
 "*will join any political party which devotes its principal*
 "*efforts to a purely (Roman) Catholic object.* It is fear of
 "the (Roman) Catholic majority, more than love of Eng-
 "land, which makes anti-Irishmen of so many of our
 "Protestant fellow-countrymen; and if they are ever to

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"be won over to the national side, some sacrifice must be made. . . . If Ireland were free now, *one of the first things, after the Land question*, which would demand solution, would be that of *County Government*; and the principle should be laid down in the National programme. The whole people have an interest in the local, as well as the national, administration, and should have the selection of a county Council or Board, having much the same powers as the Council General of a French department. [How did John Devoy obtain a knowledge of the *Conseils Généraux* in France?]

"While *the right to the franchise* of every man born on Irish soil, who has not forfeited his rights of citizenship by conviction of crime against society, should be affirmed, the very least that should be demanded at present is the equalization of the Irish franchise with that of England. . . . A programme such as I have roughly sketched above, *would seriously embarrass the diplomacy of England abroad*; and, if carried out with firmness, resolution, and judgment, it would make Ireland count for something in the world, even before she won self-Government."

On February 10, 1879, the "Ulster Home Government Association" held its annual meeting in Belfast, and the following resolution was passed (I omit the preamble): "It is the conviction of this meeting that an Irish Parliament is the only authority the people can look up to, seeing it alone can beget public spirit and a sound public opinion." Mr. Parnell supported this resolution, and announced his intention to *obstruct* to such a degree that "the Government should be impressed with the necessity of dealing with the Irish question." On the 3rd of March, 1879, Mr. Biggar, M.P., speaking in Bermondsey, said: "By the Irish race, I mean to include *all Irishmen of the Roman Catholic faith*, wherever they are to be found: *Protestants, I do not consider to be Irishmen at all*. They are merely West Britons, who have, by accident,

"been born in Ireland ; and, from my own experience, I
"can say that they are the bitterest enemies of Ireland.
". . . I think the English Democracy will not con-
"sent to remain unrepresented much longer ; and it is the
"duty and the interest of the Irish party—*itself essentially*
"*democratic*—to ally itself with the English Democracy.
"I urge all my countrymen *to unite in some organization*,
"I do not care which, and to make as much display of
"physical force as possible. You may be few in numbers ;
"but when you remember *the great results which flowed*
"*from the determined action of the handful of men at*
"*Manchester and Clerkenwell*, you cannot doubt of your
"ultimate success."

On June 15, 1879, a meeting took place at Milltown, County Galway. It was attended by Davitt and Brennan. The latter said : "The Irish people are determined to keep
"a grip of their homesteads ; and the people of Galway
"and Mayo may well be congratulated on being the first
"to accept *the true gospel of the land question*. They
"declare that the land belongs to the man who cultivates
"it, and not to the vampire landlord who spends it in the
"gay capitals of Europe. We meet to-day, not to talk of
"twenty-one years' leases ; but we are here in open in-
"surrection against landlords." Mr. O'Sullivan, M.P., next
endeavoured to deliver an oration ; but there were frequent
shouts and cries, "Three cheers for the French Revolu-
"tion ;" "Three cheers for the Irish Republic ;" and,
evincing the natural love on the part of all Irishmen for
the enemies of England, "Three cheers for the Zulus and
"King Cetewayo." The resolution on the land question
was then moved by Davitt. He said : "I advise the tenant
"farmers to feed themselves and their children ; to live
"comfortably and decently ; to keep their cabins neat ;
"and to send their children to school ; and, *if there is*
"*sufficient left*, to pay the landlords the rents they demand.
"Let the landlords turn you out of your homes, if they
"like, at the point of the bayonet ; for a spirit will then

“spring up in Ireland which will be the destruction of the landlords for ever. We dare them to do it. Organize, therefore ; organize yourselves. What have not organizations done for Ireland? The organization to which we have the honour to belong—I mean the Fenian organization—that organization disestablished the Protestant Irish Church. Mr. Gladstone himself has admitted that it did.”

Two days after the utterance of those felonious speeches, on June 17, 1879, the “Irish Convention Act” was repealed, with the concurrence of Mr. D’Israeli’s (Lord Beaconsfield’s) Government! The Irish *Nation*, in a state of jubilation, wrote in its leader: “Its repeal will remove some cumbrous and disabling fetters, which hung around the limbs of the Irish people, and will afford facilities for organized expression of Irish opinion to an extent unknown since the Revolution of 1793.” The Roman Catholic ex-Chancellor of Mr. Gladstone’s Government (Lord O’Hagan) concurred in the repeal, saying, in the House of Lords: “Parliament no longer fears assumption of its powers or usurpation of its functions ; and against any possible assault upon the common law, the law of the land gives ample security.” The ample security of the law of the land, against an assault on a part of the common law, was soon found to be very insufficient. And then it was perceived that the “Irish Convention Act” was repealed, in order to enable the conspiracy to march.

On July 13, 1879, a meeting, attended by Messrs. Davitt, Dillon, and Londen, was held at Claremorris. The chairman of the meeting was the Rev. Canon Ulick Bourke, parish priest. Mr. Londen, in his speech, said that “the Irish people are not without allies ; for we have the English Democracy at our back.” Mr. Davitt said, “We have been called Communists and Fenians, because we asked for the right to live in Ireland. We may retaliate, and ask what right the landlords have to the soil?” etc.

On the 26th the memorable Ennis election took place. It was a contest between Mr. Parnell, whose nominee was

Mr. Finnegan; and Mr. William O'Brien, who had been nominated by some priests who had not been educated in the Jesuit scheme. Mr. Parnell was victorious. The people of Ennis had deserted their priests for avowed Fenians; and the priests quickly abandoned their professed principles to take up Fenianism, and receive their wonted fees and offerings from the people. The next day, a meeting was held at Shrule, Co. Mayo, by Mr. Davitt, who said: "The public opinion of the civilized world shall seize Landlordism by the throat, and compel it to disgorge the plundered heritage of a suffering people. Your fight is against a system, which will be held to by the landlords like grim Death. Organize! Unite! Sap its foundations by intelligent and persevering operations." On August 16, Mr. Davitt openly formed the "National Land League," at Castlebar. The principles of it were propounded in its charter: "The land of Ireland belongs to the people of Ireland," and so forth.

At Limerick, on Sunday, August 31, Mr. Parnell called landlords "the drones of the hive," and said: "It was the duty of the Irish tenant farmers to combine and ask for a reduction of rent; and if they get no reduction, where a reduction was necessary, then (he said) it was the duty of the tenant to pay no rent until he obtained the reduction; and if they combined in that way, if they stood together, and if, being refused a just and reasonable reduction, they kept a firm grip of their homesteads, no power on earth could prevail against the hundreds of thousands of tenant farmers of the country." On the same Sunday, Mr. O'Connor Power, M.P., spoke at Ballyhaunis, in the West. He said: "The time for fixity of tenure had gone by. The land question must be settled by the compulsory sale of all lands, and the distribution of it among the occupiers." On September 7, Mr. O'Connor further said, at Castlebar, that he was in favour of offering the landlords some compensation, and letting them depart in peace. He desired to disestablish the

landlords, just as the Protestant Irish Church had been disestablished. Two days before, on September 5, Mr. Biggar, M.P. for Cavan, said, at Draperstown, Co. Londonderry: "If the landlords should refuse the reasonable and "fair concession now offered, they may have to suffer a "great deal, because ultimately a BLOODY REVOLUTION "will take place in these kingdoms; and the land will be "taken from the landlords entirely, as it was in France in "1792."

NO. LVII.

ON September 12, there was a meeting at Tipperary, attended by Messrs. O'Clery, P. J. Smyth, and Parnell, members of Parliament. The latter said:—"It is no use "looking to Parliament if you go on paying rents which "the land is not capable of yielding. If any of you, who "may have saved some capital during good times, go on "paying those rents, why, you cannot expect—and you "will not get—the landlords to lower them; and you will "not get your farms. You will remain the serfs and helots "that you are. Therefore it is for you to stand together, "—to be determined, to insist upon a reasonable reduction "where a reasonable reduction is necessary; and where "you do not get a reasonable reduction, then I say that it "is your duty to pay no rent at all. Now this may seem "very extreme talk; but I tell you that it is common "sense; because, if you have only got half or three-fourths "of the rent to pay to your landlord, and he refuses you a "reduction, what is the use of your paying him that half or "three-fourths?"

The end of September saw this teaching put in practice by the attempted assassination of Mr. George Sydney Smith, the Marquis of Sligo's agent. On Sunday, October 5, the land agitators made vigorous attempts to arouse the people of Cork, Queen's County, Mayo, and Sligo. At Cork Mr. Parnell advised the tenants to offer a passive

resistance, by merely refusing to pay their rents. At Maryborough, in the Queen's County, Mr. Biggar attended with Mr. Dillon. The latter said :—" His advice was to abstain from outrages, *because outrages were not necessary.*" . . . The fight will begin after the November days. What would the landlords do when they refused them the rents of November? Let those who have the money pay the rent ; and let those who have too high rents, ask the landlord to reduce them by fifty or sixty per cent., and if he refused, pay no rent. He will then serve the tenant with notice ; and they must have the meetings every Sunday ; and if the last resource were adopted, they must *put a ban on his land. If any man then takes up that land, let no man speak to him, nor have any business transactions with him.*" Mr. O'Connor Power, on the same day, held a meeting of more than 25,000 men at Ballinrobe, with Mr. Davitt's assistance. In the County Westmeath, a manifesto was at the same time circulated, which contained the following words :—" The only cure for the universal depression of trade in 1879 : land must come down to its proper value—about 2s. 6d. or 5s. per acre. The farmers of Great Britain and Ireland must have land that will enable them to compete with the freeholder of America. . . . The land belongs to the people ; the Crown, as representative of the people, and guardian of their rights and privileges, being head landlord. An Act of Parliament may authorize a public company to buy, and compel owners to sell, land for public interests. An Act of Parliament may authorize the Crown to buy, and compel the so-called landlords of the soil to sell the land, at a fair price to the Crown, when as at present the necessities of the Empire require that exorbitant rents and capricious owners should be got rid of by purchase ; *and they will be easily purchased soon.*" . . . Disendow and disestablish the landlords, as the Protestant Church was disendowed and disestablished in Ireland. Away with land monopoly ! If you want tenant

"right, if you want leave to live on the land of your birth, send no landlords to Parliament—as well send wolves to guard sheep," etc.

On Sunday, October 12, Mr. Parnell held a meeting at Navan, County Meath, which was attended by 30,000 persons. He said: "The only course for the tenant farmers of Ireland is this: now that they are in possession of their farms, to see that they remain in possession of them. Go to your landlord, and if he disagrees with *your* estimate of what a fair rent should be, ask him to appoint one man, and say that you will appoint another, and they will settle it between them. If he refuses this arrangement, offer him what *you* consider you can fairly be called on to pay in these times, and ask him for a clear receipt. If he refuses to give you a clear receipt, put the money in your pockets, and hold it until he comes to his senses. If the tenants on each property join together and do this, the cause of the tenant farmer in Ireland is won. No landlord can prevail against you." Mr. O'Connor Power went further, and exclaimed, "Abolish landlordism, and make the tiller of the soil the owner of the soil he tills. That is the only effectual way of coping with foreign competition. Introduce the American land system into England and Ireland." On the same Sunday, meetings were also held in Newport, County Tipperary; in Tubbercurry, County Sligo; and at Annaghdown, County Galway.

At the latter place, Mr. Davitt made a remarkably violent speech, saying, "The only relief—the sole reliance —is, therefore, in yourselves. Realizing this to its full extent, at last the democracy of Ireland has resolved upon sustaining the supreme right of resistance conferred upon the people by their Creator. Apart from the present distress, the growing mind of the Irish people cannot brook a land system which retards, instead of advancing, their civilization and social progress; and an onslaught upon such land laws is the national instinctive

“act of a resurgent nation. On the rent question, as on
“that of the land, your greatest dependence must be on
“yourselves. Never mind the companies of Zulu-whipped
“soldiers that are now being sent over here, in answer to
“your cry for the means of sustenance. *Don't imagine you*
“*will be thrown out to die like dogs, as your kindred were in*
“'48. Stand firmly and self-reliantly against the brood of
“cormorant vampires that have sucked the life-blood out
“of the country; that have banished our brothers and
“sisters; and that have made our people a nation of
“paupers; and ere long we will have no legalised plunder-
“ing system in Ireland to sustain the most profligate
“horde of unmitigated land thieves that ever cursed a
“people and robbed them of the profits of their industry.
“They may threaten you with eviction if you refuse to pay
“rack-rents imposed upon your holdings; but *don't forget*
“*that an English Cabinet Minister once declared that eviction,*
“*under certain aggravated circumstances, was a felony.* You
“know it is a maxim of English law that a felony *can be*
“*resisted to the death.* . . . Depend upon it, then, that
“you are not to die by hunger, as your kindred did in '48.
“Do not despair, but be up and doing. Organize your-
“selves into clubs and protection associations; labour un-
“ceasingly for your own and your country's advancement;
“and you will yet have the proud privilege of beholding
“the people of Ireland the owners of its fruitful soil, and *the*
“*rulers of its own fair and yet unconquered land.*”

Mr. Parnell then held a meeting in Belfast. On the 16th, he said, at a meeting in Newry, that the farmers could settle the land question for themselves, without the assistance of Parliament, *if they would obstinately refuse to pay any rents*; while their members of Parliament could coerce Parliament *by obstructing all the business of the House*, until a satisfactory Land Bill had been carried into law. On Sunday, the 19th, Michael Davitt held a meeting at Newport, County Mayo, and referred to “the reptile press,” and to the “lazy, good-for-nothing, idle, sensual,

"and voluptuous" landlords. On October 21 the Land League was inaugurated in Dublin, and many more meetings of a similar character were held in various parts of the country before the close of October.

On November 2, Mr. Parnell, at Galway, explained that the general strike against paying rents, and the ban against the occupation of farms from which the tenants had been evicted, were but means to an end; and that end was *the compulsory transference from the landlords of all the land in Ireland*. By means of terrorism, they could exclude all purchasers, and so reduce the price of land to almost nothing. The "Surplus Fund" of the Irish Protestant Church was then to be used in order to buy the land for a mere song, and put it in the hands of the tenants. We have seen that, in 1882, this formed part of Mr. Gladstone's proposals. In moving a vote of thanks to the chairman, Mr. Parnell stated that, to the Fenian, Michael Davitt, "was due the initiation of this movement for a "reduction of rents, and the ownership of the soil by the "occupiers."

At Gurteen, Messrs. Davitt, Daly, and Killen attended a meeting. Mr. Davitt said: "The papers credited Mr. "Lowther with an original discovery that the tenant "farmers of Ireland had £30,000,000 in Irish Savings "Banks to their credit; and that that money formed a "good security to landlords to obtain their rents during "the winter. . . . If it is true, I deny that you should "draw upon that, in this year of impending famine and "dire misfortune before us, in order to satisfy the greed "and avarice of the landlords. If you have it there, I say, "look first to the necessities of your children, of your "wives, and of your homes; look to the wants and necessities of the coming winter; and when you have satisfied "those wants and necessities, if you have a charitable disposition to meet the wants of the landlord, give him what "you can spare; and give him no more. I am one of "those peculiarly constituted Irishmen who believe that

"rent for land, under any circumstances, in prosperous times
"or bad times, is nothing more nor less than an unjust and
"immoral tax upon the industry of a people; and I further
"believe that landlordism, as an institution, is an open
"conspiracy against the well-being, prosperity, and happiness of a people; and I say that anything that is immoral—whether it be a rent, or an open conspiracy of
"landlordism—has to be crushed by the people who suffer in
"consequence of it. . . . I say that, at last, in the face
"of another impending famine, too plainly visible, the time
"has come when the manhood of Ireland will spring to its
"feet, and say it will tolerate this system no longer. . . .
"There is a great similarity between the Irish pike and
"the Zulu assegais; and the English soldiers who went
"out to civilize the Zulus at the point of the bayonet,
"found that the savage African knew how to handle the
"assegai almost as well as our ancestors knew how to
"handle the pike in '98. . . . In conclusion, I would
"ask you not to be content with coming to these meetings,
"and applauding sentences in connection with landlordism,
"or the misgovernment of Ireland; but work and co-
"operate together in clubs and protection societies, until
"there is such an *overpowering organization* throughout the
"whole of Ireland, that will not only break down landlordism, but every other barrier that stands between the
"people of Ireland and their just rights."

This Davitt, it must be remembered, was a ticket-of-leave convict, who was let out of prison by the sufferance of the Government of 1879; and who might, without any reason assigned, have had his mouth stopped by being ordered to retire into prison again. So far from doing so, the Government afterwards released him from the remainder of his sentence, as a reward. The Government were therefore directly responsible for his utterances and the results. For such incendiary speeches as these were, of course, not without their effect on the ignorant, brutal, greedy, crafty, and lawless population of Ireland. The whole country was

ablaze with the agitation. Landlords tried to sell their estates in the Landed Estates Court; but there were no buyers. All property was enormously depreciated.

The next step was to light the flames of agitation among the populace of the great towns of England and Scotland. Messrs. Parnell, Finnegan, Mitchell Henry, and O'Connor Power started for Manchester; whence Mr. Parnell went to Bolton, Mr. Finnegan to Leeds, Mr. A. M. Sullivan to Newcastle-on-Tyne, and both Mr. Sullivan and Mr. O'Connor Power carried the inflammatory torch about London.

On November 19, Michael Davitt, Daly, and Killen were arrested for their seditious speeches at Gurteen. A meeting was at once called, and held at the Rotunda in Dublin, on November 22. Mr. Parnell said: "Fellow-countrymen, I beg you to remember there are to-night 'countrymen of yours suffering in prison, because they 'attempted to show their fellow-countrymen the road to 'freedom. Remember the voice of Michael Davitt is 'speaking to you from his prison. *Hold up your hands 'with me and vow you will not cease—that you will not 'cease from this struggle until the teachings of Michael 'Davitt, for which he has been persecuted this day, shall 'have been carried out and fulfilled to the very last letter.*"

The next day, November 23, at Bala, Co. Mayo, Mr. Brennan attended a meeting and said: "Whatever may be 'the words Mr. Davitt used at the Gurteen meeting, I 'adopt them here to-day; and if I knew them, I would 'repeat them for you, believing in my soul that they are 'the words of justice and truth. It will not become us 'here to make long-winded orations to-day. The time for 'mere speech-making is gone by, and the hour of the 'resolve and the act has arrived. The speech of to-day is 'the indignation which I see flashing from your eyes, and 'the determination which rests on your brow. . . . 'Think of the scenes of '47; think of the blazing roof; 'think of the workhouse and the emigrant ship; think of

"starvation, death, and coffinless graves; and then tell me
"to-day you will be true to the teaching of our friends in
"prison. Shall one generation witness two such scenes as
" '47? God forbid. I call upon every one of you who can
"to-day, to do everything in your power to prevent it.
"Organize for the protection of your own rights; combine
"that you may offer an unbroken front to the common
"enemy. . . . As for you, friends, your course is clear;
"keep before your minds the great fact that *the land of
"Ireland belongs to the people of Ireland. Follow the teach-
"ing of the apostles of our creed, who are now its martyrs
"and its confessors.* We tell you here to-day, what has
"been told you from every platform in your country, *to pay
"no rent until you get a reasonable reduction.* We tell you
"to take no land from which another man has been evicted;
"and should such a mean wretch be found in Mayo as to
"snatch such a farm, go, mark him well! cast him out of
"the society of men as an unclean thing. Let no one be ready
"to buy or sell with him; and watch how the modern Iscariot
"will prosper."

The agitation in England, also, was being energetically carried on. Messrs. O'Connor Power and McCarthy spoke in Hyde Park, Mr. Parnell in Liverpool, and Michael Davitt in Newcastle and Glasgow. On December 5, Mr. Brennan was arrested; and on the succeeding Sunday two great demonstrations were made in Castlebar and at French Hill. Mr. Parnell said, in Liverpool, that the tenants, by holding the rents, would keep four millions of money in their pockets; he continued: "There are men in this land
"movement who consider that *the free rights of Ireland
"must be won by the bloody battlefield, and by the sword.* But
"these men do not take part in this movement for the
"purpose of carrying out those ideas; they take part in
"it to help to win peaceably the solution of the land
"question."

His meaning was this: John Devoy, in October, 1878, came to Ireland, against the parole which he had given

when liberated by Mr. D'Israeli. There he founded the "Invincibles," and agreed with Parnell (as the latter publicly confessed) that the Irish Party should extirpate Landlordism and restore the Irish Parliament; while Devoy, on his part, agreed to furnish all the money and Fenians, from the United States, which might be necessary. If Parnell should fail to accomplish these two ends, then he and his party were either to join the Fenians, or to stand aside and let the Fenians do the work by physical force.¹

NO. LVIII.

ON December 21, 1879, Messrs. Parnell and John Dillon sailed for the United States. There was, in Great Britain, no doubt as to the aim of the agitators. It was that which Tyrconnel had tried to compass in the reign of James II. —namely, to drive out, to worry out, or to buy out the landlords, in order to make a Roman Catholic State of Ireland. The crusade was to be carried on in the United States also, in order to rouse the thousands of Irish in that country, and to extract from their pockets the dollars which were needed for the agitation in Ireland. At Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania, Mr. Parnell spoke, and said: "Six hundred thousand Irish tenants are beginning to find out that they are more powerful than ten thousand landlords; and when we have *claimed the land for the people of Ireland*, we shall have laid the foundation-stone for our *country to take her place among the nations of the earth*." Again, on February 16, 1880: "Up to this time the landlords and Government have failed to give assistance; but the fiendish work of eviction is still pursued; but from the blood of the brave Connemara women, who resisted the home destroyers, shall spring up a power which will sweep away, not only the land system, but the infamous Government that maintains it." At Cincinnati, on February 23, he said: "I feel confident we shall kill the land-

¹ "Parnellism," by an Irish Nationalist, I.A.F., Dublin, 1885.

“ lord system ; and *when we have given Ireland to the people of Ireland, we shall have laid the foundation upon which to build up our Irish nation.* The feudal tenure and the rule of the minority (*i.e.* the landlords) have been the corner-stone of English misrule. Pull out that corner-stone, break it up, and you undermine English misgovernment. *When we have undermined English misgovernment, we have paved the way for Ireland to take her place among the nations of the earth. And let us not forget that that is the ultimate goal at which all we Irishmen aim.* None of us—whether we are in America, or in Ireland, or wherever we may be—*will be satisfied until we have destroyed the last link which keeps Ireland bound to England.*”

On March 15, Mr. Biggar, M.P., who had recently become an Ultramontane Roman Catholic, openly proclaimed himself also, as of course, an ardent Republican and Revolutionist. It was he who, just a year before, excluded, from the name of Irishmen, all who were not also Roman Catholics. He held that Protestants had forfeited all claim to be designated as Irish. On March 21, he said at Cork : “ We have seen what Hartmann has done in Russia (blowing the Czar to pieces with dynamite), and if the Constitutional course we are pursuing in Parliament at present should fail of its object, I think Ireland may be able to produce *another Hartmann, and probably with better results.*”

So said a new pervert, fresh from the teaching of the Romanist priesthood. In truth, the influence of that priesthood has not been a calming influence. As they breathed on the people, they have not followed the example of our Lord and Master, who said : “ Peace be unto you ; My peace I give unto you.” From their altars they have ever striven to fan the flames of agitation, and to put themselves at the head of all revolutionary movements. During the latter half of 1879, such support, such incentives, such spurs were given to the agitation in favour of robbery and wrong, that all the Roman Catholic popula-

tion of Ireland was carried away by it. "Peace and good-will towards men!" That was thrust aside. Even calm reason was lost sight of in the dust of agitation; and the small still voice was unheard in the din and clamour of conflicting factions. At last "the time drew near the birth of Christ," and the Vatican seemed to hear the bells from hill to hill—from Vatican to Quirinal—tolling "Peace and goodwill, goodwill and peace to all mankind." For we learned from the *Fanfulla*, that the Vatican had sent a circular to the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland, "condemnation of the Irish agitation," and "expressing the desire of the Pope that they should interpose between the Irish people and the Government, in order that all strife between them might be averted." The circular did not, in stern language, command the bishops to assert the law of God, and preach the Gospel of Christ. It merely requested them to "interpose themselves" between the people and the Government. Further, it requested the bishops "to use their best endeavours to pacify the minds of the people, by assuring them that the English Government is disposed to examine, as promptly as possible, the various questions which have given rise to the present agitation." Dr. McCabe, the R. C. Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland, did actually write a Pastoral in the right sense; and drew upon himself the sneers and oburgations of his brother bishops. His offence was contained in these words: "We must take care not to render these trials intolerable, driving God from our side, by the violation of His eternal law. Unfortunately men, proclaiming their sympathy for the people in their deep distress, are going through the country disseminating doctrines, which, pushed to their logical conclusion, will strike at the root of that good faith and mutual confidence which are the foundations of social life. These doctrines have already produced their evil results. . . . Very Rev. Fathers! while standing forward to support our flocks in this their dark hour of distress, we must not

"fear to raise our voices to warn them against the results of their faults or mistakes. Our principle must be, to give to Cæsar what Cæsar justly claims; else we cannot give to God what God commands. If just debts, fairly demanded, be not honestly discharged, a principle fatal to the prosperity of our country will be established; and, sooner or later, it will recoil on the heads of those who to-day may seem gainers by its adoption."¹

Soon after the publication of these wholesome words, Dr. Vaughan, the Popish Bishop of Salford, advocated an extension, to England, of the Irish agitation in favour of the preposterous Irish claims.² While the Romanist Bishop of Nottingham, almost as soon as the Christmas season was over, did his best to excite, again, the din and fury of battle. Listen to the Bishop's war cry. It is extracted from the "Full Report of the General Meeting of the Nottingham Catholic Union, on Feb. 23, 1880.—"Clayton, Clumber Street, Nottingham."

"The famine in Ireland is not from the visitation of God, but through the cruelty of man. It is an artificial famine, not a natural one. In the year 1836, a select Parliamentary Committee reported that Ireland could easily sustain much more than its actual population, and export immensely besides; nevertheless, that any failure of the potato crop would bring a famine. . . . In 1817 there was a famine. There was another in 1822, though in that and the previous year, three million quarters of wheat were carried off [*i.e.* sold] to England. In 1836 we have seen how Parliament was warned by its own Committee that the Irish were at all times in danger of starvation, while they were producing enough to maintain twice their number. But in 1845 they were no longer on the brink of starvation. They went over the brink, and perished by hundreds of thousands in the famine which ensued. That horrible famine lasted from the winter of 1845 to the spring of 1851—five terrible years.

¹ *Times*, Dec. 3, 1879.

² *Pall Mall Gazette*, March 9, 1880.

“ . . . It is incredible, but it is true, that those five years “ were years of splendid harvests and exceptional prosperity. In the year 1843 three million quarters of grain “ and one million head of live stock had been exported to “ England. In 1844, fifteen million pounds worth of produce went there. In 1845, the harvest was specially “ good, and seventeen millions worth of wheat alone was “ exported for English consumption. So it was in 1846. “ In 1847, the abundance was so great, that the Government Commissioners reckoned the total value of Irish “ produce at £45,000,000. . . . It appears then that “ Irish famines are made by English laws and Irish landlords. *The union of England with Ireland, so far, has been “ too much like the union of the spider and the fly. The poor “ fly struggles; but its vitals are sucked dry in spite of all that “ it can do.* In 1844, the great Devon Commission recommended, as a remedy against the famine, the consolidation of farms, and the exportation of about one million “ of the inhabitants. Cruel and hypocritical rubbish! The “ land has always produced enough for twice its people; “ but, many or few, the tenantry will never be let to get “ any of the produce but potatoes. . . .

“ And how have the English dealt with the struggles of “ their victims? We will not speak of the horrors of the “ suppression of the great rebellion, into which they goaded “ the unhappy Irish peasantry. Since the Union they have “ given them a surfeit of Coercion Acts under different names, “—in 1800, 1801, ‘4, ‘7, ‘8, ‘9, 1810, ‘15, ‘16, ‘17, 1822, ‘23, “ ‘24, ‘25, 1833, ‘34, ‘35, ‘36, ‘37, ‘38, ‘39, 1840, ‘41, ‘46, ‘47, “ and many years since, they have by those Coercion Acts “ taken away the liberties of Irishmen, transporting people “ who did not stay at home at night, or who could not prove “ they knew of no arms in their houses. . . . Since “ the Emancipation, they have conceded to the oppressed “ Catholic peasantry some political and social rights; but “ these rights are more nominal than real, as the ingenious “ system of exclusion makes them almost nugatory. *There*

" is no cruelty in the history of the world like the cruelty of
" English Governments to Irish Catholics. I was going to
" say that that cruelty exists still in a mitigated form, but
" I doubt if it be much mitigated. *The land laws—the*
" *root of the evil—are in full operation, and reduce some*
" *3,000,000 Irish Catholics to absolute and servile dependence*
" *for their lives and homes, on the caprice of some 10,000*
" *landowners, who seldom allow them to rise above the brink*
" *of starvation. By these cruel laws, the landlords are able*
" *to extort unjust rents, and increase them to any amount at*
" *pleasure, so as to rob their tenants of all the fruits of their*
" *industry ; and the tenants, being at any time liable to*
" *eviction, as they only hold as tenants-at-will, or on yearly*
" *tenancies, have no security for their homes, their property,*
" *or even their lives. The landlords are masters of the*
" *homes and liberties of their tenants. It often happens*
" *that, if a tenant dare to receive a guest—even his own*
" *parent—into his house, to get married himself, or give*
" *his daughter in marriage, without the agent's leave, or*
" *dare to depart in the least from the attitude of a down-*
" *trodden crouching slave, he is at once ejected and sen-*
" *tenced to ruin. It is time, indeed, that this horrible*
" *slavery should cease. It is time that all should unite to*
" *oblige the English people to attend to this hideous system,*
" *perpetuated by their laws and enforced by their armies."*

Is this peace and goodwill to mankind ? or is it a vicious, malicious, irreligious, and unpropitious attempt to set class against class ; to stir up the animosities of races ; and to light up the flames of religious discord ? Is that the work of that Great King and Just Judge of all the earth, who said, " My peace I give unto you " ? or is it the work of the Devil, *Diabolos*, the Accuser of one to another, the Divider ?

Such were the secret springs which moved the extended organization ! Such were the whispers which conveyed the *mot d'ordre* to the foolish, infatuated Romanists ! Yet, of course, the open and avowed guidance of the anarchical movement was confided to the hands of men who professed

Protestantism, so as to blunt the keen edge of suspicion, and enable the Catholic dignitaries, who secretly fomented the agitation, to appear as the disinterested friends and advisers of the Government. Those dignitaries called themselves "the rock which stemmed the tide of immorality and lawlessness." They were really the accomplices of the lawless tenant-Leaguers and of the anathematised Fenians. Mere friends and advisers of the British Government, they pretended to be. Connected with the State they were not, in any sense, since the Irish Church Act of 1869 was passed. For while that Act disestablished the Protestant Church, it also terminated, for a good round sum of money, the annual subsidy to the Roman Catholic Church, which used to be voted by Parliament, and so kept that Church in check. The Roman Catholic Church then became a purely voluntary body, and has ever since had to depend entirely upon the people. She now depends upon the people. She is the people's slave, not the people's master and teacher. The priests may pretend to lead the people; they really re-echo the strident *vox populi*. "The difficulty of the Church is," say they, "that all the younger priests are Nationalists and Revolutionists." Is your Church, then, professedly no longer the teacher of eternal truth, as you have always pretended? Is it merely the organ of the "younger priests"? "That is all very well in theory," they reply; "but we cannot live unless we get our dues." So a tax-gatherer may say; but the Church should remember the word, "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon." It appears that you serve Mammon.

Moreover, you do not give your cloak to him who, you say, sues for your coat. You do not turn your other cheek to be smitten, if you publish those firebrand pastorals against the British Government, and pose as the accomplices, fautors, and fomenters of anarchy and agrarian plunder. In this, indeed, you have some futile excuse to advance: "Mr. Gladstone himself showed the example." True; you encourage the outrages, and you mean that he

encouraged them too. He took advantage of them to carry out your policy, and you also reap from them all the advantage you desire. So, indeed, Mr. Gladstone wrote on December 11, 1879, to Mr. Ferguson of Glasgow : —“ You are mistaken in supposing that the outrages in Manchester and Clerkenwell dominated or affected my action with regard to Ireland. They drew the attention of the public, on which there are so many demands, to Irish questions, and thereby *enabled me*, in point of time, *to act in a manner for which I had previously declared my desire.*”

No. LIX.

IT will be remembered that, in Burke's day, the landlords of Ireland used to say that if the Irish people should, at any time, obtain political power, the landlords would lose their lands. At that time the temper and character of the Irish people was the same as now ; and their landlords knew them. Burke, however, laughed at the supposition that the Irish people would ever obtain political power ; because it was, he said, safe in the hands of the Protestant propertied classes. Burke took no account of a conspiracy.

In 1867, the political power was transferred, by Mr. D'Israeli, to the Irish Roman Catholic *proletaires*. Thus the possibility of the land agitation was established. Mr. D'Israeli rendered the land agitation—that first step towards the achievement of Ireland's autonomy and separation from England—a possibility ; nay, even a certainty.

Lord Beaconsfield, in 1880, issued a manifesto to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, when the dissolution had been determined on ; and warned the country that the Irish were about to “ sever the Constitutional tie which unites it to Great Britain.” Directly afterwards, in April, Mr. Gladstone, in canvassing, said at Edinburgh, with regard to Ireland : “ There is an absence of crime and outrage,

"with a general sense of comfort and satisfaction, such as has been unknown in the previous history of the country. I do not hesitate to say, especially as very many able men co-operated with me in passing that law (the Land Act of 1870), as it would not have been in my power to have framed such a measure without assistance, that that Land Act has been one of the best specimens of prudent, and, at the same time, benevolent and popular legislation in our time, while I believe it will contribute greatly to the benefit of the Irish landlord, not less than to the benefit of the Irish tenant." Thus did Mr. Gladstone state the grounds on which he would have it supposed that he refused to renew the Coercion Act. The Coercion Act, therefore, lapsed soon after he had come into office; and thus that serious impediment in the way of the future Land Agitation was dexterously removed. Mr. Gladstone then introduced an intricate invention, the "Compensation for Disturbance Bill," which was of so outrageous a character, that the House of Lords would have incurred great culpability if it had consented to let it pass. Its rejection, which was easily predicted from the character of the Bill, was a great incentive and aid to the land agitation of the succeeding autumn. Mr. Parnell attacked the House of Lords, and laid all the responsibility for the land agitation on the Peers, for their rejection of the Bill. He thus enlisted the Radical party—"the democracy of England"—in his support. The Government followed the same tactics, in the same direction. Mr. Forster repeated Mr. Parnell's charge, both in Parliament and also at Bradford; although, as Irish Secretary, he must have known that the real aim of the National party was to separate Ireland from England; and that the land agitation was not the effect of real grievances, but merely a means or stepping-stone to that end. Thus both Parnell and Mr. Gladstone's Government were acting on precisely the same lines; and the only real opponents were some independent members on the Conservative side of the

House. Yet Mr. Gladstone, on April 4, 1882, had the effrontery to say: "I do not make it a matter of severe censure, that the late Government did not foresee the magnitude to which the Land League would grow, nor the extent to which it would take hold of the minds of the people of Ireland, over a circle infinitely wider than has been touched by any movement within the last fifty years." What effrontery! Had he not done all he could to make the way of agitation easy? Had he not put weapons in the hands, or rather arguments in the mouths of the Parnells, and Davitts, and Dillons, and Biggars? Had he not favoured the Mannings, and the Vaughans, and the Bagshawes—Roman Catholic prelates of anti-Christian doctrines—and carried out the very policy which the Jesuits had two centuries before put into the hands of Tyrconnel? While the Romanist bishops had not a word to say against the agitations and the repeated exhortations to violate the law, and the reiterated incentives to robbery by non-payment of rent, and the cattle-houghings, and women-cardings, and midnight murders, the Protestant Bishop of Down denounced such unchristian thoughts, like a Christian teacher. The Roman Episcopate had been silent and approving, while the Biggars, and Davitts, and Dillons made use of the free scope for their preachings, which Mr. Gladstone had so dexterously afforded them.

Look back a dozen years, and you will see that the same ferment had to be created in Ireland up to the year 1869. You may remember that Ireland was brought to the same point of anarchy at home, and menace for England, before Mr. Gladstone felt himself able to pass the Act for Disestablishing the Protestant Church of Ireland. And yet he benignly said he did "not censure those who did not foresee the magnitude to which the Land League would grow!"

In 1880 Parliament was suddenly dissolved—no one knew why. Both the Liberal and the Conservative "whips" and wire-pullers, as we have said, expected that

Lord Beaconsfield would have had "a bare working majority of twenty-five." It would have been easy, in such a case, to have passed any measure for Ireland. The Jesuit organ, the *Civiltà Cattolica*, of April 3, 1880, wrote:—"Every one, high and low, felt that the result of the forthcoming elections in England has been involved in the greatest doubt and obscurity, and no one can count with certainty on a Ministerial majority; *yet it is thought probable that either Ministers may obtain a very small working majority, or else that the Liberals will gain a narrow majority, so that they both will be left in utter dependence on the Irish vote.*" The expected narrowness of the majority on either side would have given colour to the necessity of conciliating the Romanists of Ireland. But it was ordained otherwise. There were losses to the Conservatives in rapid succession; and the constituencies, taking fright lest the Home Rulers should hold the balance of power in their own hands, went in with a rush for the Liberal party. Lord Hartington—or, as it proved eventually to be, Mr. Gladstone—was brought into power. There was then no excuse to be found. No inconvenient pressure by the Irish party could be alleged.

The same end had, therefore, to be arrived at by great skilfulness of tactics. The "Relief of Distress Bill" was introduced as a measure of urgency. One clause of this Bill was then separated from the rest, and became the "Compensation for Disturbance Bill." That Bill consisted, at first, of a single clause, like a single link of the root of the weed called Cutch-grass; and like that, it grew and multiplied, and spread into a noxious and widely extending plant. Notice was given of amendments, intended to transform the Bill. The most important of all, was that of which Mr. Gladstone himself gave notice, on the night of the 12th of July. It was to be discussed at a morning sitting on the 13th of July. In giving this notice, he withdrew an amendment, of which the Attorney-General for Ireland had already given notice, when Mr. Gladstone had

desired to administer a sedative and calming potion to the landlords of Ireland, and to replace, by hopes, their fears and forebodings. The Attorney-General's amendment would, by a simple extension of the "Ulster custom," have relieved the landlords of Ireland from various pains and penalties which they would otherwise have incurred by ejecting a tenant for refusing to pay rent. By the Ulster custom, a tenant who is in arrears can sell his holding; and the landlord can deduct the amount of arrears from the purchase-money. The Attorney-General wished, by the Bill, to extend this practice to the whole of Ireland. Mr. Parnell, thereupon, cried out that it would be a confiscation of the tenant's property in his farm. The Attorney-General was promptly thrown over by Mr. Gladstone; and the landlords lost the means of protecting themselves from the penal consequences of Mr. Gladstone's Bill.

There were, also, various other changes made: changes as sudden, as violent, and as confusing, as that of the 12th of July. Not only was the Bill transformed, and transformed again; but also, the ground which had been taken up by the Government in support of their Bill was continually shifted; and the arguments advanced in favour of the Bill were contradicted, and veered round all the points of the political compass. These unexpected vicissitudes had an effect, not only on the House of Commons, but also in Ireland. Mr. Justice Lawson (who had been Mr. Gladstone's law officer in 1870) spoke, in his charge to the Grand Jury of Kerry County, of the excitement and social danger created in Ireland; and he warned the country that "communistic doctrines are contagious," and that attacks upon the rights of property do not confine themselves to the land.

The Bill was very properly thrown out by the Lords. Preparations had therefore to be made for continuing the agitation, in order to force the measure on Parliament during the ensuing session. The *Aurora*, the organ of the

Vatican, published an article at the beginning of November, 1880, in favour of the Land League. "In consequence of the insupportable state of things in which the peasants of Ireland have been placed by the landlords, it has become necessary that the people should endeavour to shake off the oppression to which they have been subjected. They are determined no longer to starve to death, upon land watered with the sweat of their brows." The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel also wrote from Rome at the same time (Nov. 8): "My dear Mr. Gray, the Irish bishops now in Rome have just seen, by the *Freeman*, of Wednesday, that it is proposed to form a Defence Fund, in view of the State prosecution (of the Land Leaguers). The bishops desire to subscribe to that fund, and do so accordingly, earnestly recommending it at the same time to their respective flocks." The news was also flashed along the telegraph wires from Rome, that the Irish bishops in Rome had "declared boldly to the Pope that they cannot do otherwise than support the action of the agitators against the British Government." The *Aurora*, moreover, continued to print a series of articles on Ireland, which might well vie with, or even surpass, the most violent and unscrupulous of the Irish Nationalist newspapers.

This course had, it was said, been taken by the Pope's newspaper, and by the Irish bishops, "pending decided instructions from the Holy See." At length the bishops waited on his Holiness, to take leave of him, and the "decided instructions" were vouchsafed to them. According to the *Aurora*, the Pope was most grateful to the British Government; and then the *Aurora* said: "The Irish bishops can never preach revolt, crime, or incitements to acts of violence. They will not do so. His Holiness did not need to use any great efforts to keep them in the path of duty; although, indeed, he may have already adjured them to separate themselves openly from those who spread terror, by brandishing the sword in the faces of their fellow-citizens. . . . We trust that the

"Irish clergy will be an instrument of peace and order ;
"and that, while they strive to calm the passions of the
"people, the English nation will settle the questions at
"issue, by drawing closer those bonds which should unite
"the sister countries."

That article, we presume, reflected the words of the supposed infallible head of the Roman Church, when speaking on a question of morals. But what were the deeds of Roman Catholic Ireland? Sunday after Sunday, meetings were held, and fiery speeches were made, in which the bitterest hostility to England, and disloyalty to the Crown, were poured forth, like streams of burning lava, from the sulphurous and Tartarean upheavings of a mountain crater. An eloquent crusade against England was being pushed forward in every part of Ireland, and the speeches were called, by Gladstonians, "the popular demands," to which "remedial measures" must be at once applied. What remedial measures can be of any use? Can a Land Bill avail? But Parnell has declared that success in the land agitation, means the gain of a most important preliminary step towards the separation of Ireland from England! Yet the remedial measure is to be a Land Bill.

The Continental Liberals were, all this time, fully aware of the game which was being played in Ireland. Arnold Ruge wrote, in the *Neue Freie Presse*, a note of warning, to his ultra-Liberal friends, against sympathy with the Irish agitators. He pointed out that the Irish movement was aimed, not only at crushing the English Protestant landlords in Ireland, but also at achieving the absolute independence of Ireland. "Now what (he asked) does Irish independence mean? It means the supremacy, in that country, of all the forces against which continental Liberalism fights with the greatest determination. *Behind the Home Rule scheme, there is clericalism concealed; and the plans of the Irish agitators are calculated to win the support of none but Ultramontane Separatists*" (Dec. 8, 1880).

NO. LX.

THE Continental Liberals saw plainly enough that the agitation in Ireland was all to the behoof of the Roman Church; but who, they asked, were the backers of the agitation engendered by the Jesuits, and carried out by Parnell and Co.? who had the same end in view? A letter signed "TRUTH" appeared in the *Standard*,¹ which answered the question. It asserted that: "The whole country is armed to the teeth; the very poorest has his rifle or revolver, and shots may be heard every day in all directions. It is said by those who ought to know, that these outrages that are taking place around us, *are fostered by the Government in order to enable them to pass their coming Land Bill.*"

The Marquis of Salisbury a short time before² had asserted, in a speech at Hackney, while commenting on the state of Ireland, that *the Government regarded the agitation as the indispensable leverage for moving the Land Bill forward.* These were his words: "The mere fact that it has been so elaborate, the mere fact that, in order to enable a single man to get in his turnips and cut his corn, it has been necessary to send down seven thousand soldiers and police, is sufficient security to the criminals of the rest of Ireland that no similar interference with their proceedings will take place. The truth is, there is something of superstition in the language which has been held with respect to the application of *the ordinary law.* The ordinary law is an application of the system of judge and jury to the detection and punishment of crime; but it presupposes that juries are free to convict, and that the witnesses are free to give evidence. If the freedom ceases, if there is such a reign of terror that no jury would dare to convict, and witnesses would not dare to speak the truth, the whole power and efficacy of the

¹ Dec. 14, 1880.² Nov. 20, 1880.

“ordinary law may disappear. It is like a watch out of which the mainspring has been taken. It is not wisdom, it is mere imbecility to think that you can use and derive valuable results from the working of a machine whose motive power has been taken away. Perfect freedom to give verdicts, and to give evidence, are essentials of the English criminal law ; and the moment that that freedom is entirely taken away, its procedure becomes perfectly useless. Nothing remains except a mass of anarchy. The whole social system is reduced to anarchy, on the top of which is a cumbersome hypocrisy which calls itself *the ordinary law* ; but its only effect, if it has any effect at all, is to restrain and hinder those who would defend themselves. It has no efficacy whatever in restraining and hindering those by whom these outrages are perpetrated and planned. But these considerations are so plain that I do not for a moment flatter myself with their having occurred to me, and not having occurred to the very able and distinguished men forming Her Majesty's Government. *I must conclude, therefore, that, unconsciously to themselves, some other consideration must have prevented them, or rather, I should fairly say, prevented some of them—prevented the Birmingham members of the Government—from appreciating their full force, and enlisted them, as they are now enlisted, on the side of outrage and disorder.* What is that consideration ? If you think for a moment, you will see *that crime, outrage, and anarchy, though very disagreeable to those who live in the midst of it, is of a Parliamentary nature. A Land Bill, especially if it contains confiscating and revolutionary clauses, would fall very flat if there were no disturbances in Ireland. If disturbance continues, the more it continues and the fiercer it becomes, the more cause there will be, or will seem to be, for exceptional legislation, next session, with respect to Ireland.* And if there be any members of the Government, and I suspect there are, who have some pet project, some darling theory to promote, they will work, uncon-

"sciously to themselves, for that state of things which will furnish arguments by which their theories shall be established. On the other hand, *if landlords are delivered over for the winter to the tender mercies of the Land League, it may be supposed that they will be in a more malleable and pliable temper next spring, and will render their places more readily to the shearers who desire to shear them.* In other words, *the present state of Ireland, and the anarchy which has taken place, are so many arguments for future legislation. Every person who is shot, tarred, and feathered, or exposed naked on the roadside, contributes, in his degree, to bring revolutionary proposals, as to the land of Ireland, 'within the range of practical politics,' since he will be as great a benefactor, after his kind, as Clerkenwell, no doubt, was in Mr. Gladstone's mind.* It would be a thousand pities, in the mind of those who aim at legislation of this kind next year, to arrest that state of things which at once furnishes motive power for Parliamentary action."

The noble Marquis ably described the labours of the political woodman while he was hewing at the third branch—the land—of the "Upas-tree of Protestant ascendancy." The murdered victims, the houghed cattle, the burned hayricks, were but the chips which flew from his axe. What cared he for the chips? But the noble Marquis little thought that in 1885 he too would decide to trust to "the ordinary law," and let crimes multiply. "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?"

Lord Salisbury returned to the charge on the 30th of May, 1881. He said:—"After all the terrible prophecies that have been made with respect to Ireland; after the length of time that has been spent by this country in ministering to its sorrows; after all the sacrifices that have been made; after you have torn up an ancient institution by the roots;—after you have done all these things, you find that *now the disaffection of a large portion of the people of Ireland is greater than it has been since 1798.* To what *are these things due?* That is a question you have to ask;

“ but believe me, it will be easier to repair any errors that
“ have been made in this provisional and temporary Land
“ Bill, than to restore, if it has been once disturbed and
“ weakened, the belief, in the minds of the Irish people, of
“ the power and supremacy of England. I believe the
“ case to be, that Ireland needs to be governed with an
“ equitable and even, but at the same time a firm hand ;
“ but that it has been governed with a *toleration for crime*
“ *bordering upon connivance*, relieved only, from time to
“ time, by a spasm of coercion and repression. *This*
“ *Government came into office, and the first thing they did*
“ *was to cast away the powers which, for many years past,*
“ *every Administration thought necessary for the government*
“ *of Ireland.* They did not rush upon the danger without
“ warning. I heard the Earl of Beaconsfield and the late
“ Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (the Duke of Marlborough)
“ warn the Government of the results to which such weak-
“ ness must necessarily lead. But they would not be guided.
“ They had to satisfy political pledges and political
“ adherents, and the Coercion Bill was withdrawn. And
“ then came that short Parliamentary session, *during*
“ *which the Government seemed to employ itself in uttering*
“ *inflammatory language tending to hound on the peasantry*
“ *against the landlords ; and the long autumn during which*
“ *they sat absolutely still, while the law was being slowly*
“ *undermined and the British Government slowly displaced.*
“ These things are not done in a day. *If we had interfered*
“ *at once, while the evil was yet young, it might have been*
“ *crushed without difficulty. But the Government preferred*
“ *to sit still while the evil slowly grew, while it spread from*
“ *county to county and from parish to parish, undermining the*
“ *loyalty of those who never thought of resistance before.*
“ *And now, when they have given time for vast districts of*
“ *the country to be organized in opposition to the law, they are*
“ *helpless, and call upon us, by the passing of absurd conces-*
“ *sions, to try and undo the evil which they have done.* THEY
“ DID NOT DO THIS, DEPEND UPON IT, FROM SHEER

"IMBECILITY. All their opponents, who have watched them, know that the Government is composed of remarkably clever men. THEY DID IT FOR A PURPOSE—for a purpose to which they reluctantly yielded, but from which THEY DO NOT DARE TO DEPART. As one of them has expressed it, they did it because they had to convince their party."

Thus did Lord Salisbury, who himself, in 1885, when he "came into office," did "not dare" to depart from the orders of the secret power, explain the resolute inaction of the Government during the autumn and winter. He might have summed it up in one word: *connivance*, or *complicity*. Many a time and oft before, the mere announcement of a firm determination to repress lawlessness with a strong arm, had caused the lawlessness to cease at once. Mr. Gladstone's Government proclaimed their resolute intention not to repress it; and, as *contrariorum contraria est ratio*, the agitation and lawlessness at once increased. The Land League ousted the Queen from her authority, and established its own sovereignty over Ireland. It held its own law courts. It published its own decrees. As it was in the time of James II., so it was in 1880. Two hundred years ago Tyrconnel established throughout Ireland "another law instead of the law of the land;" and the Land League of 1880 established in Ireland its anti-justiciaries, its anti-nomial decrees, and its anti-coactive powers. An "anti-revolution" has been accomplished. The Government called it a revolt of a population against "oppression and injustice!" And "they must first," forsooth, remedy the "evils which gave rise to the revolt!" That is, they must bring in a Land Bill which shall disestablish the Protestant landlords, and reward the dishonest greed of the Irish agitators, and of the Irish farmers who supported the agitation. Thus was immunity promised for crime; and the conscientious Government publicly testified that the revolters were justified in their nefarious deeds—justified by hardships unproved, which

statesmen and Papists untruly asserted that they had suffered. Shootings, burnings, maimings, robberies, cardings, boycottings, may be unpleasant, it is true; but yet they are perfectly just, if the perpetrator can persuade himself that he has been wronged. That is the new morality—nay, rather, the morality as old as the Jesuit writers; and doubtless it was in accordance with its principles that Mr. Gladstone rewarded the Manchester murders, and Clerkenwell explosions, by disestablishing an alien Church,” and paying down a large sum of ready money to Maynooth. He openly ascribed the boon to the outrageous and audacious commission of crime, and so he encouraged its further commission. Thus he justified the means by which he extorted his “remedial legislation” from the country and Parliament. “It is not the deeds “which terrify me,” said Epictetus, “but the doctrines and “theories by which these deeds are justified.” It is not so much the crimes and anarchy of Ireland that we exclaim against, as the vast system of Jesuitical casuistry which excuses them. We are shocked at the Minister who encourages their commission by exclaiming that, by crimes and disaster, his remedial measures are “brought within “the range of practical politics.”

The letter of an Irish gentleman, who was most conversant with Irish politics, dated Dec. 22, 1880, says: “A “little boldness and determination in the beginning would “have rendered it (repression) entirely unnecessary. This “may appear very presumptuous criticism; but I felt, from “the beginning, the danger of permitting the Land League, “composed of penniless adventurers, to travel through the “country advising tenants not to pay rents. The appeal “came directly to every man, and in such a way as was “certain to secure his support. It put money in his pocket, “if it succeeded. Every kind of political teaching was a “joke in comparison to it. Those men who are always “ready to commit the most appalling crimes for a few “acres of land, were sure to seize the idea that gave them

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"land for nothing. *The Government looked on quietly, and*
"GAVE A SANCTION TO THESE TEACHINGS BY REMOVING
"THE POLICE, *in pursuance of an agreement with Parnell.*
"What wonder that law has come to be disregarded, and
"that a general paralysis has seized on the authorities,
"from Mr. Forster down to the common policeman! Now
"the ownership of land, and the honest discharge of any
"duty in reference to it, mark out for outrage and perse-
"cution. The straits that some poor people, who derive
"their income from rents, have been driven to for the bare
"necessaries of life, surpass belief."

NO. LXI.

ACCORDING to the ancient law of the land, the members of the Land League were traitors. They openly proclaimed that their aim was to depose the Queen, and establish an independent Republic. They looked for help to a foreign Power—the United States of America. They formed an organization all over Ireland, to compass their ends; an organization which usurped the executive authority and the judicial power of the Queen, and, to a certain extent, the legislative action of the three estates of the realm. The landlords were doomed to be dispossessed, because they were Protestants, loyal to the Queen, and determined to maintain the connection with England.

What, then, did the Government do, at the end of 1880? There was a loud outcry throughout the country that the leading Land Leaguers should be prosecuted; and the Government instituted a prosecution. That was all. The trial of Parnell ended in acquittal. With the experience that every one had of Irish juries, no one expected any other result to a trial in Ireland. Parnell was then able to say that a jury had declared his conduct to have been innocent, and no more than the simple exercise of his legal rights. That seemed entirely consonant with Mr. Glad-

stone's policy. He put legal machinery in motion, and some interested Irishmen declared Parnell innocent. The Government had favoured the agitation, and could not consistently blame their chief instrument in it. They had desired to provide themselves with an excuse for doing nothing, and had secured it. They evidently wished to have their hands forced, by making Parnell a popular martyr; and their hands were forced. They must have calculated on increasing Parnell's influence, by having him tried; and they increased it. They were sure to encourage Parnell's followers in their desperate course, by Parnell being declared innocent; and they did not refrain from it.

For six months, Mr. Gladstone could always have declared that, to set at nought the authority of the Sovereign, to set up law courts in defiance of the laws of the realm, to issue decrees and mandates in contravention of right, and unjustly to coerce individuals—nay, even to levy war on Her Majesty's subjects,—was civil war, and that the actors in it should be treated as felons and traitors to their country. He could have said all this; and he did not say it. On the contrary, he did that which was sure to increase the evil. He therefore connived at the suspension of the Queen's government over the greater part of Ireland; and, as the *Times* remarked:¹ "The lawlessness which might have been checked by a few summary arrests in October or November, has now been organized throughout Munster and Connaught, and is making its way through Leinster and Ulster." Ireland had become *what Mr. Gladstone and his favourite colleagues made it, and meant it to be.*² Mr. Gladstone had declared to the Irish, in reference to the explosion at Clerkenwell, that nothing but fire, dynamite, cataclysm, murder, and midnight conspiracies, could bring grievances "within the range of practical politics"; and then he seems not to have taken care to prevent its being carried out. Mr. Bright had also told the Irish that, as soon as the Liberals should come

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, January 6, 1881. ² January 3, 1881.

into power, there would be an end of the abominable Tory system of keeping Irishmen down by policemen and soldiery. The one said to them : You cannot hope for any remedial legislation without a fitting prelude of agitation, crimes, outrage, lawlessness, and anarchy ; the other promised them that, in taking such a course, they would be saved harmless from all the unpleasant consequences that should follow according to law. The programme was accepted. The bargain was struck. Mr. Gladstone was run into power, and Irish conspiracy at once became flourishing, bold, and rampant. The Vatican—or rather the *Gesù*, the Government, and the Land League had the same end in view, and approved the same means for attaining it.

On January 10, 1881, the Solicitor General for Ireland, who was soon after made Lord Chancellor, plainly proved that Mr. Gladstone, in his policy, had closely copied that of Tyrconnel. He said : "To try and adjudicate on "questions touching the occupation of land, and enforce "coercive jurisdiction over the Queen's subjects who are "required, by summons, to attend before them," that, he said, was being practised all over Ireland. He added his comment : "Lawful courts can only be held by authority "of Parliament or the Crown. This, therefore, is a usurpa- "tion of the prerogative ; and, at the lowest, is a high mis- "demeanour at common law, and may be a treasonable "practice as an overt act of intention to depose the Queen "from the exercise of her royal authority in that part of "her dominions."

Mr. Forster, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, said, on the introduction of "The Protection of Person and Property "Bill" (the Coercion Bill), on Jan. 24, 1881 : "The chief "characteristic of these outrages is intimidation, and the "object is obedience to certain commands—especially "commands not to take farms, and not to pay rent,— "which have been issued by the Land League. Their "effect is fear and terror, and submissive obedience to

“those orders of the Land League—to the unwritten law
“that has been framed, as the hon. member for the
“city of Cork (Parnell) says, by himself and his friends;
“and of which unwritten law the local Land League
“committees are the administrators. The hon. member
“for Tipperary (Mr. Dillon) said, last Monday, that the
“Land League rules supreme; and yet that the reign of
“terror, of which so much has been said, has no exist-
“ence in fact. Those were the words of the hon. member
“for Tipperary. I think I shall be able to show the
“House that the hon. member was perfectly right in the
“first part of his statement, but incorrect in the second.
“The Land League does reign supreme; but it reigns
“supreme by threats, and fear, and intimidation.” Then,
turning his attention to the “Courts” held by the Land
League, he added: “They are held in connection with the
“local Land League. They are presided over by leading
“members of the League; they issue summonses in
“writing, and sometimes by word of mouth. They hear
“complaints, and determine upon them. They require
“people to surrender farms; they impose penalties for the
“infringement of the rules of the Land League; and they
“sometimes direct parties, summoned before them, to be
“‘boycotted.’ Their proceedings are reported in the public
“papers.”

On January 26, 1881, the Roman Catholic bishops
assembled at Maynooth, and passed resolutions beginning:
“We feel constrained by a solemn sense of our obligations,
“to declare, once more, that the present state of the Land
“Code of Ireland is intrinsically dangerous to the peace
“and happiness of our people,” etc. They then demanded
that the “Land Code shall undergo a searching and
“thorough reform”; and they deprecated “all faltering
“legislation on this vital question.” They concluded thus:
“We cannot refrain from giving expression to the fears
“entertained by many, that, *should order seem to reign by*
“*the power of coercion*, a branch of the Legislature, which is

"regarded as unfavourable to popular rights, may either "totally reject, or substantially nullify any measure of "practical utility submitted to its consideration, the result of which we cannot contemplate without serious "alarm." As those resolutions were agreed to by Dr. McCabe, Romanist Archbishop of Dublin, we may suppose that the asperities of the original draft had been first softened and toned down very considerably to gain his acquiescence. Yet they did more, even in that mollified form, than hint at an intensification of existing evils, and a prolongation of the bitter agitation. They did more than hint at the possibility of this ; they justified such action beforehand, and so gave it more than encouragement.

Moreover, the resolutions contained a distinct democratic and revolutionary threat against the House of Lords, which would, they said, be carried into execution, if a Coercion Bill should be passed. Dr. Nulty, Romanist Bishop of Meath, speaking at a dinner at Mullingar, also fanned the flames of agitation : "He had seen 700 persons "turned adrift on the wide world *in one day* ; or rather in "two, for it took two days to do. He had seen their "houses levelled to the ground and demolished, while not "a single person, but one, inside those houses owed a "farthing rent, and that one went round and encouraged "the others not to pay their rents. But they did pay ; and "he saw the crowbar brigade levelling the houses of honest "men to the ground, houses that sheltered 700 human "beings. He saw them come to one place where there "were, in two houses, fever-stricken victims ; and the crow- "bar brigade refused to take them down. Death was very "busy there, and they were afraid of catching the disease. "But the exterminator told them to do it carefully ; 'for,' "said he, 'I hate the bother of coroner's inquests.' . . . "He remembered one instance where a man came forward "and offered eight years' rent in advance, if he were allowed to remain in his little home ; but it was refused. "The Coercion Bill was really the most atrocious, cruel,

“and unnecessary measure ever presented. . . . The Coercion Act was directly levelled at the land agitation ; but the open agitation of the Land League would be converted into a secret agitation. They would convert those local branches into secret societies, and the whole country would be covered with secret societies,—with Fenianism and Ribbonism. The country would become ungovernable, and the landlords themselves would have to run for their lives.”¹

Two days afterwards, the same bishop wrote a solemn Pastoral to the clergy and laity of his diocese,² in which he said : “The present land movement exhibits all the symptoms of a thoroughly effective remedy for the chronic social malady. Voluntary and peaceful combination by tenant farmers to attain their just rights, accompanied by a stern but discriminating ostracism of traitors (i.e. boycotting), is the principle on which it is founded. The arbitrary and oppressive terms extorted at pleasure, by landlords, from men who were completely in their power, proved the landlord himself to be an absolute despot, and the tenant to be nothing better than a helpless, degraded slave. The efforts, therefore, made to invest any engagement, entered into by such parties, with the sacred character of contracts, or to claim for them the binding force of the holiest covenants known amongst men, were not only dishonest, but positively profane.”

The *Times* of the 15th of February, 1881, contained some more resolutions by the Roman Catholic bishops assembled in Maynooth : “The iniquitous and destructive legislation, which for centuries has been rending Ireland, has brought the flocks placed under our care to the greatest want and misery. Famine periodically sweeps over our fairest districts, which naturally teem with abundance, and are fertile in the highest degree ; and frequently our country has been driven to stretch out her hand for alms, and sue, like a mendicant, for help from

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, February 10, 1881.

² *Ibid.*, February 12, 1881.

"the other nations of Christendom. *These repeated misfortunes must not be impiously attributed to the Father of mercies, for He has given us a land fertile to a proverb.* They must not be attributed to the sloth or indolence of our people, for the Irish, *in exile*, are everywhere models of unwearied labour and devoted industry. But they must be attributed to the unjust laws which, at home, have paralysed the strong man's arm, and, through an absolute sense of insecurity, have made him apathetic and hopeless. At present, the Irish nation, rising from its lethargy in strength and power, *demand*s the repeal of the cruel laws which oppress her." The Irishman "in exile" truly is superior to the Irishman at home. Why? Because in his exile he escapes the nefarious influence of Romish bishops and priests.

Let us now turn from the Irish bishops to the English Government. The Queen's Speech of January 6, 1881, announced that: "A measure will be submitted to you for the establishment of a county government in Ireland, founded upon representative principles, and framed with the double aim of confirming and of supplying a yet more serious want, by extending the formation of habits of local self-government." Mr. Parnell, at Waterford, on December 6, had already made a speech in which he proclaimed what he and his right honourable colleagues in the Cabinet had already agreed upon: "In a short while, we hope to replace the present system of county government by irresponsible grand juries, with one which will give full and complete representation to those who shall pay rates. We shall have, in each Irish county, a little parliament. . . . Full power shall be given to the County Boards to control all the affairs of their counties. . . . We shall thus have, in each Irish county, an educating centre—a centre which will educate the people in the duty of self-government, which will train up men to take a path *in that highly national life, which we hope to partake in, upon the restoration of our own Parlia-*

"ment. All this must be done gradually." Mr. Parnell let out the secret. Mr. Gladstone was working, "gradually," and tentatively, of course, to establish Home Rule in Ireland; and the agitation and anarchy in Ireland were means to that end. In the debate on the Address, Mr. Gladstone said: *"I contend that it was our duty to have such a case as would carry a widespread conviction to the minds of members of this House, and of the people of the three kingdoms, as to the necessity of the measures which the Government might feel it their duty to propose."* The coincidence between the Queen's Speech and Mr. Parnell's previous oration, betrayed the complicity between Mr. Gladstone and Parnell, which Mr. Gladstone's speech in the debate on the Address merely "accounted for."

No. LXII.

TOWARDS the end of the month there was held, at New York, the Annual Meeting of the "Central Organization of the Land League in America." The Chairman, in his opening speech, spoke candidly enough. For he said that "it was the aim of the League to help the people of Ireland to maintain their position, and eventually to establish Irish Nationality. Matters could not go much further without Revolution; but for that the people were not ready. *The land movement was meant, not for Revolution, but to pave the way for Revolution.*" The aim of the American Land League was, by violence to establish Home Rule in Ireland. This Mr. Gladstone was also aiming at, by gradual and tentative steps. The aim of the land movement, which Mr. Gladstone fostered, was to pave the way for Revolution!¹

This open explanation, given in America, was fully borne out by the "*Letter to the Irish National Land League*" which was written by Parnell, from Paris, on February 13,

¹ *Times*, January 25, 1881.

1881. Let us glance at a specimen of his programme :
 " The near approach of household suffrage in the counties,
 " —a practical certainty before the next General Election,
 " —will sound the doom of the English land system ; while
 " the starting of a working man's, or agricultural labourer's
 " candidate in every British constituency, would soon
 " bring House-of-Commons Radicalism to its senses. *A*
 " *junction between the English democracy and Ireland's*
 " *would give the latter the right to make her own laws.* The
 " overthrow of territorialism in both countries, and the
 " enfranchisement of labour from crushing taxes for the
 " maintenance of standing armies and navies, would prove
 " irresistible, would terminate the strife of centuries," etc.¹
 At the very moment that Parnell was writing that letter,
 he was the guest of Victor Hugo and Rochefort. Of this
 fact the Legitimist and Ultramontane *Union* gave no
 hint ; but it urged the English Government to "grant to
 "Ireland the reforms she demanded." The archiepiscopal
Monde also studiously ignored the alliance between Parnell
 and the French Revolutionists ; while the Jesuit *Univers*
 barely hinted at the alliance aforesaid. That alliance was
 the more worthy of remark, because of the programme
 of the "*International Society of working men.*" Dupont
 wrote a letter in 1870, to his Socialist colleagues at Geneva,
 in which he said : " England is the only country in which
 " a real socialistic revolution can be made ; and the point
 " to strike first on, is Ireland. . . . In Ireland, the
 " movement is made a hundred-fold more easy for us
 " by the two prime facts that the social question is that of
 " rent, and that the people are more exasperated than the
 " English. The position of the *Internationale*, in face of
 " the Irish question, is very clear. Our first care is to push
 " the Revolution in England. To this end we must strike
 " the first blow in Ireland."

That Mr. Gladstone's policy should be all on the lines
 here indicated, no longer surprised any one. But it was

¹ *Times*, February 17, 1881.

remarkable that the language of the Irish Roman Catholic prelates should have been that of the apostles of agrarian revolution. The evils of Ireland were *not*, by them, ascribed to the judgments of the "Just Judge of all the world" and the "King of all the earth," without whom not a sparrow falls to the earth,—as we might have expected from Christian bishops. This, in fact, they explicitly denied! They were *not* ascribed to the vices, the sloth, the unthrift of the Irish, as we might have awaited from political philosophers; but, like Rousseau, they ascribed all the evils of men naturally perfect and without original sin, to "an iniquitous and destructive legislation." The Irishman is "apathetic and hopeless"; but he has been made so by "unjust laws." Irishmen are mendicants; but they have been made so by "unjust laws." The second of God's "four sore judgments,"—famine,—has repeatedly visited Ireland; but it has always come of "unjust laws." This is the philosophy of Rousseau and the French Revolution of 1789; and the Romish bishops built upon it the whole policy of the Land League.

On such grounds they took, by a legal confiscation forced on the Legislature, the landed property from the present proprietors, and gave it to the tenants, who constituted the flocks of the Roman Catholic clergy. Those tenants were told to withhold their rents and not to pay them. The landlord thereupon asked for his rent, and the tenant was said to have suffered a "grievous wrong," while the landlord was called a "ruthless exterminating tyrant." Every Government of England hitherto was said to have been "tyrannical, oppressive, and cruel"; while not a word has been said (as any Christian bishop would have said and enlarged upon with pleasure) of the many attempts, year after year, to mitigate the hardships and ameliorate the condition of the impoverished Irish.

England, in passing the Ballot Act, was undermining her own authority, and rendering certain the separation of Ireland from England. If it be doubted whether the

Jesuits and Fenians have now much power ; if it be held that their intentions are mild and gentle ; then let the speech of the Home Secretary, Sir W. Harcourt, on February 22, 1881, be read with attention. He argued that the Fenian conspiracy "was prepared to carry out its "objects by the most detestable means ;" that they would "assassinate the whole Cabinet," and "attempt the conflagration of the whole of London, and the other cities "of England, and would have recourse to all the resources "of modern science."

It is but fair to add that one of the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland was not of the same mind as the rest. In the Lenten instructions of Dr. McCabe, the Archbishop of Dublin, we read of Ireland :¹ "But a calamity more "terrible and humiliating than any that has yet befallen "her, seems to threaten our people to-day. Allies for "our country, in her struggle for justice, are sought from "the ranks of impious infidels, who have plunged their "own unhappy land into misery, and who are sworn to "destroy the foundations of all religions." The Roman Catholic newspaper, the *Tablet*, ventured to write an article in that sense, called "*Ireland and France*." Dr. Croke, the Archbishop of Cashel, at once (March 10) uttered his thunders against the *Tablet*.² He said : "Any public "print or periodical, no matter under what colours it may "sail, that would deliberately express some, at least, of "the sentiments, and strive to give currency to the patent "misrepresentation of historic analogies contained in that "article, is not fit, I think, for admittance into my house. ". . . The real or fancied coquetting of one or more "Irish agitators with French poets or incendiaries is not "likely to do any serious damage to the cause which he "has so disinterestedly taken to his heart."

A few days after this³ Dr. McCabe, the Archbishop of Dublin, published a Pastoral, in which he mildly rebuked

¹ *Times*, February 23, 1881.

² *Times*, March 22, 1881.

³ *Times*, March 17.

Irishwomen for embarking in the Land League agitation ; telling them that they should reserve themselves for the calls of charity, and that they were forgetting the modesty of their sex, and the dignity of womanhood, in coming before the world at the invitation of "leaders who seem "utterly reckless of consequences, and by that recklessness "have brought misery on many families." The Archbishop further bid his clergy to set their faces against a woman "who so far disavows her birthright of modesty as to "parade herself before the public gaze in a character so "unworthy." He said also, that "this attempt at degrading the women of Ireland comes very appropriately from "men who have drawn the country into her terribly deplorable condition, . . . men who have sent their agents "to fawn on notorious infidels and revolutionists." Mr. A. M. Sullivan, M.P., with a singular want of modesty, at once took upon him to condemn the exemplary Archbishop for "having done a cruel wrong, in a moment of error, to pure "and devoted Catholic ladies ;" and he put it to his Archbishop "*as a matter of conscience*" whether he was justified in publicly insulting and wronging some of the most devoted children of the Church ?

The challenge having been thrown down by a lay individual to his ecclesiastical ruler, the Archbishop of Cashel followed the layman's example by writing, on March 16, a letter to Mr. Sullivan in the *Freeman's Journal*, attacking his own ecclesiastical superior, namely, the Primate of Ireland (Dr. McCabe), and backing up Mr. Sullivan in "speaking evil of dignities and spiritual rulers." These were his words : "I adopt unreservedly the sentiments "you have so admirably expressed, and am delighted to "find that some one of mark has at last stepped forward "from the ranks of the laity to vindicate the character of the "good Irish ladies who have become Land Leaguers, and to "challenge publicly the *monstrous imputations* cast on them "by the Archbishop of Dublin. His Grace *will not be "allowed in future*, I apprehend, to use his lance so freely

"as he has hitherto done, or to ventilate unquestioned the peculiar political theories which he is known to hold, in opposition to the cherished convictions of the great, and in deed overwhelming majority of the Irish priests and people. It is a satisfaction, however, to feel that his Grace's political likings or dislikings, though possibly of some consequence elsewhere, carry with them very little weight or significance, except with a select few, in Ireland." Thus Mr. Sullivan condemned his spiritual ruler, and a high prelate of the Catholic Church supported the ecclesiastical sedition of Mr. Sullivan, while attacking his own Primate. The misfortune was, however, that "an overwhelming majority of the Irish priests and people" agreed with the Archbishop of Cashel in siding with the revolution against the Pope's representative in Ireland. Probably the Archbishop of Cashel was more of an Irishman, more of a true Celt, more of a Cimmerian or Turanian; while the Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of Ireland was more of a Christian, more godly, more Christ-like and spiritual.

On the last day before the adjournment for the Easter holidays, Mr. Gladstone introduced his Land Bill. All the world knows the vague glamour and glorious mirage which he, by his eloquence and Niagara-torrent of words, contrives to throw about any case he pleases to advocate. So he bewildered the House of Commons by "the finest speech he ever made," and sent members, spell-bound by his words, to Paris, to the north of Italy, to the excitements and splendours of their country houses—but not to steady work and calm reflection. He told them that the very first day after the Recess he hoped the House would agree to the second reading of his Bill. The few who remained in London said to each other that, although the principles of his Bill were most objectionable, and even communistic, yet for the sake of peace—for the sake of securing lasting advantages to the State, for the sake of political or party gains, the Bill might perchance be accepted. A desultory debate was carried on in the news-

papers ; and it appeared, pretty soon, that peace would be as far off as ever ; dissatisfaction would be increased ; and the State would be at a disadvantage by the acceptance of Mr. Gladstone's injurious principles and delusive doctrines. No one could see in the Bill anything besides that which the Land League and Nationalists desired—a step towards the extinction of landlords ; and therefore a step towards the further goal—separation from England. So thought the few who had enjoyed no holiday.

The rest came back with their minds still full of the glamour and mirage, still bound by the magician's potent spell. The first night after the Recess, the second reading of the Bill to revolutionize the tenure of land in Ireland, and to confiscate the property of landlords, was moved in silence. Mr. Gibson, late Law Officer for Ireland, in an able speech, pressed for explanations of many ambiguous points. He resumed his seat. Not a Minister rose to reply. The Government and their supporters loudly called "*Divide ! divide !*" The adjournment of the debate was moved, but the Speaker refused to receive the motion. The adjournment was again moved, in order to press for some Ministerial reply. Then Mr. Gladstone rose, but merely to lecture the Opposition on their unseemly curiosity and obtrusive inquisitiveness ; they ought, he thought, to support without questioning the God-granted Government of Gladstone. Sir William Harcourt rebuked the Opposition for using a "policy of obstruction" ; and it was only after two hours or more of prolonged effort, that Mr. Forster could be got on his legs ; and then he explained without explaining.

On the 28th of April, all the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland met and drew up a declaration on the Land Bill, which, according to the *Times*,¹ "excited the astonishment of Roman Catholic lawyers and others interested in "maintaining the rights of property." It was, in fact, an endorsement of the report of the Land League, and a

¹ April 29.

manifesto of the extremest socialistic views on the rights of tenants. Their demands were formulated. But as they were not likely to be accepted, the whole machinery of agitation had again to be put in motion, with its usual by-play of murders, cutting off agent's ears, midnight outrages, and other Hiberno-Bulgarian atrocities. The demands of the bishops not having met with acceptance, murders had become the only alternative. Then Dillon was selected to make the following demand: "The Land League has taught you that, if you adhere to it like men—not like cowards, turning back at the first menace of danger, and not quarrelling among yourselves and breaking up your organization—if you adhere to it with courage for two or three years, *it will end in handing over the soil of Ireland to the people who till it.*"¹

Of what use, then, is your remedial legislation? Why should landlords be urged to part with a portion of their rights in order to save the rest? Your "remedial legislation" is part of a thimble-rigging process. It is only the first step to the wholesale robbery of land. It is like the persistent advance of the Russians—after the armistice, and under pretence of a mere meeting to conclude a peace—until they had occupied the whole Tchekmedji lines and saw Constantinople at their feet. Lord Hartington had urged that "something more than justice" should be exacted from the landlords for the sake of peace. Then we saw that the "something more" meant the whole of the remainder. We were made aware that they cried "Peace! peace! when there was no peace;" and when they knew that there would be no peace until they had annulled contracts, confiscated property, and made a travesty of courts of justice. Neither will there ever be peace nor stability in the State, when the foundations of the State shall have been successfully undermined.

It was much remarked with what tolerance, with what

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, May 4, 1881.

leniency, with what anxious maternal solicitude, the Land League was all along treated by the Government. Many were forced to ask themselves the source of that sympathy, which evidently existed between the Land League and the influential members of the Cabinet; and the theory was started that the Land League was to "supply the steam by which the great remedial measure was to be propelled through Parliament; and that they were to enter into co-operation with the Government." Yet every one was perfectly well aware that the Land League was an organization formed for the attainment of an unlawful end, and that by violent and illegal means. The Government were, therefore, according to those political theorists, no less than conspirators and accomplices in committing High Treason. In 1879, Mr. Parnell had openly stated that the aim of the movement was to effect a compulsory disruption of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland; and that the agrarian "grievance" had been adroitly seized upon as an instrument calculated to work efficiently on the largest number of Irishmen. Mr. Parnell had avowed that he would never have "taken off his coat for this work" (Land League Agitation) unless he had seen in it the means of bringing about the independence of Ireland. The cry for Home Rule had proved meaningless to many; distasteful to more. The Nationalists or Fenians had therefore taken up a question, whereby to light the flames of agitation; a question which would touch every farmer's pocket, and excite every man's cupidity and inordinate greed. The anti-rent agitation was selected as a stepping-stone to the Repeal of the Union, and the establishment of an Irish Republic.

The Archbishop of Cashel (Croke) placed himself in the forefront of this movement. In the *Times* of May 9, there appeared a long letter from him in favour of Dillon, the deviser of the Land League agitation. His Grace commended Dillon for being an "Irish Nationalist, his (Dillon's) father before him having had to fly for his life with a

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"felon's price upon his head." He asserted also that "the Government, in arresting Mr. Dillon, had done a wrong and spiteful thing." Yet his Grace knew full well that Dillon had contravened the law, by inciting others to break the law, and that the arrest of Dillon had at once given a check to the lawlessness which prevailed in the country.

At the end of the month,¹ Archbishop Croke returned to the charge. He made a speech at Knockavilly, and said: "In my early days I was connected with another movement for the regeneration of Ireland (Repeal), and *as it had failed*, I determined to give up politics for the rest of my life. But when this movement began, I thought I saw something different in it from any other. *It had a backbone that every other movement wanted. . . . There is one thing that the people always understand, namely,—what it is to pay too much rent.* The people understand what it is to be ground down by those who live upon the sweat of the people's brows. The people understand what it is not to be well fed, well housed, and well clad. The people understand what it is to be more miserable than any other race upon earth. They know well what is the difference between people starving in this country, and people enjoying abundance elsewhere. *Therefore* this movement is one which they can appreciate, and into which they can throw their whole heart. A great many moderate men pooh-poohed the movement in the beginning, and said it could not succeed. Of course every man ought to be moderate, and I hope I am moderate myself. But, on looking through history, I find that moderate men never do much. . . . They never carry on a great movement to success. *There is nothing for the success of a great movement except daring and enthusiasm. Therefore* I say to myself that this movement must succeed. . . . It is no longer for the people to stay in the background. . . . I am glad to see you march-

¹ *Times*, June 1.

“ing to the strains of martial music. It shows that the old military spirit of the Irish race has not died out. By means like these,—by priest and people,—by men and women, headed by the bishops and by the general leaders of the people, there can be no doubt of the result ;—you will achieve a bloodless revolution.”

His Grace's meaning was clear. He had been a Repealer ; he had worked for the disruption of the kingdom. But the Repeal movement had failed, and he had determined not to involve himself in another failure. The Land League movement for the disruption of the kingdom, however, promised success, because it had adopted the use of a powerful lever. It fostered and excited every man's cupidity and love of money. It was an appeal to Mammon. He had therefore joined it, and had urged it on, from time to time, in violent language, which spurred on to deeds of violence. The worshipper of Mammon obtained aid from Beelzebub. Yet he called that “moderation” ! He was (he said) “a moderate man ;” while he freely confessed that moderate men never achieve success ! As he had joined this movement because he regarded it as sure to be successful, he thanked Heaven that there were men in it who were not moderate. Words never achieve success ; deeds were wanted,—the deeds of daring, enthusiastic, and immoderate men. He was glad, therefore, to see the people marching to the exciting sounds of martial music ; he was glad to see in them the military spirit of the old Irish Revolutionists. If they would continue thus, they would achieve at length a Revolution. That was his Grace's meaning.

The *Times* of June 3 recounted acts of war,—the people firing on the police, and the police firing on the people ; the people entrenching themselves in an old castle, and soldiery being sent, with engineers, to lay siege to the castle. It told of ambuscades, and of the people firing under cover of plantations and from behind stone walls. The same journal gave another speech of Archbishop

Croke at Holy Cross. He said : "The movement initiated "by the convict (Dillon), and taken up by the Protestant "young man (Parnell), went on growing and magnifying, "until at last it has reached the magnificent proportions "which it has attained throughout every portion of the "country. . . . *The time has come ; the hour has "struck ; the bell has sounded its knell. The time for the "rising of the Irish people has arrived ; and they have "risen accordingly. In the development of this mighty "movement, the priesthood of Ireland has had a conspicuous "share. . . .* The people have been kept down by "bayonets, and by bayonets they are kept down at present. "But, please God, they are now fully determined, bayonets "or no bayonets, to proclaim, at all events, their wants." An Archbishop, who should be preaching peace at Holy Cross, with the cross, in his heart, of the Redeemer who was led to slaughter as a dumb lamb before the shearers, —he donned the coat of mail, and seized the hauberk or falchion, and swore that the hour had come for the rising of the Irish people, and that the bell had sounded the knell of doom to all the English race within their reach.

The same paper (June 3) narrated how Mr. Gladstone had also played his part in the tragedy. Mr. Gladstone stated that the Government did not intend to take any measures for putting an end to the system of terrorism and incendiary agitation of which the Land League was the embodiment. The Irish Executive, according to something more credible than rumour, had all along been urging the Cabinet to take an energetic line, and been promising that the agitation would vanish like smoke before the least show of energy. The Irish Executive pointed also to the immediate cessation of agitation, on the passing of the Coercion Bills ; or, let us say rather, that there was an immediate *lull* in the agitation ; because the moment it was seen that nothing would come of the Coercion Bills, the agitation began again in an exacerbated form. That was the advice of the Irish Executive ; but evidently Mr. Gladstone

always resolutely determined to preserve an attitude of at least neutrality towards the Land League. For seven months there was this conflict of those who were responsible for the due government of Ireland, against Mr. Gladstone with his servile Cabinet in England. And why? The "chapel bell," which Mr. Gladstone required to hear, had not yet rung; the knell of doom, to which he looked forward, had not yet sounded.

No. LXIII.

ON the evening of June 3, Mr. Parnell exhorted the Government to follow the advice of Archbishop Croke,—to confess that the bell had been rung, and that the knell of doom had been sounded; or, at least, that the tocsin had been beaten, and the roll of the military drum had been heard. Mr. Parnell called upon them to "withdraw "the police and military," "so as to leave the landlords "and tenants" to fight it out between themselves; and he promised that, if the Government should refuse to do this, not alone would the blood of landlords be shed, but further retaliation would be taken. In other words, he asked the Government to enter *openly and avowedly* into a conspiracy to defy the law, and resist the constituted authority of the Sovereign.

The year before, Mr. Gladstone had described evictions,—the sole and legal remedy which the landlords possessed for non-fulfilment of contract on the part of the tenants,—as "tantamount to a sentence of death." Now, Mr. Parnell invites Mr. Gladstone to proclaim openly that he has entered the conspiracy to retaliate for such sentences of death, by shedding the blood of landlords; and to agree in the grossly immoral doctrine advanced by Mr. Parnell and Archbishop Croke, that: "the people of Ireland are perfectly guiltless (in "withdrawing the rent) whether able or not to pay." If

Archbishop Croke cannot preach justice, peace, and goodwill towards men, no more can he evince the slightest scintilla of forbearance or generosity towards his assumed opponents. Very few landlords had been unjust; yet he said that all landlords were unjust. The injustice of a landlord would not justify injustice on the part of the tenant; yet he counselled all tenants to act unjustly in retaliation. He complained of the "terrorism" of some landlords; and he counselled all Irishmen to join a League, and to exert the most fearful terrorism, and to ruin, not only landlords, but also innocent mortgagees, annuitants, rent-chargers, jointured widows, and younger children, who were otherwise unprovided for. For all these poor, innocent, unoffending creatures, Archbishop Croke had no word of sympathy. His gospel was hard, relentless, harsh, and devilish towards widows and orphans,—the very contradiction of the Gospel of Christ. Such was that teacher of religion; and "Protestant" Parnell was his disciple. The latter said, in the House of Commons, after advising that the military and police should be withdrawn: "Let us see whether there will be that willingness on the part of the people to submit quietly to the terms of the landlords or not." Parnell, in the garb of Mephisto-Croke, agitated and inflamed the ignorant and brutal tenantry to blood-heat, and then exhorted the Government to leave the landlords to their mercy, in order merely to prove, what we already knew, that the tenants would have no mercy at all, at least, as long as they were under the influence of Parnell, Croke, and Co.

But Croke did not stand alone in Ireland. The other Romanist bishops supported him. And what Croke was in Ireland, Manning was in England; and other bishops supported Manning. On July 10, 1881, a deputation of Irish labourers had an interview with Cardinal Manning. He said: "I have always felt that what are called Trades Unions, are most legitimate associations for the protection of the common interests of the man. I have always

“felt, and have written and published my opinions, that
“the Land League, keeping within the limits of the law
“human and Divine, is a lawful association (*i.e.*, if it is
“lawful, it is lawful, Q. E. D.), and would never have one
“word of disregard from my lips. I limit my words most
“carefully, because my duty, at any cost, is to speak the
“truth. I believe that, in the action of your good and
“faithful bishops and clergy, and *particularly the way in*
“*which the Archbishop of Cashel (Dr. Croke) has lately*
“*spoken with such great force and minuteness* on this great
“land question, there is now a prevailing interest to guide
“and direct the Association of the Land League into a
“safe path. . . . There was never a time in the history
“of Ireland when she had so much wealth as now,—poor
“as she might be; there never was, in the history of
“Ireland, a time when the Catholic population of Ireland
“possessed so much soil, and when the tenants of the soil
“were so united. There never was a time when the people
“of Ireland were so well educated as now, or when, to take
“a test for example, there were so many newspapers.” In
the middle of August, Mr. A. M. Sullivan, M.P., wrote a
letter in the newspapers, in which he declared “the open
“secret” that Cardinal Manning was a “Land Leaguer.”

The Land Act was passed with but slight alterations in the Lords; and Mr. Gladstone lost no time in showering his rewards on the Irish party and Land Leaguers, doubtless for the agitation which they had got up and maintained in Ireland, and the obstruction they had promoted in the House of Commons. Mr. Litton, M.P., who had been elected only the previous year (1880), was appointed one of the three Commissioners under the Land Act. Mr. Fay, M.P., was made solicitor to the Irish Land Court. He was another Home Ruler. Mr. John George McCarthy, first elected to Parliament in 1874, and Mr. Givan, first elected to Parliament the previous year (1880), were offered the posts of Assistant Commissioners. They were both Home Rulers. Mr. Murrough O'Brien, nephew of the late William Smith

O'Brien, the rebel, was made secretary to the Land Act Commission. Dr. Robert Dyer Lyons, first elected as Home Rule member of Parliament the previous year, was made a member of the General Council of Medical Education and Registration of the United Kingdom; and Mr. George Fottrell, the "confidential solicitor" of the Land League, was appointed solicitor to the Land Commission, at a salary of £1000 a year. The Assistant Commissioners received annual salaries of £1000 a year; the lay assistants £750 a year; and the Commissioners, I believe, £5000 a year.

While these very young members of Parliament, but experienced Land Leaguers, were rejoicing and gloating over the spoils of the country, the Jesuit review, *Civiltà Cattolica*, wrote¹ concerning the Land Act: "Whatever injury the Irish proprietors may experience, is *but a weak revenge* for all the wrongs and unheard-of injuries to which the tenants were for centuries and centuries subjected, in consequence of the confiscations and penalties inflicted upon them, for no other reason but that they were Catholics, by the British Government. Fortunately those times are now passed, and the malignant spirit which then prevailed has very nearly disappeared, or has, at least, become quite powerless; and every one now shares in the hope expressed by *Lord Salisbury, when he accepted the Bill as an advantage to the Conservative party.*" Here the spirit of the Jesuit agitators leaked out a little; and the concurrence of Lord Salisbury began to be apparent. Because the English Government had oppressed the Roman Catholics some centuries ago, therefore it is right that revenge should be taken on poor, unoffending Irish proprietors now! No "malignant spirit" now exists; but the Land Act, for ruining Irish proprietors, is a "weak revenge," which had the concurrence of Lord Salisbury. That measure was a poor revenge; but it is not all the revenge that will be

¹ September 17, 1881, p. 756.

taken. The Irish are determined to have, not only "justice," but "reparation." It will not be enough to undo every wrong; but they must receive back all that was taken from the Roman Church at the time of the Reformation; and they must be separated from England, and exist in future as an independent Roman Catholic State.

"The malignant spirit has disappeared" from the English Government, and from the Irish landlords, but not from the tenants, the people, the clergy, and the bishops of Ireland. The boycottings, the cattle-houghings, the beatings and maimings, the midnight shootings, the incendiary fires, the cruelties to men and women,—did they not proceed from a very malignant spirit? Was the malignant spirit even confined to the tenants who had suffered some wrong? On September 15, the National Convention of the Irish Land League was opened in Dublin. Delegates arrived from all parts of Ireland, and from England and Scotland. Telegrams were delivered from the United States. And the *Times* remarked:¹ "The most significant feature of the gathering was the number of Roman Catholic clergy who were present."

This then was the time, and this the opportunity to welcome "the message of peace,"—to preach "Peace and goodwill toward men." The malefic spirit had died out on the part of the British Government, and of the Irish landlords. A message of peace had been sent. An extraordinary number of Roman Catholic clergy were present to receive the message of peace. Now, then, let us smooth matters over! now let us have, at least, a breaking time in the agitation! Even if your thirst for vengeance is so strong that you cannot let us have "peace and goodwill," let us at least have a truce,—a *Trega di Dio*. Shall we not?—"No; by Heaven, you shall not!" the Irish Catholic clergy swear. The cries were "No rent," and "Hold the harvest." The meeting was advised to "kick out the message of peace,—the Land Act! No

¹ September 16, 1881.

"tenant shall pay a single penny of rent, unless at the point of the bayonet and the mouth of the cannon. The desire of the people for vengeance is aroused. . . . Vengeance shall now be their motto." The Rev. Father Rowan, of Durrow, Queen's County, said: "The total extirpation of landlordism, and the planting of the people in their own soil, is not a political problem, nor a question of Theology; it is nothing more than the restitution of stolen property." The delegates, indeed, scarcely spoke to any question but the abolition of landlordism and enmity to England. No longer the mild measure of Home Rule was their theme. Nothing but utter and entire separation from Great Britain will now satisfy the Irish agitators and the Irish people. Parnell stated as much. He therefore advised the farmers to do something for the Irish labourers, in order to secure their services in the coming struggle. The Land Act, which was asked for as a "measure of peace," has become but the stepping-stone to vengeance and bloodshed!

The Irish Convention in New York, after a long session¹ agreed to an address proclaiming its intention to destroy all British vessels, wherever they could be found, by means of dynamite and infernal machines secreted in their holds. This would be done (they said) in order that the shipping merchants and insurance companies might be compelled to petition Mr. Gladstone to reconsider the Irish question. They further stated that they had before them only the question of freeing Ireland, *and were independent of all laws and questions binding them to any other duty.* What was the policy devised by long-headed persons in Ireland, and carried out by the Roman Catholics of that country? The *Times*² asserted that: "Boycotting appears to be extending more widely, and becoming more cruel in its application. In some of the country towns it means the ruin of the small trader; and the farmers suffer severely by it.

¹ *Times*, August 24, 1881.

² September 22.

“At Baltinglass, and also in other places, sectarian animosity has added greater bitterness to the practice. It is stated that the Protestant shopkeepers are not to be dealt with, unless in cases of absolute necessity.” A united Ireland, then, means an Ireland in which a Roman Catholic majority is to crush a Protestant minority! That is the “justice to Ireland” of which we have heard so much! The Irish Roman Catholic prelates preferred to use Protestants to work their questions, and to carry out their schemes. Protestants were petted by them, and put in the forefront of the agitations, in order to prove that there was no sectarian feeling on the part of Roman Catholics, and no Roman Catholic object in the agitation. Those Protestants were like the nigger who sat, high up in the tree, on the very bough which he was sent to saw off.

Let us stop for a moment to consider the theories as to property in land, which were openly broached at the beginning of September, 1881. Mr. Parnell told the Irish that the landlords have no right to anything at all,—or, at most, to a “prairie value,” or “the worth of the land the moment the Deluge left it.” The Communist, Proudhon, said, “*La Propriété c'est le vol.*” Mr. Parnell, and Mr. Gladstone, and the *Civiltà Cattolica* averred that the land must be taken from the landlords, without giving them any compensation in return, as if the landlords had robbed the land from the present tenants. Mr. Bradlaugh affirmed that the landlords, by unjustly raising their rents at the beginning of the century, had fraudulently extorted from the people of Ireland the enormous sum of £150,000,000 sterling or more. All those orators, be it remarked, said much the same thing, and took the same steps; because they were all dancing to one and the same piping. They all supported the socialistic theory that the present distribution of property is unequal, and therefore unjust; and that the only proper remedy is to take from the rich, and give to the poor. Mr. Bradlaugh truly added that the

Nihilism of Russia, and the Socialism of Germany, are merely different forms of the same upheaving,—merely somewhat various results of the same evil. In every country there is the upheaving of the *prolétaire*, who has nothing of his own except his *proles*, against the *propriétaire*, who enjoys the bequest of his ancestors or the saved results of his own labour and economy. In Ireland, the *prolétaire*, by the assistance, or at least with the favour of the Jesuit party, has been eminently successful. How soon will the example be followed in Scotland, Wales, and England? With regard to the species of property called land, the socialistic theory has been carried out. How soon will the virus affect stocks and funds, houses, and trading concerns and factories? If property belongs to the whole nation, then one species of property as well as another belongs to the nation. If the soil of Ireland belongs to the peasants who tread it, then the soil of England belongs to the English peasant who lives on it.

NO. LXIV.

THE Irish Land Act had been passed; and the Land Commissioners were hastening to put it in operation, to the benefit of the tenant and the robbery of the landlord. The Commissioners published and circulated a long catalogue, in imposing array, of the advantages which the new legislation offered to the Irish tenants. This was the signal for a rapid multiplication and exacerbation of Irish outrages. Boycotting was extended, and became more cruel in its application. The execution of legal processes was always successfully resisted by mobs, more riotous than ever. The newspapers were filled with examples of lawlessness, popular tyranny, popular cruelties, incendiarism, raids for arms, midnight visits for purposes of intimidation or slaughter, and carried out by large parties of masqueraders. Graves were dug by night, and left ready to receive

the mangled corpses of the morrow, as soon as the victims should have fallen. Threatening notices were posted up on gate-posts, or sent by Her Majesty's post. For order, there was popular tyranny; for peace, there was tyranny; for law, there was tyrannical lawlessness,—everywhere in Ireland. Pass the Land Act, and paralyse the Land League, had been Gladstone's pretext. When the Land Act was passed, the Land League received new strength and feared less to show the bitterness of revenge. The Land League had long administered their own rules in Ireland, to the exclusion of the Queen's laws. It will administer the Land Act too; or else the Land Act shall become a dead letter. The "message of peace" shall not pacify Ireland, unless you agree to separate Ireland entirely from England. So the agrarian phase of the movement passed away and it became entirely political,—say, rather, revolutionary.

The *Times* was puzzled, because it did not know Mr. Gladstone's real aim, while believing fully in his transcendent intellect, and unbounded information. "What can "be the motive for this great conspiracy?" it asked helplessly at the commencement of a "leader."¹ What can its promoters hope for? "How comes it that it can be "kept up in opposition to the wishes of a majority of the "Irish people, and to the interests of the entire country? "It is a tyranny of the worst form. Decent people hold "aloof from it,—as far as they can, and dare. It receives "no support from the great body of the merchants, or professional men, or tradesmen; but it flourishes none the "less without them, or in spite of them. . . . The "political agitators are looking forward to the Repeal of "the Act of Union, and to the severance of the connection "with England. Any form of disturbance is welcome "which has a tendency to this end." To show how averse Ireland was to the tyranny which the Jesuits and the League were strong enough to impose upon Ireland, against the

¹ Sept. 24.

supposed efforts of Mr. Gladstone and the Queen's Government, the *Times* recorded some figures which had been mentioned by Mr. Forster in a speech in Parliament: Out of £10,707 received by the League, only £162 has been subscribed by Ireland. During a subsequent week £1,250 1s. had been received, and of that sum £1,200 had come from America; leaving £50 1s. as the total subscriptions from the large towns in England and Scotland, and from Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other places. Truly it was a wonderful conspiracy which succeeded in imposing itself on Ireland, against the wishes of Ireland,—unless, indeed, we can suppose that some unseen secret and ubiquitous power supported it by dark machinations.

There was at this time¹ the prospect of “a splendid “harvest”; and yet we learned that in Ireland “all is “disquietude, distrust, and despondency on the part of “classes who have material interests at stake, and see “the hostile influences which are combined, as if with “the malevolent purpose of making prosperity impos- “sible. . . . A system of tyranny, most perfectly or- “ganized, and more terrible than any of which the Pole “or the Christian Turk has ever complained, is now carried “out; it is remorseless and inexorable. It has crushed all “feeling of manly independence out of the mind of the “people, and the most respectable, as well as the humblest “classes, show an abject submission to it. . . . The “humiliations, which are submitted to in order to avoid “its ruinous vengeance, are pitiful to witness; but the “slaves, who bow the neck to the yoke, cannot be blamed, “for they see no power so strong, resolute, and determined.” There were given, in the same number of the *Times*, descriptions of serious riots, arising out of intolerant bigotry, against preachers of the Irish Evangelical Society, although the Roman Catholic priest of the parish, and his curate, made pretended endeavours to make the rioters desist.

The next column of the *Times* gave the report of a

¹ *Times*, September 26.

speech in which Mr. Parnell again avowed that his aim, in fomenting the Land League agitation, was that which the Jesuits had always entertained. He said: "Citizens of Dublin,—Here, under the shadow of the Castle of English misrule in Dublin, the stronghold of British misgovernment, you have assembled together once more in your thousands to proclaim your unalterable determination to obtain the self-government of the Irish people. . . . The spirit that is alive in Ireland to-day—the spirit which is shown in every quarter and in every corner of Ireland—that spirit will never die until it sweeps that detested *alien rule*, with its buckshot and its bayonets, clear away over the Channel, whence it came, never to return. . . . We ask to rule ourselves. We ask that Irishmen shall make laws on Irish soil for Irishmen."

When Mr. Parnell went to Dublin to make that speech, he received such an ovation, and made such a triumphal entry into the city, as had not been seen since the days of O'Connell. He was evidently the powerful man of Ireland. Whether intoxicated by success, or rendered courageous by Government complicity, he proclaimed absolutely that the object of all the agitation was to sweep away "the detested *alien rule*" of England. When Mr. Gladstone cut down one branch of the Upas-tree of Protestant ascendancy, Mr. Gladstone called it an "alien Church." He was then reminded that if he destroyed that Church, he would be, in fact, annulling the Act of Union between England and Ireland. Forewarned, he cut down that branch.

At Maryborough, shortly afterwards, Mr. Parnell explained what he meant by a "fair rent"; viz., no rent at all. He said that no settlement of the land question could be final, "till the cultivators of the soil shall be made the owners thereof." In other words, the landlords, mostly Protestant, were to be expatriated. The other branch of the Upas-tree of Protestant ascendancy

must be cut down. This was to be accomplished, as Mr. Parnell explained, in order to render possible the separation of Ireland, and its autonomy as a Roman Catholic State. That was the old Jesuit conspiracy of Tyrconnel.

In the autumn of 1881, Mr. Parnell published the following words: "Irish landlordism was one of the props of English misrule in Ireland. Well; we have *nearly* cut and hacked that prop in two; and before many months have gone by, I think we shall have cut it away altogether." On a previous occasion, Mr. Parnell had openly avowed: "I would not have gone to this work, if I had not known that we were laying the foundation, in this land movement, for the regeneration of our legislative independence." Later in the year 1881, Mr. Parnell said: "The great principle of the Land League was, that the land of Ireland did not, and ought not, to belong to the landlords, but to the people; and, in order to carry out that principle, as far as it was possible, we offered to the landlords a compromise, in order to obtain a peaceable solution of the question. We offered to give them whatever value they could prove the land of Ireland had, when the waters of the Flood left it; and if we can carry out that programme,—and we have *partially carried it out by the Bill just passed,—we shall reduce the rental of Ireland from seventeen millions to about two or three millions a year.*" In their endeavour the Land League were supported by the priests of Ireland.

The Rev. Eugene Sheehy, Roman Catholic Clergyman of Kilmallock, said: "We have met to chronicle the ancient resolve of Ireland, that the country must be ours. *That has been the tradition and the sworn vow of ages*, and we stand here in our thousands to repeat it once more, and to register solemnly the vow transmitted to us, that we will not stop until we have planted the glorious banner of Ireland, *not alone on the ruins of landlord power in this country, but on the ruins of*

“that Government and that alien race which it represents.
“ . . . It is no longer so much ‘Down with land-
“ ‘lordism!’ as, ‘Down with English rule in Ireland!’
“ . . . I see the soul of a new spirit,—the grand ideal
“ possesses our souls, and we will not be content until our
“ country is made a nation among nations.”

At a meeting at Maynooth, the Irish Roman Catholic bishops met to pass resolutions in favour of the Land Act as a fair removal of all grievances. But many bishops were in favour of “ulterior measures,” and refused to concur with their brethren. Among the dissenting bishops were Dr. Croke, Archbishop of Cashel; Dr. McHale, Archbishop of Tuam; the Bishop of Ross, the Bishop of Cloyne, the Bishop of Cork, and all the others who had identified themselves with the Nationalist cause. The milder bishops passed the resolutions concerning the Land Act, and other resolutions, demanding practically that the Roman Catholic Colleges should be endowed by the State. This was a step which went beyond the Establishment of the new Roman Catholic University, and the consequent dissolution of the Queen’s University.

At this moment, all who had been “cornered” by means of the agitation; all who had been coerced into yielding what English Liberalism and Scotch Radicalism would otherwise never have consented to give; and all those members of the Cabinet who were not in the secret,—supposed that the support of the Roman Catholic bishops, at that critical juncture, was of the utmost importance, and well worth any sacrifice to obtain. Those few who were in the secret, looked on the whole as at a farce on the stage of a theatre, and saw Gladstone acting his part, while the bishops strutted in support of their rôle. The agitators, the Land League, the Home Rule members were, as they knew, and as Cardinal Manning once told me, “the great guns under whose fire all their demands would be wrung from the British Parliament.” So great a labour was it to establish Mr.

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Gladstone's avowed principle, of "governing Ireland according to Irish ideas!"

That labour had, however, been so far successful. At least Mr. O'Donnell, M.P., thought so. Speaking at Dungarvan, on Oct. 5, he said: "There are at present two governments in Ireland,—the Government of Mr. Gladstone, which nobody minds; and the Government of the Land League. *The Land League is the true self-government*, which now reigns supreme over Gladstone and Company. We have solved the question of self-government; for Ireland is now virtually a self-governed nation." Mr. R. Power, M.P., then spoke, and said: "The cry of the Irish People is: The land of Ireland for the people of Ireland; and a free Parliament for a free people! For behind the glorious land movement is the movement for the legislative independence of Ireland." Mr. Gladstone followed, at Leeds, with a great speech, which the public prints characterized as "calculated to dispirit the English public, as much as it is likely to encourage the Land League."¹ It was said, also, with much point, that the Irish question "is one of special importance, and of peculiar and even painful interest to Mr. Gladstone personally; IT IS ESSENTIALLY HIS QUESTION,—*his by right of creation*, as well as by right of treatment. HE IS MORE THAN SUSPECTED OF HAVING FOSTERED AND AGGRAVATED THE DISEASE OF ANARCHY FROM WHICH IRELAND IS SUFFERING." No doubt he was suspected of having fostered the anarchy;—he that enabled Parnell to browbeat the British Parliament, and so become a hero in Ireland, where he would otherwise have been only scouted. It was he who agreed to keep back the police and insure their inaction, while Parnell stirred up the agitation. It was he who, by his speech at Leeds, made Parnell "a great man," by setting him up as the rival of the Prime Minister himself. By putting Parnell's government before the world,

¹ See *St. James's Gazette*, Oct. 8.

as the only effective government in Ireland, and as the successful antagonist of the Queen's Government, he enormously increased the agitation for separation. How could he have elevated Parnell more? What more could he have done for him? He made out the struggle between law and lawlessness to be a duel between the Queen's Government and Parnell's rule. But was it a duel? or was it complicity? Was it antagonism? was it opposition, at least while Gladstone guided the Queen's Government? Gladstone's aim was "self-government" for Ireland; Parnell's aim was the independence of Ireland—tweedledum and tweedledee!

On Oct. 7, Lord R. B. told me a curious fact in proof of the proposition which his Lordship had advanced and maintained, namely, that "*Gladstone was in league with Parnell.*" The Editor of the newspaper in Castlebar had been for a long time writing the most seditious articles in favour of the Land League, and in favour of the separation of Ireland from England, and of a Revolution to attain that end. No one interfered with him. At last Parnell came to Castlebar to hold a meeting. Parnell seemed to slight the Editor, and a quarrel arose between them. The next week there began a series of articles against Parnell. The Editor was seized at once, and clapped into Kilmainham gaol. The landlords he might attack; revolution he might stir up; the Queen's authority might be lessened in Ireland. That seemed all in Gladstone's line. But to attack Parnell,—Gladstone's instrument,—was an offence which could not, for an instant, be tolerated!

The same tactics were evident at Leeds. Mr. Parnell was, by Mr. Gladstone, made a great man, and raised to a position of rivalry to the Queen of this great Empire. Mr. Gladstone moreover admitted that Parnell had checkmated him by the clever device of selecting "test cases," which would either try the effect of the Land Act, and cover it with ridicule,—or else would create precedents in

favour of the tenants. If the Land Court cut down the rents in the proportion which Mr. Parnell stated as the minimum,—namely from £17,000,000 to £3,000,000,—then the Protestant landlords would be utterly ruined, and might be cheaply bought out. But if the Land Court should shrink from doing such a glaring injustice, then Parnell would tell the Irish that they had been betrayed; that the Land Act was a snare, a sham, and a delusion; and that the Queen's Land Court was worthless; and further, that nothing short of separation from England would be of any avail. As if to make it clear that the aim of the agitation was not to procure a remedy for the "distress and miseries of Irish tenants," but to drive the two countries apart, Mr. Gladstone stated that the savings of the Irish tenants, out of their profits, in the savings banks of Ireland, had, in a quarter of a century, risen from seven millions to thirty millions sterling, irrespective of the many other investments of savings during the same period.

Yet none of these things were desired by the Irish nation; none of them were the aspirations of the people. Even if they were, it would not have proved them to be just, nor to be a ground, *per se*, for granting them. But they were not generally desired. These schemes had been devised in the closet. The agitation was carried on by a few. The Land League was established, and worked by force, with terrors and intimidations. Many, who hated the scheme, were thus pressed into its ranks, and then carried on by compulsion, by excitement, by sympathy, and by the force of numbers. They were carried on, blindly, without thinking, nor being able even to perceive whither they were tending. Some there might have been, doubtless, who took fright and felt uneasy, and longed for a power, stronger than their local land leagues, to free them from their irksome and dangerous slavery. They silently wondered at the apathy of the Government, and gazed heart-stricken at the ever-growing power and ever-increasing violence and audacity of the Land League tyrant.

Why (they asked) should those relentless, remorseless, revengeful revolutionists, who are keeping the whole country in turmoil and terror, be permitted to rove the country unmolested? Why should those thorns be allowed to crackle any longer under the seething caldron of Ireland? Some, it is true, have been put in gaol for a too outspoken zeal; but many more have been incarcerated for sowing discords and making differences in the ranks of the land-leaguers, and for daring to advance opinions of their own. None of those who were put in prison were the most efficient workers in the system of agitation and ferment; while those who had free scope and ranged the country unobstructed, were the very ones who were versed in the diabolical arts of lighting the lurid flames of discontent, disaffection, and dire sedition. What then can be the policy of the Government? Now that the Oriental Beaconsfield has passed away, have we a new sphinx at the helm of the State? We know, from Mr. Gladstone's former career, that he is not weak and flabby; but can be firm—even dictatorial—when the occasion requires it. What, then, can he mean by his present action?

It is true that he has just raised Mr. Parnell to a lofty eminence, and then charged him with inciting to plunder. Here is another puzzle! A few obscure individuals have been imprisoned for inciting to plunder, and yet plunder-preaching Parnell—the head and front of the offence—is allowed to go free! Nay, all the local presidents of the vast organization for plunder are unmolested, while country editors who attacked Parnell have to languish in durance vile! There is evidently some close relation between Mr. Parnell and Mr. Gladstone.

No. LXV.

THERE was some close connection between the Protestant Parnell and the Romanist Archbishop Croke, as their two synchronous speeches reveal. Archbishop Croke was speaking at Thurles, while Parnell was parleying at Wexford. The following extract is from the speech of Archbishop Croke: "But what was the use of having fixity of tenure if they were bound to pay exorbitant rents? What was the use of becoming the owner of improvements if they could be confiscated to pay a rack-renting landlord? . . . The real value of the Act was to be estimated not by fixity of tenure or the value of the improvements, but by *the actual reduction of the rental of Ireland which the Commissioners were prepared to make.* . . . They ought to make provision for the tillers of the soil and their families. That was what he considered a fair settlement of the land question. When they found the labourers wholesomely fed, fairly clad, and decently housed, then, indeed, whatever remained, after making suitable provision for their families, they might give to the landlords."

Mr. Parnell took exactly the same line at Wexford; but there is not space for more than the following extracts: "What Ireland demands to-day is not so much security of tenure as that these rack rents may be cut down wholesale, so as to enable tenant farmers to perform their duties to the labourers, artisans, shopkeepers, merchants, and society in general. . . . I am proceeding in the demand that I will make that improvements of the tenant and his predecessors in title shall be his, no matter how long ago they may have been made—I am proceeding upon the lines of an amendment in the Land Act of 1881 which was introduced by Mr. Healy, framed by Mr. Gladstone's Attorney-General for Ireland, and sanctioned by Mr. Gladstone and his whole Cabinet. . . . I say that this doctrine of public plunder is a question of degree;

“and, as William Ewart Gladstone has shown himself
“capable of eating his words, and able to recede from prin-
“ciples and declarations which he has laid down, why, with
“just as much fervour as that with which he made the
“speech the other evening, he will, before long, if he lives
“long enough, introduce a Bill into the House of Com-
“mons to extend this very principle of public plunder
“which he has sanctioned by his Act of 1881.”

Just afterwards, on the 11th of October, two other speeches were delivered. Dillon declared at the Land League meeting in Dublin that Mr. Gladstone, “by his
“speech at Leeds the other day, has administered the
“*coup de grace* to British legislation in Ireland.” Lord Salisbury, at Newcastle, said: “Last year the Government
“were told by no mean authority—they were told by the
“judges on the bench—that trial by jury in Ireland had
“become a fiction, that the country was in a state of
“absolute disorder. No attempt was made all last year
“to prevent the most horrible outrages which were per-
“petrated upon those who tried to execute the common
“processes of the law. Neither life nor property was
“safe. . . . *The landlords were running for their lives.*
“*The Government absolutely declined to move.* They took
“no steps whatever to reinforce the failing powers of the
“law. They allowed the autumn and winter to pass without
“one effort to save those whose most ordinary rights were
“being imperilled, whose lives were being endangered by
“the conspiracy which was assuming all the powers of
“government; but the Government declined to move, and
“*when we pressed them to justify their inaction we were told*
“*in hardly covert terms that it was necessary that the dis-*
“*order should mount to a point which should convince the*
“*members of the Liberal party in the House of Commons,*
“*before they could venture to interfere.* . . . Animals
“might be hamstrung, houses might be burnt, men might
“be ‘carded,’ or stripped, or beaten, or murdered, but all
“this was of small account so long as the party that

"supported the Government was kept together. . . .
"The administration of this Coercion Act has been the
"laughing-stock of everybody. *The Government has, I*
"*believe, locked up 150 second-rate personages, whose presence*
"*or absence was, no doubt, of importance to their families*
"*or themselves, but was wholly immaterial to the peace of the*
"*country. The Government have never ventured to lay*
"*hands upon any of the main promoters of disorder ; or, if*
"*they have done it in one or two cases, they have hastened*
"*with trembling hands to release them.*"

The next day an article appeared in the Jesuit organ of Paris, the *Univers*, in which they said: "Ireland has still
"reparation to obtain as regards her religious and civil
"liberties, especially on the education question. We hope
"she will obtain them."

The 13th of October seemed to give the lie to all our proofs of conspiracy. The Cabinet met on Wednesday, and sat for four hours in stormy, nay angry, and impassioned discussion. Mr. Gladstone had his way ; and when the Cabinet rose, Mr. Forster snatched a hasty dinner and left by the evening mail for Ireland. On Thursday morning, the 13th, Mr. Parnell was arrested. Was Mr. Gladstone then angry with the rival he himself had set up ? In the mock duel, did he slip a ball on the top of his blank cartridge and mortally wound his unsuspecting antagonist ? If so, why did he wait until the Irish had accumulated plenty of arms with American money ; and plenty of courage in the exciting fierceness of the agitation, before he fired his shot ? Why did he defer the blow until Dillon could announce that "the Irish people are
"perfectly prepared to face it" ? Why did he, in the Leeds speech, a few days before, goad and taunt the landlords into lynch-law measures of retaliation ? Why did he gibe and jeer at their want of moral courage, in not yielding support to those who desired to resist the League ? Why did he ask, "What would happen in England if
"agrarian offences were committed, and sometimes aug-

"mented by horrible and disgraceful cruelty, and even
"with loss of life, and if the crime could not be put down
"by the exertions of the ordinary authorities?" Did he
mean to incite the Protestant landlords to acts of violence,
in order to have an excuse for sweeping them away
altogether?

A meeting of the Executive of the Land League was speedily called to deliberate. The Rev. Dr. Kavanagh, a Romanist, boldly proclaimed that nothing would satisfy them until the right of self-government was granted to Ireland. Another Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. Joseph Farrell, went to the true grounds of Mr. Gladstone's move: "He was not sorry that Mr. Gladstone had put his threat into execution; as it would have *the effect of making more binding their union, and banishing every element of discord; and they had their hands free to fight the battle of the Irish people.* . . . The Land League was the Irish people. They must remember that, in this great cause, they must stand or fall together." The Rev. Father then recommended "Boycotting, or declaring a man to be a public enemy, and refusing, on that ground, to have anything whatsoever to do with him, and to make it, as far as lay in the people's power, impossible for such a man to live happily with the people whose notions he outraged." That step of Mr. Gladstone gave, then, the required cohesion to the Land League and people of Ireland, in order (as the Rev. Doctor said) that they might "acquire the right of self-government;" and the action of the Land League, in ruining the Protestant landlords, was only a means to the acquisition of self-government for Ireland, or the separation of Ireland from England. Mr. Parnell made no secret of this when he was "interviewed" in prison by a reporter who sent his notes to the *Standard*.¹ The following is an extract from that report.

Mr. Parnell said: "*The great difficulty about giving Ire-*

¹ Oct. 15.

"land the rights of autonomy, is the existence of the landlord class in the country. . . . If the land question were settled, every other question, I think, would settle itself."

For many long years, the Ultramontane policy has been to procure the independence of Ireland—to sever it from Protestant England. The Land League agitation has been carried on in order to abolish the Protestant landlords of Ireland—as a step to the ulterior end of separation. Parnell and the others were therefore working in subordination to Mr. Gladstone; and it is remarkable what care was taken of them—what solicitude was exerted towards securing their comforts, directly they were shut up in gaol. From the *Times* of Monday, October 17, we learn that: "Mr. Parnell has been allotted the best room in the infirmary, having been fortunately provided with a slight cold, which enabled Dr. Kenny—who appears to be installed as physician to the prisoners, as well as treasurer to the Land League in Mr. Egan's absence—to order his chief's removal at once into that part of the prison. This is a very great advantage, as the usual prison rules have been suspended, and free intercourse is allowed between the inmates of the infirmary—who are supposed, by a generous fiction, to be so ill as to require special care and separation from the other prisoners."

Mr. Dillon, who, we are informed, was much improved in health by the interval of liberty which he enjoyed since his last imprisonment, *"has been, of course, placed in the infirmary."* Mr. Sexton is suffering from temporary illness. "Mr. O'Brien is also of a very delicate constitution, and was obliged some time ago to take a voyage to Egypt to recruit his health. The other prisoners do not complain of any indisposition. Mr. A. O'Connor has not been yet arrested, and is believed to have effected his escape. It is a singular fact that he was actually in Kilmainham gaol on Friday, visiting his friends. At that hour the police were waiting outside in expectation of his arrest. The officers of police had a warrant to take him, but he

“walked out of the prison, and no attempt was made to capture or follow him.”

To be an agitator under the orders of Mr. Gladstone, is not so bad a thing, after all! You are given free board and lodgings, and made as comfortable as you can be; you are protected from every evil consequence of your agitation, while you are allowed to continue your intrigues with your brother agitators; secure from molestation, in delightful quiet, and even indolent luxury—for which object your brother agitators are sent to the prison with you!

The cue of the Land League orators at the present crisis was to abuse the English Government, and Mr. Gladstone also;—in order to keep up appearances, and obviate the suspicion of complicity,—and to advise “the masses to abstain from violence.” The *Times* leader added, with significance: “The arguments, if we can call them such, with which the Land League orators have assailed the conduct of the Government, *are scarcely meant to carry conviction to the Irish mind. The classes who have given Mr. Parnell their sympathy and support in his efforts to separate England from Ireland, are not interested in the demonstration attempted, very unsuccessfully and unskilfully, by several speakers at the Rotunda meeting on Friday night.*” The latter were, of course, not in the secret, and therefore made a mess of it.

The same paper gave also the comments of foreign official and non-official journals of influence. They are very instructive. The *New York World* told its numerous readers that: “Mr. Parnell, by co-operating with Mr. Gladstone, enabled Mr. Forster to *make Ireland an armed camp.*” The very thing Lord Tyrconnel did! The *New York Tribune* thought of the secret aim of Mr. Gladstone in arresting Parnell: “The Premier has taken an enormous risk on himself in making this arrest; for it may end in *making Mr. Parnell far more powerful than O'Connell ever was at his best, and in prejudicing the*

"Irish people for whole generations . . . against every measure conceived at Westminster." That is: the arrest of Mr. Parnell, and his position "in the best room in the infirmary," will add greatly to Parnell's power, and be of enormous assistance in separating Ireland from England. The *Philadelphia Public Ledger* thought Mr. Gladstone wonderfully imprudent; because it did not know the real grounds of Mr. Gladstone's action. It thought that he deliberately marred his own success, because it did not know Mr. Gladstone's aim. It always flatters our pride to think a clever man imprudent; and it saves us the trouble of searching out his principle of action and the object he would attain. "If the British Ministry had deliberately set themselves to do the most impolitic thing possible, in the present condition of Irish affairs, they could have hit on no likelier thing for the purpose than the arrest of Mr. Parnell. It was sure to set that country in such a flame as to compel the Ministry to take the back track, or to go a great deal further and fare infinitely worse. They were dull-witted men who thought such a course could mend matters or do anything but strengthen the hands of the men which it is their true policy to weaken."

The personal organ of Prince Bismarck pleased itself by being sarcastic, and by giving broad hints, in order to show that it understood the game. Prof. Gneist knows about the English Constitution; and so does M. Lothair Bucher.

The Ultramontane paper, the *Univers*, prophesied: "It will be easier to imprison the whole Irish nation than to force it to admire and relish the sweets of English rule in Ireland. . . . When we evoke all these recollections, we cannot avoid feeling pity for unhappy Ireland." The *Parlement* held Mr. Gladstone "largely responsible for the state of anarchy; for he encouraged the Home Rulers' aspirations." The Roman Catholic *Monde* spoke from knowledge: "It is a fresh phase in the

"Long struggle of St. Patrick's sons against the Saxon invaders."

Such were the comments of the European and American press, on the arrest of Mr. Parnell. There is no doubt that it was but a little incident in the struggle between the Roman Catholics of Ireland and the Protestant Government of England,—between the Celt and the Saxon, between the descendants of Cham and the descendants of Japheth. There is no doubt also that the Government of England placed themselves in an indefensible and even ridiculous position. What they alleged against the Land League, in the Dublin proclamation, was true, to the same extent, a year ago. If it was right to act now, it would have been right long before. If it was their duty to defend the lives and property of landlords now, it was no less their duty twelve months before. With what object, then, did they defer their action? Why did they wait? Was it in order to see whether the Land Act would have the effect of disarming the agitation? But they took action and arrested Parnell just before the Land Commission began its operations. They knew no more, when the proclamation was issued, than they did a year before, whether concessions, in the shape of the legalised plunder of landlords, would have the effect of stilling the agitation and quieting the country. Why then did they wait for twelve months? and why did they not continue to defer action a little longer? Because their action, at that moment, was sure to consolidate the people of Ireland in favour of the ulterior step of separating England from Ireland.

NO. LXVI.

SUCH a result as that mentioned in my last, indeed, came about ; and was shown by the manifesto which was issued from Kilmainham gaol. This manifesto came, of course, with the connivance of the authorities ; because prisoners cannot communicate with the outer world, except by the sanction of the governor of the prison. This manifesto¹ was first read at the weekly meeting of the Land League, at which "a number of Roman Catholic priests were "present" ; and the Rev. Mr. Cantwell, of Thurles, was moved to the chair. Many new members, "including "the Franciscan Fathers at Clara," were nominated ; and the secretary then read the manifesto.

"The Executive of the National Land League, forced "to abandon the policy of testing the Land Act, feels "bound to advise the tenant-farmers of Ireland from this "time forth TO PAY NO RENTS, under any circumstances, "to their landlords, until the Government relinquishes the "existing system of terrorism, and restores the constitu- "tional rights of the people. Your fathers abolished tithes "by the same methods. . . . It is as lawful to refuse "to pay rents as it is to receive them. Against the passive "resistance of an entire population, military power has "no weapons. Do not be wheedled into compromise of "any sort by the dread of eviction. *If you only act together* "in the spirit to which, within the last two years, you have "countless times pledged your vows, they can no more "evict a whole nation than they can imprison them. . . . "*Landlordism is already staggering under the blows which* "you have dealt it, amid the applause of the world. One "more crowning struggle for your land, your homes, your "lives—one more heroic effort to destroy landlordism at the "very source and fount of its existence, and the system which "was and is the curse of your race and of your existence will "have disappeared for ever. . . . Stand together in the

¹ Times, October 19.

“face of the brutal and cowardly enemies of your race !
“PAY NO RENTS under any pretext.”

The manifesto was signed “Charles Stewart Parnell, “Kilmainham Gaol ; Andrew Kettle, Kilmainham Gaol ; “Michael Davitt, hon. sec., Portland Prison ; Thomas “Brennan, hon. sec., Kilmainham Gaol ; John Dillon, head “organizer, Kilmainham Gaol ; Thomas Sexton, head or- “ganizer, Kilmainham Gaol ; Patrick Egan, treasurer, “Paris.”

It will be observed with astonishment that this Revolutionary Manifesto was issued from Her Majesty's gaol of Kilmainham. The Government had taken care to arrest the whole Executive Council of the Land League, and to lodge them in the same prison, instead of distributing them among various prisons. The Government also allowed this Executive to occupy comfortable quarters, and have free intercourse with each other, and consult as to their future policy. It was therefore easy for the Executive to draw up and sign the manifesto. How the signature of Davitt, who was a convict at Portland, had been procured, without the privity of Her Majesty's Government, it would be hard to say.

The Chairman of the Land League meeting (the Rev. Mr. Cantwell) made a speech, directly the manifesto had been read to the assembly. His words deserve attention : “The organization of the Land League will remain in its “strength and in its organization, and you may as well “expect to crush the Irish nation as to crush the Irish “National Land League. *The priesthood of Ireland is not “imprisoned*, and the priesthood of Ireland will ever be “found, at least as a body, with the oppressed and the “downtrodden of this country. The priests of Ireland “were contented to *bless in secret the energies and devoted- “ness of their fellow-countrymen* ; but if the time comes— “and I believe it is not far distant—when it will be “necessary that the *organized body of the priesthood of “Ireland should show in a more determined way their fidelity*

"to the Irish people, I believe they are prepared to do so, and it will be impossible to imprison the Irish priesthood. . . . This I will say, that *on the Government's head is all the blame for the complication of affairs that exists in this country now*, and instead of serving the landlords and putting money in their pockets, *the arrest of Mr. Parnell has placed them in a hopeless condition. . . . It is impossible for England to continue to govern this country at all. I predict that the day is not far distant when England will cease to govern this country*, and when the people themselves *will not only break through these barriers of landlordism, but go on in their strength and union until we have an Irish Parliament sitting in College Green, making laws for ourselves and governing our own country*; I believe that the day is not far distant, and *the complication of events that has taken place is hastening on the goal as rapidly as imagination can fancy.*"

On the 20th of October, the Land League was "proclaimed" as "an unlawful and criminal association," which "had existed for some time past;" and the people were warned that "all meetings and assemblies to carry out its designs . . . would be dispersed by force." Certainly this took the world by surprise; for, while every man of common sense knew the Land League to be illegal, the Ministers and their party had persisted in vowing that it was legal,—legal when it was employed in boycotting; legal when it fanned the flames of agitation; legal when it deterred tenants from paying the rents which they had covenanted to pay; legal when it commanded the farmers to "hold the harvest"; legal when it proclaimed, through the mouth of Parnell and its other leaders, that its real object was separation from England. It was "legal" at that time, because the agitation and terrorism suited the aims of the Prime Minister, and he used the Land League as his instrument for the purpose of cutting off the third branch of the Upas-tree of Protestant ascendancy—expelling the Protestant landlords from Ireland, and separating

it, as a Catholic country, from Protestant England. On October 20, the Land League no longer served that purpose. It was entirely swayed by Revolutionists and Fenians, and was carrying Ireland, very fast, away from Roman Catholicism. Therefore it was speedily "proclaimed" as illegal.

On October 2, it was "Rosary Sunday," when the priests in Ireland lock their chapel doors, before the termination of the mass, and go round, ledger and pencil in hand, to receive the dues from every member of the congregations. A tithe of each man's rent is considered the fair due. The tenants had lately been told that they need not pay their rents to the landlord, who held a written contract from each tenant, and had the law on his side. The tenants were sharp enough to question why they should pay the priest, who held no contract, and had no law whereby he could enforce payment. But as the priest, who does not receive his voluntary dues, must be starved out, the situation had become sufficiently alarming. The gentleman, whose correspondence has often been quoted, wrote on October 24, 1881: "I know, as a matter of fact, that "there has been a considerable falling off in the revenue of "the priests,—in some instances fifty per cent."

By supporting the Land League, Dr. Croke and the priests, as Rosary Sunday revealed, had been committing suicide,—like Porson's pig in "*The Devil's Walk*." The pig swam with the stream; and as he swam, he cut his throat with his paws. The priests had gone with the current, and now retreated before starvation. But it was too late. Ireland had become democratic. Ireland had become atheist. Ireland had had its cupidity and its worst passions aroused by the Archbishop and the priests themselves. *Per quæ peccat homo, per hæc et torquetur.*

No. LXVII.

LET us enter the Land Court in Ireland. On October 20 Mr. Justice O'Hagan is to make his opening address in the Land Court. The registrar, in opening the court, announces it by mistake, or of malice prepense, as the "Court of the Land League," at which there is a cachinnatory buzz. Justice O'Hagan then makes a long speech to explain the duties of his tribunal, saying that the end and aim which they would keep before them, in their judgments, would be to enable the tenants to "live and thrive." It was well said, by some one present, that "it is a Court for the administration of relief to indolent and indigent farmers, at the expense of their impoverished landlords."

The words of the Chief Commissioner were sufficient to induce tenants, by thousands, to rush into the Land Court; but the actual interpretation put upon those words, by the Sub-commissioners, showed how communistic was the meaning they attached to them. A railway porter of Manchester applied to the Land Court at Belfast. His name was M'Atavey. He had recently refused an offer of £150 for the mere tenant-right of his farm. That is to say, he valued the margin of profit, beyond the outgoings and rent, for the remainder of his lease, at more than £150. This fact was used, by his own solicitors, on October 25, 1881, when writing, in another case, to prove that his rent was low, and that it was "the rent usually demanded on this and other estates in the neighbourhood, for such farms as that which he occupied."¹ On October 30, these solicitors again wrote to the chairman of the Manchester railway: "The charge of Mr. Justice O'Hagan has been thrown upon him (O'Hagan) the duty of seeing that M'Atavey's present occupation, as a cultivator of land is made sufficiently remunerative; and he cannot help thinking that a like duty devolves morally upon your

¹ *St. James's Gazette.*

“directors in respect of M'Atavey's other present occupation, as railway porter.”

Here was a man who certainly held some land, of which he had made little use ; and who gained his livelihood as a railway porter. The charge of O'Hagan raised his cupidity and fanned his hopes. He was to get twice as much as was “sufficiently remunerative.” Through neglect of the land, he could well feign a difficulty of living upon his holding ; and he could apply O'Hagan's charge to himself, and demand that the Commissioners should enable him to “live and thrive” on his holding. That he should gain a livelihood from other sources, was past the question ; it was on his holding that he was to live and thrive. A land surveyor who had, the previous year, valued his farm at much more than he paid, now swore that it was worth only three-fourths of that amount. The rent of his farm was therefore reduced by twenty-five per cent.

It is not so much the things which are done which frighten us, as the opinions (miscalled “principles”) on which those acts are based. Commissioner Baldwin, in judging M'Atavey's case, said : “In determining the rent, “we have not set up any standard of what the farming ought to be. We have taken the estate, tenants and all, “as we found them. We have carefully considered the “capabilities of the land in the hands of the *present* “tenants. To others the land may be more valuable, if “those tenants were removed. With any speculation as “to that point, we have nothing to do.” It follows that, in proportion as a tenant is more idle, more slothful, more given to drinking bouts, more improvident, or more ignorant of farming and neglectful of his land, the more will his rents be reduced, to enable him to live and thrive on his holding, without changing his evil mode of life ; and the more dearly will the landlord have to pay for the tenant's vice.

As the tenants were not compelled to pay any rent

pending the decisions on their cases, and as there were so many thousands of cases blocking the Courts that it must be many years before they could be disposed of, the tenant was enabled to put on the screw, and say to his landlord : "Reduce my rent by thirty-three per cent. now, "and I will pay that rent ; or wait until the Commissioners "adjudicate the case, and you will get no rent in the "meanwhile." Either way, the landlord was certain to be robbed to a serious extent, and probably utterly ruined. Of course the tenants, pending the adjudications of their cases, did as little good farming as possible, so as to obtain the greater reductions. The Irish farmers were indeed quick-witted enough to see this beforehand. So Commissioner Professor Baldwin said : "Many of the farms were neglected, and a few in a shameful state."¹

Mr. Chamberlain, the President of the Board of Trade, went to Liverpool on the 26th of October, to deliver himself of an oration. He admitted that the Government had not suppressed, if not fostered, the Land League agitation, in order that the two Houses, Commons and Lords, might be coerced into passing the Land Law. He declared that this was the right policy to pursue ; and he maintained that the Land League had been organized for just and commendable objects : If the Land League had discountenanced "violence and intimidation" (which they encouraged, the whole time that the Government encouraged the agitation), "then there was no agitation in the "United Kingdom more deserving of complete sympathy, "and more entitled to success." Again : "Its original "objects, as I have said, were legal, and even praise-worthy." Again : "To have stifled the agitation at such "a time (before the passing of the Land Act) would "have been to have prevented Reform." Again : "If the "agitation of the Land League had been suppressed, the "tenants of Ireland would have had no organization to "fall back upon." Finally : "It is, of course, no secret

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, Nov., 1881.

“that there have been, in the minds of the leaders of the agitation, *other objects of a totally different character*; but so long as they pursued their avowed objects, they were perfectly in the right.” Here a member of the Government admitted that the ultimate end and aim of the Land League was bad,—separation of Ireland from England; and that the means employed, namely, violence, intimidation, murder, outrage, arson, etc., were criminal; and yet he also admitted that the Government had encouraged the Land League and fomented the agitation. He himself said that, when the Government introduced the Coercion Act, the Land League were: “permitting if not countenancing, acts of outrage and a system of secret terrorism, which no civilized Government can be expected to endure.” Yet the Government not only did endure it,—not only did the Government lay aside, unused, the additional powers which Parliament had just conferred upon them; but they even fostered the Land League and countenanced its agitation; or, as Mr. Chamberlain euphemiously styled this intentional want of action on the part of the Government, they put the Coercion Act “sparingly and reluctantly in operation.”

This “secret terrorism,” of which Mr. Chamberlain accused the Land League, had shortly before been illustrated by the testimony of an eye-witness.¹ “The times are terrible to live in. There is a *deep under-current of hatred to England* running through the country; and there the real danger lies. Landed gentry, civic authorities, even officials in Government offices, share it. . . . I learn that throughout the country a secret detective police exists, organized by the Land League, for domestic espionage. Servants and employes of all sorts are enrolled among its ranks, and I learn *the priest is often the recipient of their reports*. Under these circumstances, freedom of speech is no longer possible.”

Mr. Chamberlain seems always to start from an entirely

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, Oct. 21.

false maxim. He holds that it is not the first duty of a Government to govern ; not even their duty to maintain rights, and to protect persons and property ;—but that their office is to discover real or imaginary defects in the laws, and to tinker the Acts of Parliament into grotesque shapes pleasing to the newest agitators. This is an utterly false view. Legislation consists only in the application of eternal laws to the details of fleeting circumstances. In former days the fear was entertained lest the people should urge their representatives into wild and unconsidered measures ; and the various checks of the Constitution were devised to prevent such a catastrophe from occurring. Now we have to fear lest every day should witness the astounding fact of people and representatives being coerced, by a Ministry and the agitation which they foment, into wild theories of legislation and unjust acts of confiscation !

The objects of the Government having been obtained, by means of the Land League, as far as that could serve them, the Land League was thrown over ; and Mr. Gladstone, speaking at Knowsley, about the same time as Mr. Chamberlain spoke at Liverpool, thus described his former allies of the Land League :¹ “The question presented to us is whether Ireland is to be governed under laws made by a free and regularly chosen Parliament, or whether it is to be governed under laws known to nobody, written nowhere, except in the brains of a few individuals, and enforced by an illegal, arbitrary, self-appointed association. . . . Well, the *immediate* object which is proposed is *rapine*, I don't call it by any other name—“ . . . *this is sheer rapine*. The doctrine is that there is “a rental of £17,000,000 in Ireland, and that, of that rental, “only between two and three millions ought to be paid. “*How is this rapine to be carried into effect ? By intimidation*—sheer intimidation in three forms—danger to life, “destruction of property, and, thirdly, ruin through the

¹ *Times*, Oct. 28.

“withdrawal of employment. Within the last twelve months there has grown up in Ireland a system which is called ‘Boycotting.’ . . . Thus, gentlemen, it is simply ruin for all those who decline to obey the doctrines of the Land League. *The ferocity, I may say the cruelty, with which the thing is pushed to its remotest consequences is hardly credible. . . . Formidable machinery has been put in motion to compel everybody to acquiesce in the corrupt and demoralizing doctrine of rapine. . . . Rapine is the first object; but rapine is not the only object. It is perfectly true that these gentlemen wish to march through rapine to disintegration and dismemberment of the Empire, and, I am sorry to say, even to the placing of different parts of the Empire in direct hostility one with the other. That is the issue in which we are engaged.*”

What follows logically from these words of Mr. Gladstone? Is it not that, in favouring the Land League agitation—which he did in order to impose a Bill on Parliament—Mr. Gladstone permitted an intolerable tyranny, hated by all Ireland? This was brought about, in his endeavour to coerce Parliament, with the extirpation of Protestant landlords, in order that the third branch of the “Upas-tree of Protestant ascendancy” should be lopped off. To compass this end, he allied himself with those who desired the separation of Ireland from England.

The Land Act, in itself, was doubtless a charter of Communism. Mr. Gladstone had stated, in the House, that the great majority of landowners in Ireland had done their duty; and that, as most of the rents of Ireland were very low, the numbers of tenants who would be able to claim under the Land Act would be extremely small. Mr. Chamberlain supported his chief in asserting that the landlords, on the whole, had been very indulgent to their tenants. Yet thousands and thousands of applications poured in from all parts of Ireland! If, then, Mr. Gladstone spoke truly, and with knowledge, the landlords, in the vast majority of those cases, must have had the right

on their side. Yet the Commissioners decided the cases offhand, making reductions in the rents of thirty-three per cent. Was that not sheer Communism?

A good illustration was furnished¹ by the letter of a Roman Catholic member of Parliament, one of the chief followers of Mr. Parnell,—Mr. Frank Hugh O'Donnell. He dated from "the Irish Parliamentary Offices, Westminster." "*What, I ask, is the substantial difference between the doctrine of Mr. Parnell at Wexford and the doctrine of the Land Commissioners at Belfast?*" Again, "sir, I venture to say that within a few days the Land Court will be absolutely blocked by applications to reduce rents on *the splendid terms which the Land Court is offering to the tenantry*, and which are rousing all Ireland like a trumpet-call. . . . Even doubling the judicial staff will not meet the crush. *The decisions at Castle Blayney and Belfast will precipitate the most sluggish imaginations upon the enticing offers of the Court.* Unless the Commissioners are to abandon all pretence of careful investigation, unless the Commissioners are to decide cases by the simple toss of a convenient coin, there is judicial occupation for generations of Land Commissioners in the contending complaints of the Irish landowners and the 600,000 tenants who require reductions of rent."

A few days afterwards, Mr. O'Donnell wrote another letter:² "So long as the Land Commission continues to reduce rents in Ulster even by twenty-five and thirty-five per cent., and in the south by vastly larger amounts, surely Mr. Gladstone must know, that it could be no part of the policy of the Land League to prevent operations which *must abolish landlordism within a short time all over Ireland.* . . . *Who could at once assume that a legislative measure 'which was to leave rents practically untouched' was in reality to reduce them from thirty to fifty per cent.?*"

¹ *Times*, Nov. 3.

² Nov. 11.

No. LXVIII.

THE tenant who, under the Act, appealed to the Commissioners against his rent as excessive, could not be evicted, and no distraint could be issued ; and therefore of course he paid no rent, until his case had been decided. That was the Gladstone policy. The policy of Mr. Gladstone, of Dr. Nulty (Bishop of Meath), and of the Land League was simply and absolutely to pay no rent. Therefore their policy was, to ruin the landlords of Ireland. At the very beginning of November, the Land League issued a manifesto to the people of Ireland, signed by Patrick Egan, the treasurer, in which they said, in reference to the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation of the Land League : " The Government of England has declared war against the Irish people. The organization that protected them against the ravages of landlordism has been declared " 'unlawful and criminal.' A reign of terror has commenced. Meet the action of the English Government " with a determined passive resistance. *The 'No-rent' banner has been raised,* and it remains with the people " now to prove themselves dastards or men. *Pay no rent.* " Avoid the Land Court. Such is the programme before " the country. Adopt it, and it will lead you to free land " and happy homes. Reject it, and slavery and degradation will be your portion. *Pay no rent.* The person who " does, should be visited with the severest sentence of social " ostracism. Avoid the Land Court. Cast out the person " who enters it as a renegade to his country and to the " cause of his fellow-men. *Hold the harvest, is the watch-word.* To do that effectually you should as far as " possible turn it into money. Sell your stock when such " a course will not entail a loss. Make a friendly arrangement with your creditors about your interests in your " farms. A short and sharp struggle now, and the vilest

"oppression that ever afflicted humanity will be wiped away. *No rent.* Your brethren in America have risen to the crisis, and are ready to supply you with unlimited funds, provided you maintain your attitude of passive resistance *and pay no rent. No rent.* The tenants of Ireland have still one tremendous move in their power, and that is to *quietly stay at home and pay no rent. I believe that if they unitedly adopted a policy of passive resistance, which I do not see how it would be possible for the landlords to combat, it would lead to one of the greatest revolutions that Ireland has ever known. Pay no rent.*

"By order.

"PATRICK EGAN, Treasurer."

In comparison with this manifesto, it is well to refer to the speech of Mr. Gladstone at the Mansion House, on Nov. 9: "I hold in my hand, my Lord Mayor, a very short and simple if significant proof of the treatment to which the people of Ireland have been subjected by those who call themselves their friends. It is a notice emanating from high authority, and is couched in these terms: "Any person paying his rent before Parnell and the other prisoners are liberated, without the sanction of the Land League, will be "Boycotted." I need not, my Lord Mayor, expound to you in detail the meaning of that phrase; but this I will say, that its mildest significance is *the total ruin* of the livelihood of the man against whom its machinery is directed."

The mildest conclusion to which any man can have arrived, on hearing the speech, would have been that "Mr. Gladstone was a failure." But if his object was to lop off that branch of Protestant ascendancy, which he hated, then the result had been a bright promise of success. Which was Mr. Gladstone—a failure, or a success? It was a curious fact that the Roman Catholic organ of Paris, *Le Monde*, on October 23, predicted, or, at least, announced beforehand the future policy of the Land League, in urging the people to pay no rent. It said: "*If the resistance is*

"passive, if the farmers give the authorities no pretext for repression, they may place England in a singular and terrible embarrassment; for, driven with their families from their homes, they are doomed either to starve or to live on the subscriptions they will receive from their American countrymen. In the former case, for hundreds of thousands of people to die of hunger on the Queen's soil, would be too revolting; and in the second case, for hundreds of thousands of Irish to be supported in Ireland with American money and with no occupation, would be too dangerous."

The *République Française*, on the same day, spoke of the Land Act as "the great Socialist Law." On this text Lord Salisbury enlarged in a speech on Nov. 13: "It naturally occurs to all of us to ask, why these measures of rigour have been delayed so long? Why has the plant of disaffection been allowed to grow so high? Why has the epidemic been allowed to cover so large an area of the country? And the answer that you receive, shows the intense conviction in the minds of the Liberal leaders, that *landlords, and the sufferings of landlords, are matters which no reasonable person ought to regard*, because they take it as a credit to themselves, and as a proof of their tender and amiable dispositions, that they did not a year ago, when the state of things was precisely similar to what it is now—they did not adopt the measures which are thought necessary now. . . . All those things, so far as they are prevented now, might have been prevented a year ago, and the Government have nothing to advance to defend themselves in not having applied the remedy sooner, except that it is the proof of a kind and sympathetic and constitutional disposition *not to prevent people from murdering landlords*, until you are absolutely obliged to do so. . . . *The Irish people see that Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell have both been occupied for some time past in recommending the conveyance or subtraction of a certain portion of the property of Irish landlords to somebody else.*

“ . . . You may, in pursuit of the objects of public policy, find it necessary to divest one man of his property, and to hand that property to another. If you do so, you are bound to give him compensation ; . . . and *if you do that without compensation, disguise it by what sophistries you please, you commit nothing else but an act of public plunder.*”

Lord Salisbury further said, with reference to the complicity between Mr. Gladstone's Government and Mr. Parnell : “ Mr. Chamberlain said, if I remember the words aright, that to stifle the agitation last autumn would have been to have prevented the passing of measures of relief. It seems to me that Mr. Chamberlain might not unreasonably be supposed to have kept alive the agitation of last autumn in order to pass those measures of reform. The future historian may perhaps take this as a strong and true explanation of the action of Her Majesty's Government.” Nor was the complicity limited to the ruin of Protestant landlords. The journals of Nov. 5 revealed to us the opinion of Dr. Croke, Romanist Archbishop of Cashel, as to the measures of supposed repression which Mr. Gladstone had taken, so as to wake up the Land League from its slumbers. He enabled us to judge the secret aims which Mr. Gladstone entertained. Dr. Croke took for his text the great changes which had lately come over Ireland, and he said : “ But there is one thing that has not changed since then. The spirit of the country, though fiercely assailed, has not been broken or even impaired ; *the determination of the people to win their rights has not been shaken, but rather strengthened, on the contrary, and consolidated by the very pressure by which it was sought to be subdued ;* and the great organization which has achieved such wondrous results both in educating and uniting the people, though proscribed and supposed to be annihilated, will, I predict, yet arise from its ashes like the fabled bird that we read of, *and give proof in reality that it was not dead, but only sleeping.*”

"I have just said that there was one thing which has undergone no change—the spirit, namely, of the people. *There is one man also who has undergone no change, and that man is myself.* My views are not unknown to you. I have proclaimed and published them on many a platform in Tipperary. . . . *Keep for yourselves what of right belongs to you. Tender a fair rent to them to whom it is due. If accepted, well and good; if not, you have in so far done your duty, and be the consequences of refusal on other heads than yours.*"

"Tender a fair rent," and that is all that can be required of you! But who was to determine what was a fair rent? The tenant himself, according to Dr. Croke. "How much owest thou to my lord?" "A hundred talents." "Take thy lease, and write in it, fifty." So suggested the *unjust* steward. Was Dr. Croke an unjust steward? Or was he dancing to Gladstone's piping? Why should he so soon have retracted his former condemnation of the authors of the "no rent manifesto"? Why should the Land Leaguers, whom he so lately denounced, have become again "the trusted leaders of the people, who have been clutched by the salaried supporters of law and order, and thrust into prison"? Why should he have spoken flatteringly of their "great organization which has achieved such wondrous results, both in educating and uniting the people," and which, by his archiepiscopal power and authority, he declared to be "not dead, but sleeping"? Why should he have praised "the determination of the people to win their rights," which had been "strengthened and consolidated" by putting Parnell and the Council of the Land League safely in one prison? Why should he have ignored his former retraction, and proclaimed himself, like Julius Cæsar, as "the northern star, of whose true fixed and resting quality there is no fellow in the firmament," as the "one man that has undergone no change"? Why was it? The answer was not far to seek. It may be that Archbishop Croke had before promoted the agitation

for Mr. Gladstone, in order to pass the Land Act; and that he then promoted it for another Gladstonian end. This it was. On Nov. 1, 1881, we learned, through the *Times*, that Mr. Errington, M.P., had been sent to Rome to establish diplomatic communication between the British Government and the Vatican, so that His Holiness might promote peace between the British Government and the Irish people. We learned, too, that Consul White had arrived in Rome, and been received, in private audience, by Pope Leo XIII. "The conduct of a part of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, during the last two years, necessitated the presence in Rome of a British representative."

The Land Act, so far from stilling the excitement, was as the taste of blood to a young tiger who had been fondled and brought up on milk. The *Times* affirmed, on November 28, that the refusal to pay rent had been no way lessened, but increased and exacerbated by the operation of the Act. It added: "The refusal to pay does not in all cases arise either from terrorism, although that operates upon many of them, or from actual dishonesty; but *the action of the Land Court has placed an additional difficulty in the way of the landlords*, so far as the south is concerned. The tenants have been watching the reductions which the Sub-commissioners have made in the north and west, where the circumstances are wholly different, and, taking the low levels at which rents have been fixed, they make the most unreasonable demands to have their own rents fixed upon a similar scale, and *the landlords have no alternative but to submit to spoliation* if they are in actual want of means, or to resort to the remedies of the law. While the tenants in the south are using the judgments of the Sub-commissioners in other places in this way, they are keeping out of the Land Court. Not three per cent. of the tenantry of the southern counties have applied to have fair rents fixed, but they put forward extravagant demands, and doggedly refuse to come to any terms but their own. In some cases

“where the land is good and the tenants are comfortable they have required that all arrears up to 1881 should be written off, and an abatement of 25 per cent. made upon the balance. This would be equivalent to a sacrifice of from 50 to 75 per cent.”

Further, the same witness of the Government side bore testimony that the landlords “have not only to meet Sub-commissioners administering a law which was levelled against them (the landlords), and has been rendered more destructive than its promoters professed to intend, but they have the tenants banded against them and prepared to give evidence to serve their own interests, while on their side few valuers can be found with sufficient courage to face the odium and personal danger which they would incur by giving testimony against the tenants. Some of the witnesses who gave evidence in the court were threatened when they left the court-house, and in the south, the most competent judges of the value of property dare not come forward, because it would be ruinous to their professional interests. *What chance of full, impartial justice have the owners of property under such circumstances?* Some of the Sub-commissioners are well-qualified to form a fair rough-and-ready estimate, but *as they are tenant-farmers themselves*, and many have land not many miles from their sphere of duty, their sympathies and interests will naturally be with those who want to bring down the rent.”

As to the valuations and “inspections” of tenements, obtained by the Sub-commissioners, we were told of farms of 500 acres which were inspected in two-and-a-half hours; and the result of those cursory inspections outweighed, in the Sub-commissioners’ estimation, the careful valuations by experts on the part of the landlords, to which a day and a half had been devoted.¹

There were strange contradictions between the statements of the Government as to the effects which the Land

¹ See also *Times* of December 20.

Act would have, by which they succeeded in procuring its acceptance, and the actual effects which have been manifested in the working of it. Was it that the Government did not know what they were doing? They never confessed their error and incompetence; they never endeavoured to remedy and make amends for the evil which they wrought. If they had been directors of a company, we should have had them all up before the Lord Mayor for fraudulent statements in the prospectus. If they had been professed Jesuits, we should have recognised in them the licence of their casuistry. Rents, whether above Griffith's valuation, or below it, were everywhere, and in all cases, reduced, according to the mere whim or fancy of the Sub-commissioner, who sat as judge, and who had himself been taken from the ranks of the Land Leaguers. The fact that rents, on a property, had not been raised within living memory, served nought; for in every case a reduction was made, in order to put the tenant in the right and throw the costs on the landlord. Incomes were mowed down and lopped by 25 per cent., and in some cases by 80 per cent. The first return, up to January 28, 1882, made by the Government, showed that the average reduction of rents in Leinster was 21·6; in Munster, 23·3; in Ulster, 24·4; and in Connaught, 28·5 per cent. How did that tally with the statements of the Government when persuading Parliament to accept the Act?

The Lord Chancellor¹ is reported as saying: "I deny "that the Bill will in any degree whatever diminish the "rights of the landlord or the value of the interest he "possesses;" while Lord Carlingford² says: "My lords, "I maintain that the provisions of this Bill will cause the "landlords no money loss whatever. I believe it will inflict "upon them no loss of income, except in those cases in "which a certain number of landlords may have imposed "upon their tenants excessive and inequitable rents, which "they are probably vainly trying to recover."

¹ "Hansard," vol. cclxiv., p. 532.

² *Ibid.*, p. 252.

In reviewing the decisions of the Sub-commissioners, before the issue of that return, on December 20, 1881, the *Times* remarked: "There is a substantial similarity in the results, which has led them to infer that *some definite principle has been laid down*. The fact was admitted at Downpatrick on Thursday (December 15) by one of the Commissioners, who stated that *before they entered upon their duties, the principles upon which they were to act had been settled, and they had not departed one jot from them*. . . . "The impression deepens every day that *the decisions are in substantial harmony with such views as those of Mr. Healy*, and that the Sub-commissioners are going upon *"some invisible but well understood lines."*

The Commissioner who made that statement "in the presence of his colleagues," put it in even more suggestive language, by saying that they "determined the fair-rent before setting feet on a sod of land." They did so according to an "invisible but well understood" principle. What was it? I will tell you. It is, indeed, easily guessed. The end which Mr. Gladstone set before himself, was to lop off "*the three branches of the Upas-tree of Protestant ascendancy*." One of the branches (he said) was Landlordism. His end dictated the means. It was remarkable that the same page of the *Times*, of December 20, informed us that the Fenian movement was daily "gaining strength and courage"; and that "the agitation carried on by the League, while reviving and developing Fenianism, has been served and stimulated in return. The two forces act and react upon each other, and co-operate in working out the same revolutionary ends." One of those revolutionary ends was the separation of Ireland from England, and its complete independence as a Roman Catholic State. The destruction of the Protestant Church, the ruin of the Protestant landlords, and the Romanist education of children and youths, were the means to that end. According to the Romanist *Freeman's Journal*, of Dublin,¹ Dr. Croke

¹ January 11, 1882.

told Davitt that the Land Act would destroy Landlordism. The letter from Mr. Shaw, M.P., the late leader of the Home Rule party, to the secretary of the Home Rule League, will serve to throw a side-light on the whole proceeding:¹ "The Federal plan, as adopted by the conference of 1873, was a compromise. It was believed in by many, by others accepted as a fair mode of meeting a great difficulty; and, while they did not believe in it in the abstract, they honestly and loyally intended to work for it, and, if they obtained it, to give it a fair trial. But there were others, and among them active and influential men, who joined the association with the view of using it as a means of working out much more extreme ends, and even before Mr. Butt's death, it was evident that *these gentlemen had acquired complete ascendancy in its councils*. Of the two parties of which the League is composed, the one is loyal to its original principles, and desires to obtain self-government for our country within the Constitution and by constitutional means. The other plainly states that 'the country 'has outgrown the programme of the League,' that '*the foundations have been firmly laid of an Irish Republic*.'" He then ventured, without knowing the real ends of the intrigue, to give a little advice, which had often been given before, and never attended to: "A public man should speak nothing to the Irish people except what he thoroughly and heartily believes. *I believe the movement—which, if language means anything, means separation—must end in fearful disaster to the Irish people.*"

NO. LXIX.

THE Jesuit organ, the *Union*, of Paris, on December 26, 1881, informed its readers that the landowners had "set the example of contempt for the laws, and of indulging in violent language"; that the landlords did not like

¹ *Times*, December 24.

"to see their privileges curtailed, particularly the absolute "power they exercised on their estates"; and "we also "know that they have tyrannized over the unfortunate "population of Ireland. Roman law defines property as "*jus uti et abuti*"; but that right has its limits, and the *jus "abuti* must not supersede the *jus uti*, as has been seen in "Ireland for centuries." Let us not say, with Hamlet, that this farrago was, "Words, words, words!" for it would be more correct to designate it as, "Lies, lies, lies!" The *République Française*, of the same day, acknowledged that the effect of the Land Act must be the ruin of a large number of landowners. It added that, by "the refusal "of farmers to pay their rents, by boycotting, etc.," the position of the landlords "is no less critical than that of "their tenants." The French organs had been before instructed to paint the condition of Irish farmers as so intolerable, that the Land Act, for the spoliation of landlords, was justifiable. They now observed that the position of the landlords was equally intolerable. But they failed to proceed to the logical conclusion. They could not discover, in their consciousness, the maxim: *parium, par est ratio*.

As an antidote to the intellectual poison which had been distilled in the cloister, and then instilled by the organs of the press, let us recall the words of Mr. Gladstone himself, when introducing the Land Bill to the notice of the House of Commons on April 7, 1881: "The land laws of England are laws under which, at any "rate, this country has lived, has remained contented, and "has made extraordinary progress; but the land laws "of Ireland chiefly differ from the land laws of England, "in the very special provision which they present to us "*in behalf of the tenant*." He then quoted from the Bessborough Commission: "*It was unusual in Ireland to exact "what in England would be considered a full or fair com- "mercial rent. . . . This . . . is to the present day "the rule rather than the exception in Ireland.*" Again

the Prime Minister said : " Neither should we think it just " to propose legislation on this matter on the ground, " whether expressed or implied, of general misconduct on " the part of the Irish landlords ; *on the contrary, as a rule* " *they have stood their trial, and as a rule they have been* " *acquitted.*"

The ground was thus cut from under the feet of the intriguers. They could not, for a time at least, defend the Land Act, and continue hacking at the third branch of the Upas-tree, under excuse of the supposed tyranny and injustice of the landlords. Therefore it was that, during the Christmas week,¹ the Roman Catholic priests in Ireland were busy distributing the following extraordinary document :

" LAND THE COMMON PROPERTY OF ALL.

" From the Most Rev. Dr. Nulty's letter to the clergy and laity of the diocese of Meath, 1881.

" The land of every country is the common property of the people of that country, because its real owner—the Creator who made it—has transferred it as a voluntary gift to them. *Terram autem dedit filiis hominum.* (The earth He hath given to the children of men.) Now, as *every individual*, in every country, is a creature and a child of God, and as all His creatures are *equal* in His sight, *any settlement of the land of this or any other country that would exclude the humblest man in this or that country from his share of the common inheritance* would not only be an injustice and a wrong to that man, but would, moreover, be an *impious resistance to the benevolent intentions* of his Creator.

" THOMAS NULTY, Bishop of Meath."

For the ignorant populace of Ireland, the above words, circulated by Irish priests and with the weight of an Irish

¹ *Times*, Dec. 27, 1881.

Bishop's name, were certainly most dangerous. Must not every Celt have seen in them the assertion of the revolutionary doctrine of "Equality"? Must they not have taken them as an authoritative declaration of the truth of Communistic principles? What tenant farmer would perceive the bad logic, and the *non sequitur* they contained? *Terram dedit filiis hominum*. He gave the earth to sons of men, ergo, every individual on the earth has a right to his share! Who, again, would detect the *contradictio principii*? Every man has a right to a share of the common inheritance. How can there be private owners of a common property? Dr. Nulty, arrogating to himself the infallible authority which he ascribed alone to the Pope, and to him only when teaching *ex cathedra*, on morals or faith, defined a defence of rights to be "an impious resistance" to the will of the Creator! Dr. Nulty was propping up the secret agencies which were so busily at work in Ireland. A letter from Ireland, under date of Dec. 30, 1881, informed me that "Dr. Nulty was anxious "to fill, with the mob, the position vacated by Dr. Croke." Dr. Croke, the Archbishop of Cashel, did not ultimately vacate that position; but, for a time only, he apparently resigned the leadership of the Nationalists and Fenians. For the same reason, the very Rev. Dean Quirk, on Jan. 8, 1882, denounced, from the High Altar of Archbishop Croke's Cathedral, the system of outrages and tyranny which was being practised in Ireland, and warned his congregation of their duty to obey the laws of the land.

But what were those secret agencies? I do not refer to the *primum mobile*. I do not speak of the General Authority, who, from his cell, directs and "moves the "world." I allude to the *secundum mobile movens*. The *Times* of Jan. 2, 1882, reported that: "the demoralized state "of the country is but imperfectly indicated in the reports of "crime and outrage. *There are secret springs of evil at work "which are very difficult to trace*, but their influence is shown "in the quiet but effective organization against the payment

"of rent. . . . Recent events have thrown some rays of
"light upon *the dark conspiracies which, since the Land*
"*League, which covered them, has been removed as a visible*
"*system, are now brought nearer to the surface.* It has been
"asserted by political theorists that the Fenian and other
"secret societies have been formed since the suppression of
"the League, and are the natural result of that measure.
"They forget that *the League was founded upon Fenianism,*
"*and that if it had not received the support of Fenians in its*
"*early stages, it would have utterly failed.* Davitt, who started
"*the movement, is a convicted Fenian, and the first meetings*
"*were attended almost exclusively by movable bands of Fenians,*
"*who were concentrated upon the various points where demon-*
"*strations were to be held.* After the failure of the Fenian
"outbreak the conspiracy was to a great extent shattered,
"but the remnants of it remained, and the Land League
"agitation developed its latent power, and brought the scat-
"tered forces together again. The new form and pro-
"gramme were not quite accepted by the whole body, and
"the Southern Fenians held aloof. There were even open
"feuds between *the extreme Nationalists or Fenians* and the
"Land Leaguers; but when the League became strong,
"through the terrorism which the secret auxiliaries inspired,
"and the flow of money from America, which is the base
"of operations for every revolutionary enterprise, the breach
"was healed, the ranks were closed, and the return of Mr.
"Parnell for Cork cemented the union between the different
"parties. *These secret agencies play an important part in the*
"*social disorganization of the country, and the conspiracy*
"against the payment of rent is enforced by them."

This unexceptional witness, by his evidence, then showed
that the fault was not on the side of the landlords, and that
the action of the tenants of Ireland was quite inexcusable
"But there is no need to despair of overcoming this diffi-
"culty. According as the law is seen to be stronger than
"the organized resistance to it, *the secret and indirect in-*
"*fluence which now operates upon the masses of the people*

"may be expected to give way, and the moral forces
"which have been driven back and compelled to remain
"quiescent, will again assert their power. . . . The
"practice of 'boycotting' is another evil which requires to
"be dealt with. It is a most potent engine in the hands
"of the Land Leaguers, and the effect of it has been to
"drive numbers of loyal men, who long stood aloof and
"have no sympathy with its dishonest and disloyal prin-
"ciples, to join the League in self-defence. If 'boycott-
"ing' were made by law a malicious injury, for which
"compensation could be levied, an effectual blow would be
"struck at the nefarious practice. . . . There has been
"an abundant harvest, including a splendid potato crop,
"and the beneficial effects are seen in diminished pressure
"upon the poor. There is also a greater store of money in
"the banks—much of it, no doubt, which ought to be in
"the landlords' pockets—but it is in the country, at all
"events. . . . It is not for want of means that the
"farmers now refuse to pay their rents. Their prospects
"never were better. The cattle trade, as already stated,
"has improved, and the fear of American competition has
"declined. . . . He obtains high prices for his stock
"and produce; he has a good market even at home, and
"with revived trade in England the demand for his sup-
"plies increases, and with it also his profits. He has no
"longer the excuse that he has no heart to work, because
"that his landlord might, as many have done, appropriate
"the value of his improvements. The times are changed,
"the tables are turned, and he is master of the situation.
"*The Legislature has practically reversed the positions. He*
"*is owner of the soil, while his landlord is only a receiver of*
"*rent (if he can get it).* With his lease for fifteen years,
"and a covenant for perpetual renewal, at a rent fixed by
"himself and his neighbours, and with the sanction of his
"sympathetic friends, the Sub-commissioners, the tenant
"is better off than the nominal owner of the fee. . . .
"The land war, which it was thought would be put an end

"to by the Land Act, is only about to begin in earnest. "The landlords finding that, notwithstanding the suppression of the Land League, they have the same organized opposition to encounter, are combined to resist it to "extreme measures."

How manifest did it become to an impartial observer—nay, to a witness for the Government—that the agitation did not arise from the tyranny or injustice of landlords; that it was not due to the misery and want of the tenants; but that it came from an occult agency, which made the agitation, and then used it as a means for attaining its own secret and unhallowed ends! What was that occult agency? Let us again follow the thread as it winds through the dark caverns and recesses of the labyrinth, till we find where it ends. We remember that Mr. Chamberlain himself followed the thread into the Cabinet of Ministers. We remember his speech: "I say deliberately "that if this agitation—[i.e., the Land League agitation, "with all its machinery of terrorism]—had followed English "precedents; if its leaders had carried it on within the "spirit, as well as the letter of the law; if they had dis- "countenanced violence and intimidation, then there was "never an agitation in the United Kingdom more deserv- "ing of untiring sympathy and more entitled to complete "success. Its original objects were legal, were even praise- "worthy. To stifle the agitation at such a time—[i.e., at "any time before the Land Act passed]—*would have been "to have prevented reform*; would have been also to have "brought ruin to thousands and tens of thousands of in- "nocent people, who are now protected by the Land Act."

That is not all Mr. Chamberlain said. He added: "Sir, "it is no light thing at any time to suspend the Constitu- "tion; but to do as these Tories would have done, in "order to gag the victims of injustice, in order to pre- "vent the advocacy of necessary reforms; that, it seems to "me, would be a monstrous tyranny which no free people "ought to endure. *There was yet another reason which*

“ *weighed with the Government*, and which I think might well affect the judgment of impartial men. *If the agitation of the Land League had been then suppressed, the tenants of Ireland would have had no ORGANIZATION to fall back upon.*”

What were the “original objects” which Mr. Chamberlain had persuaded himself, or had been persuaded by *another*, to consider “legal, even praiseworthy”? They were—the abolition of the Protestant Irish landlords; and, as a means to that, “holding the harvest;” and paying “no rent.” Then came boycottings, shootings, maimings, terrorisms, and so forth. But the abolition of the Irish landlords was not the ultimate object; it was itself but a means to the end. The end was the *independence of Ireland as a separate Roman Catholic country.*

Lord Carnarvon thus commented on Mr. Chamberlain’s admissions: “Mr. Chamberlain has stated—if he has not stated, he has implied, if language has any force and value—that *Her Majesty’s Government allowed the agitation to go on in Ireland, in order to give a better chance to their legislative nostrum. It is the act of French Jacobins during the French Revolution, when they stirred up the mob of a great town, in order to carry their own enactments. It means that laws are to be broken, that blood is to be shed, that property is to be endangered, in order to give a fair chance to a piece of legislation on which the Government has set its heart.*”

Thus the thread has led us into the Cabinet. But the Cabinet is not one. There is always a Cabinet within a Cabinet. In the late Lord Derby’s time, the inner Cabinet consisted of Lord Derby, Mr. D’Israeli, and the Earl of Malmesbury. In Lord Palmerston’s time, it consisted of Lord Palmerston, acting sometimes alone and sometimes with Mr. Gladstone. In Mr. D’Israeli’s time, the inner Cabinet was himself alone; and he played off Lord Salisbury and Lord Derby against each other, by holding out to each, the hopes of a succession to the leader-

ship of the Conservative party. In Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet, Mr. Gladstone is alone and impenetrable. He doubtless had talked over Mr. Chamberlain; but he had not succeeded in circumventing the Duke of Argyll. The *Times* of the last day of 1881, contained a letter from his Grace, from which the following passages have been extracted. His Grace thought it incumbent upon him to clear himself from complicity with the objects expressed by Mr. Chamberlain.

"It is with regret that I feel compelled to notice one paragraph of the letter of the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) addressed to Mr. Page Hopps, and published in your paper of the 26th. That paragraph is as follows:—'*The avowed objects of the (Irish Land) League—the examination into a system, the reform of an unjust law—were objects perfectly legal. They were objects approved by the Government which had pledged itself to effect them if it could.*'

"I have no desire to criticise any representation made by any member of the Government in respect to its opinions or policy now. But as this paragraph refers to *the opinion of the Government* at a time when I had the honour of being a member of it, I do feel called upon to say that the opinion here expressed I can only recognise as having been the individual opinion of the President of the Board of Trade, and *certainly not as having been the opinion of the Government.* . . .

"It is not correct to represent either the commission of outrages, or the long subsequent issue of the "No Rent" manifesto, or the passing of the Land Act, as having made any essential change either in the legality of the objects avowed by the Land League or in the legality of its methods of operation. All of these together, and all of them separately, were detailed by the Government in December, 1880, as objects and as acts of a criminal nature. It was just as illegal to incite and solicit tenants to pay no rent above Griffith's valuation, as to incite or

"solicit them to pay no rent at all. . . . I limit myself now to the proposition that *at no time*, so far as I know, *did the Government approve of the 'avowed objects' of the League*, and that during the whole autumn and winter of 1880, we publicly declared, in the most formal manner, that we held and knew these objects to be unlawful and unjust, both in themselves and in the systematic methods adopted for the attainment of them."

We have some curious and instructive facts before us. There is not the slightest doubt as to the fact that the Government allowed the Land League agitation to go on unchecked for a considerable time. There is no doubt that they kept the police out of the way, in accordance with an agreement with Mr. Parnell. There is no doubt that many of their acts did awake the Land League from slumber, and give increased solidity and power to the Land League agitation;—whether the Government intended it or not, there is no doubt that they did it. There is no doubt that Mr. Chamberlain admitted these facts, and then justified them on the ground that if the Government had interfered against the Land League agitation, it would have prevented the passing of the Land Act. There is no doubt that the Land Act was thought, by authoritative judges, to have ruined the Irish landlords. There is no doubt that Mr. Parnell sought the ruin of the Irish landlords, as a means to the separation and independence of Ireland. There is no doubt that Mr. Parnell exulted in the Land Act, as having very nearly brought about the ruin of the landlords. There is no doubt that Mr. Chamberlain held that those avowed objects of the Land League were praiseworthy, and that he was under the impression that the whole Cabinet had shared his opinion. There is no doubt that there was a Cabinet within the Cabinet, from which inner Cabinet the Duke of Argyll and the majority of the Cabinet Ministers were excluded. Thus we have now followed the thread to that *inner* Cabinet.

No. LXX.

Early in the year 1882, Mr. Chamberlain made a speech to his constituents. It was a fitting opportunity for setting himself right with the Duke of Argyll and the country. What did he say? He complained that the Opposition opposed! He ascribed their opposition to unworthy motives: "It is because we lowered rents in Ireland, that the Tories are now so bitter against us. . . . They say that a practical application has been given to the doctrine that even a landowner may not do what he likes with his own, if it is at the cost of robbery and injustice to other classes, and at the risk of danger to the whole community." He then turned his attention to the "claim for compensation for Irish landlords who have been deprived of the right of exacting excessive and extortionate rents from their unfortunate tenants. Now, I wish this claim for compensation were stated for your consideration a little more clearly. Let us consider, in the first place, what it amounts to in money. *Up to the present time the decisions of the Court have established reductions of rent to the extent of the average of 25 per cent.* Supposing that the cases taken are a fair average for the whole of Ireland, then it follows that 25 per cent. upon the present rents of that country would amount to something like £4,000,000 a year, and £4,000,000 a year are worth as a capital sum at twenty-five years' purchase £100,000,000 sterling."

What argument is this? We have confiscated your property (he says); we have robbed you, it is true. But as the robbery is of so enormous an amount, it is no crime, and has not to be repaid! So much for Mr. Chamberlain's conceptions of morality! But how has it set him right with the Duke of Argyll? What becomes of his admissions *concerning the inner Cabinet?*

Mr. Chamberlain, who had joined in the senseless cry that "force is no remedy," next proclaimed his utter ignorance of political science, and his denial of the many moral powers by which men are ruled. With him, all men are mere beasts of burden, who understand nothing but the thong on their backs and the bit and bridle in their mouths.

"It seems to me that *all government necessarily rests upon coercion in the last resort. I think it ought; and I* will say, moreover, it is much better for the people that a responsible and active Government should resort to force in order to maintain order and tranquillity, rather than it should permit an irresponsible and an unrepresentative organization—by force also—for they use the methods of which they complain so much that they are used by the Government—by force also to attempt to throw the country into confusion and *Revolution*. I would test this point by asking a question. Suppose that *the Irish Republic, which has apparently attained its embryonic state in America, were really to be established, and suppose Mr. Parnell himself were to be the first President of that Republic*. I imagine that he would be prepared, under those circumstances, to maintain his authority and protect his fellow-citizens by force, if force were necessary; and if any section of his countrymen combined to refuse to pay the taxes as they now combine to refuse to pay rent, and if they adopted the same methods in order to secure success, I say it is perfectly clear that in that case *Mr. Parnell and his Government would have to resort to the very stringent measures of coercion, or else they and he would be swept away together; and, in the present state of Ireland, I do not hesitate to say that I see only one alternative to the course which we have pursued, and that is, that we should declare that the resources of statesmanship are exhausted; that we cannot govern Ireland to the satisfaction of its people; that we cannot conciliate the nation, and, therefore, that WE MUST RESOLVE TO LET THEM GO AND TO ESTABLISH THEIR*

"INDEPENDENCE. That is the alternative which some Liberals hold we should adopt, and I admit their consistency in objecting to any resort to coercion now ; but, for my part, I think it would be a conclusion so fraught with disaster to Ireland, so dangerous to the interests of England, that I will never willingly consent to it." *L'enfant terrible!* He has let out some more family secrets! He has again blabbed the *arcana* of the inner Cabinet!

Lastly, Mr. Chamberlain evinced his disregard of facts. He, perhaps, had never heard of the Bessborough Commission. He, perchance, thought light of the asseveration of the Prime Minister himself, that the landlords had been put on their trial, and completely exonerated. Mr. Chamberlain said: "He wanted to know if the Tories were going to follow up their present tactics in order, as a matter of fact, that they might have 100 millions of money out of the pockets of the taxpayers of England in order to put it into the pockets of the Irish landlords, *who were the persons they wanted to punish for demanding such extortionate rents.* What he urged was this, that if there was any compensation *for the landlords*, it should go *to the tenants.* He maintained that these tenants and their predecessors had *been robbed of their improvements* and all stimulus to energy had been taken away, and the cases which he had quoted were almost *sufficient to account for the outrage*, which they all so much deplored, and which could never be justified in the legislation which had been passed." So! the Government "wanted to punish" the Irish landlords! That was their pretended ground for the Land Act! It reminds us of the "revenge" which the Jesuit alleged as the ground of the agitation: revenge for the acts of King William! Still Mr. Chamberlain failed to remove the impression caused by his revelations of the inner Cabinet.

Mr. Bright spoke at the same meeting. He spoke before Mr. Chamberlain, and the two speeches were scarcely con-

sistent. Mr. Chamberlain laid all the blame on the landlords, accusing them of crimes of which they had already been completely acquitted; and saying that the outrages were "fully accounted for,"—probably he meant justified,—by those supposed crimes of landlords—doubtless on the principle that revenge is just. Mr. Bright, on the other hand, declared that the tenantry of Ireland had been worked up, by foreign agitators and revolutionists, into a state of sedition and rebellion:—"They complain that the law is suspended. I grant that it is suspended, and I reply, 'By whom was the law first suspended in Ireland?' I do not think I am mistaken in saying that a member for Ireland, in the House of Commons, said that the ordinary law or the ordinary Government was knocked into a cocked hat. I believe it is intended as a phrase of the utmost contempt. But surely when *a man stands up in the House of Commons, a representative of an Irish constituency, and tells the Government and the whole of the Commons of England, as they sit in Parliament, that the association with which he is connected has knocked the whole of the Queen's Government in Ireland into a cocked hat*, he has at any rate no right to complain and howl because the Government have felt it necessary to suspend the law. The loyal men in the three kingdoms complain that this state of things was going on. . . . The question is whether you are to allow terror to be master in a considerable portion of Ireland, or whether you are to attempt a remedy. . . . *I said last year, on this platform, that we were on the eve or in the midst of something like social revolt in Ireland. There were the elements of discontent; there have always been, so far as I have known anything of Ireland, and there have generally been some bad men willing to make use of and stir up these elements of discontent. At present there is a conspiracy discovered, much of it seen and altogether undeniable—a conspiracy which is in reality a treason to the Crown, and whose object is the breaking up of the United Kingdom.* It is based

"not on a love of the tenantry of Ireland, but on a hatred
 "of England. . . . I will give you two or three extracts
 "from what has been said at a recent meeting of the Irish
 "Convention in the city of Chicago. I take the extracts
 "from a newspaper of the Irish party in America. . . .
 "The first person who spoke at this Convention was John
 "F. Finighty, who said :—'Ireland is nothing less than
 "'England's bitterest foe, and we are nothing less than
 "'Ireland's unquenchable and uncompromising allies.'
 "Then there were two Irish members of the House of
 "Commons—Mr. T. P. O'Connor, M.P., said :—'Now, in
 "'England, as to the future, the contest between England
 "'and Ireland at first sight might be a thing that it would
 "'seem folly or madness to talk about. The Irish people
 "'have no army as yet. The English Government has a
 "'large army.' You see exactly what is the intention
 "there and what it intimates. Well, then, there was a
 "Catholic priest, Father Sheehy. This is what he said :—
 "'I want to tell you here to-night that we face landlordism
 "'and aim at its utter destruction, but only as a stepping-
 "'stone and a means to a greater and a higher end. . . .
 "'Will you be content to go on paying what is called a
 "'fair rent, an abomination, a crime, not alone against
 "'modern civilization in Ireland, but against common
 "'sense, and blasphemy against God? . . . In France
 "'landlordism was swept down and crushed utterly into
 "'powder by the armed hand of revolution. . . . That
 "'is what we should do. . . . If any gentleman will
 "'undertake the commission, he will have my benediction.'
 "Then further on he said this :—'I look in their hearts, and
 "'I see a burning love of Ireland, and I see a burning
 "'hatred to England; I see that there is on this earth only
 "'one enemy of Ireland, and that enemy is England.
 "' . . . I would not be satisfied with legislative inde-
 "'pendence if I were not satisfied that there was a day in
 "'the future when the Irish race would revenge themselves
 "'upon their enemies.' Well, I must take one little

"quotation from the speech of another member of the House of Commons—Mr. Healy. He said: 'For what is the business for which this Convention has assembled? It is for the purpose of *revenge*, as I take it—revenge upon the enemy which drove you and your fathers forth from their own lands.' Then, 'Hats were flying in the air, mouths were opened wide, when the *pronunciamiento* of the *embryotic Irish Republic* was launched at the British animal with a hurrah.' Now, only one thing more of this Convention. Mr. Gannon, the representative for the State of Iowa, after the address had been passed, said, 'But what does the Land League mean? It means Ireland really choosing representatives to send to the Old House in College Green. Yes, it means the flag of the Irish Republic floating over its central dome, and the citizen soldier there prepared and able to defend it.'"

Mr. Bright spoke of "the embryotic Irish Republic." Mr. Chamberlain used the expression, "the Irish Republic which has apparently attained its embryonic state." The conversation of the Cabinet had so accustomed these gentlemen to the idea of an Irish Republic, that they were able to contemplate that High Treason with calmness, and speak of it without horror? How far the inner Cabinet might have got, in that direction, it was impossible to say.

Let us return to the Land Act. Mr. Justice O'Hagan and Mr. Litton decided that,¹ under "Healy's clause," no tenant is to be deemed to have been compensated for his improvements, by the mere enjoyment of them, for any time, however long, and at any rent, however low. This was of course a complete admission of Mr. Parnell's doctrine that the landlord could claim, for his land, only the value which it might have had "when the waters of the Deluge left it,"—only the "prairie value," as it was afterwards called. As Mr. Gladstone appeared to have given

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, January 19, 1882.

the Commissioners some "unseen but well understood "lines," to guide their judgments, and as their decisions had always proved to be in complete accordance with the doctrines of Parnell and the Land League, it was fairly assumed that an identity in policy and aim existed between the Prime Minister of England, and the *de facto* Government of Ireland.

The Chief Commissioners next sat to hear appeals from the judgments of the Sub-commissioners at Belfast.¹ In twenty-five cases out of forty, where the rents had been reduced more than twenty-five per cent., the decisions on appeal were given in favour of the tenants. In four cases the tenants' applications for further reductions of rent were given in favour of the tenant ; while in the remaining cases very fractional augmentations of rent, above the judicial rent, were given to the landlords. The judgment of the Sub-commissioners on M'Atavey's case was confirmed. No wonder that Archbishop Croke should have been able to contain himself no longer. He went to Waterford on Sunday afternoon, exulting and triumphant,² and said that—"The land agitation had done an immense amount "of good for the people of Ireland. It might be said to "have reduced the rental of Ireland by one quarter ; so "that, taking the entire rental at twenty millions, it placed "five millions a-year in the pockets of the tenant farmers "of Ireland."

If Archbishop Croke could exult, others could deplore. There were open secessions of peers from Mr. Gladstone's ranks. One of them, Earl Grey, wrote the following letter: "I cannot understand how it happens that all who are "interested in the land, or in the welfare of England "generally, do not take the same view of the subject as "Lord Zetland, and refuse to go on supporting a man who, "on every really important question, acts against the old "opinions of all the great Whig leaders in the old days, "when the Whigs were a party to which I for one was

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, January 21.

² *Ibid.*, January 24.

"proud to belong, and of which I will not give up the traditions because a set of men choose to call themselves the successors of a party with which they have really nothing in common. Is it not strange that people do not look back a little, and see what have been the results of Mr. Gladstone's policy? There is an old saying that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and Mr. Gladstone's pudding has proved very bitter eating. In 1868, when Mr. Gladstone began his agitation about Ireland and denounced the 'Upas-tree,' Ireland was rapidly improving. The landlords and tenants were as a rule on good terms with each other, and Fenianism, as Mr. Gladstone himself admitted, met with no support whatever from the small farmers. . . . But Mr. Gladstone stimulated the excitable Irish people to half madness by his speeches, denouncing the grievances he said they were labouring under, and which he had not raised a finger to remove during all the years that he had before been in office. Having used the state of Ireland as a lever to upset the previous Government, he came into power himself, and passed the measure which he told us was to give prosperity to Ireland. After dealing with the Church question in the very worst way, he gave us the unfortunate Land Bill of 1870, which first gave the Irish tenants a slice of the landlords' property, and, as was sure to happen, created among them an appetite for more, and raised the feelings of cupidity which have led to the results we now see. Last session, he passed his new Land Bill, and the way in which it is working shows the incapacity of its author in the most striking way."

On Feb. 6 the world was astonished by the republication, as a pamphlet under official authority, of a series of articles from the *Freeman's Journal*. The title of the pamphlet was, "*How to become the Owner of your Farm. Why Irish landlords should sell, and Irish tenants should purchase; and how they can do it under the Land Act of 1881.*" The pamphlet must have been for some time ready and waiting for an opportune moment for publica-

tion, as the prefatory note was dated "Nov., 1881." At the end of the pamphlet, the signature was appended: "The Secretary Irish Land Commission, 24, Upper Merrion St., Dublin," and there was the usual official imprint, stating that the pamphlet had been issued by "*Alexander Thom & Co., The Queen's Printing Office; for Her Majesty's Stationery Office; 3,564—2,000, 1, '82,*" showing that 2,000 copies had been printed in the first month of 1882. The Secretary of the Land Commission therein stated that: "To the Irish Land Commission had been confided the task of bringing about a peasant proprietary." The Irish tenant was then asked whether he doubted that it would be to his advantage that he should be enabled to purchase the fee-simple of his holding? and he was told, "*If he doubts it, then he doubts the doctrine which Davitt unfolded at Irishtown, and for the teaching of which that far-seeing man founded the Irish National Land League—the most widespread, the most powerful, and in its effects we believe the most enduring organization of our time. If he doubts it, then have Parnell and Dillon and Davitt laboured and suffered in vain.*"

From this it may be inferred that the Irish Land Commission had been instituted by Mr. Gladstone in order to carry out the views of the Fenian convict Davitt! The Secretary continued: "Strangers have been surprised at the keen intelligence which the Irish peasant has shown on the question; and it is impossible to suppose that men, to whom the arguments of the Land League leaders are familiar as household words, should have failed to grasp *the principle which the Land League was founded to back—the principle, namely, that Irish tenants should strive and strive until they were put in the position to purchase out and out their holdings, so that they should be owners and freemen, instead of being tenants and slaves. The desirability of the change will be cordially admitted by every Irish tenant, the desirability, not alone from the point of view of his own comfort and prosperity and*

“freedom, but also because, in effecting the change, he will “give proof of his loyalty to the principles of the organization which has been the means of bringing about the “change.”

The Land League was founded for the same object as that for which Mr. Gladstone appears to have created the Land Commission, namely, to oust the Protestant landlords and substitute a Roman Catholic peasant proprietary. One of the means used to bring about that end was the utter impoverishment of the landlords and the depreciation in value of their land. This was the meaning of the “No “Rent” cry. The Secretary of the Land Commission alluded to it: “The landlord who is wise will remember “that *he has now no probable purchaser but his tenants*—no “outsiders who, for the prestige of owning a large tract of “land, will pay him a heavy price for his estate. *The purchasing public will, for each estate, be practically limited to “the tenants upon it; the landlord must sell to them or not “at all.* No position can be more anxious, more worrying, “more wasteful, more unprofitable in every aspect of the “case, than that of a heavily-encumbered owner of an out- “lying estate in Ireland in the hands of tenants. The “owner of such an estate is no longer an object of envy “and admiration, but of pity.”

That is the teaching which was given, at the public expense, to the half-insurgent, more than half-criminal, and ever disloyal people of Ireland! It was for this that Mr. Gladstone had established the Land Commission! His pretence in doing it was the furtherance of justice; yet it was really the Commission of injustice. The Commission which was ostensibly instituted to judge justly between landlord and tenant, was really established to bring about a peasant proprietary; and the means by which it was destined to attain that end was, by means of their decisions, to cheapen the value of estates, and, by means of official pamphlets, to *tout* for purchasers at the reduced prices! The fallen landlord was then to be kicked by the

Secretary of the Commission, and told that his former "prestige" had been, by the Commission Court, so far destroyed, that it had no longer any attractions for "outsiders," so that each landlord's own tenants were "the only possible purchasers." The Secretary of the Land Commission, may be supposed to have exclaimed : "See! the policy which Davitt and the Land League urged you to pursue, and which we, the Land Commission, were instituted to carry out, has already worried out the landlords and ruined them; they must sell, and you may buy cheap. But if any stiff-necked landlord here or there should be found to be obdurate, then pursue the same policy with increased vigour, and you will eventually be successful." The fruits of the agitation and the Land Commission had so far been a reduction of thirty per cent. in the landlords' rental. The continuation of the agitation, which was hinted at in the Commissioners' pamphlet, would of course cause a further reduction, or even the total ruin of the landlords of Ireland.

The *Times* of February 7, 1882, in commenting on a letter of "R. O'H." (was the chief Land Commissioner, O'Hagan, the writer of it?), thus delivered its judgment : "We published, on January 9, a letter calling attention to an indirect injury inflicted by the Irish Land Act on the lenders and borrowers of money on the security of landed property in Ireland. The position of both these parties, our correspondent 'R. O'H.' pointed out, is changed for the worse by the general reduction of Irish rents which has taken place under the Act. . . . From the borrower's point of view, the results are even more disastrous. The lender can call in his money, and, if he fails to obtain it, can have the land sold and his claim satisfied out of the proceeds. The borrower can have no such resource as this. . . . Moreover, what to the lender was a margin of safety, was to him a margin of income. The reduced rent no longer yields him the old surplus to live upon. The entire proceeds of his land are swallowed up in the

"payment of interest to his old or to his new creditor. "His choice is thus either to remain the titular possessor "of an estate which brings him in nothing, or to part with "his estate and to pay his mortgage debt out of it, and to "be left at the end of the transaction with a balance of "nothing in his favour. The hardship is unquestionable." The deliberate decision of the *Times* was, that both landlords and mortgagees had been ruined by Mr. Gladstone.

On Thursday, February 9, during the adjourned debate on the Address to the Crown, Mr. P. J. Smyth moved an amendment in favour of "Home Rule," or rather, the separation of Ireland from England. The words of the resolution were: "Humbly to assure Her Majesty "that, in the opinion of this House, the only efficacious "remedy for the deplorable condition of Ireland, is the re-adjustment of the political relations established between "Great Britain and Ireland by the Act of Legislative "Union of 1800." That Mr. P. J. Smyth should have done so, was considered natural; and his speech attracted very little attention. Every member was aware that every statesman hitherto had not only declared unequivocally against Home Rule; but had also consistently refused even a Committee of Inquiry into the question, on the ground that it would be a sheer waste of time. They all held that the result of one country having its own Parliament, while another country had a separate Parliament, would certainly be the separation into two countries, if one of those countries was Ireland. Yet Mr. Gladstone not only conceded the propriety of inquiring, but he also challenged the Home Rulers to draw up the necessary distinction between local and Imperial questions. He moreover announced to the Irish members that *the Government had already prepared a Bill for "the Local Government "of Ireland."* Here, then, was a great stimulant applied, by the Prime Minister, to the Land League agitation, whose ultimate aim had always been the separation of Ireland from England. Here was the separatist and revo-

lutionary spirit of Ireland galvanized by Gladstone into renewed life and vehement energy !

Yes! Mr. Gladstone, the Prime Minister of England, pronounced that the question of Home Rule not only might be inquired into and debated, but should, and ought to be, debated. Mr. P. J. Smyth had affirmed that the only remedy for the ills of Ireland was the Repeal of the Union. Mr. Gladstone, following out the policy of Tyrconnel, had worried out the landlords of Ireland; and then, fulfilling the promise of the Provincial of the Jesuits in 1873, he said that Mr. P. J. Smyth's proposition "was entitled to discussion, and *effectual* discussion;"—he desired that it should not only be debated, but should also be put into effect. He added, moreover, that his only regret at its having been raised on the Address, was that "*effectual* discussion" could not, on such an occasion, be given to it. Mr. Gladstone, in desiring effect to be given to Home Rule principles—as distinguished, of course, from those of the I. R. B., or Irish Republican Brotherhood—looked for an Irish autonomy (an Irish Parliament) with some Supreme Authority over all the empire, to unite all its autonomous portions into one. That Supreme Authority could not, of course, be the English Parliament, as that would be an effective denial of local autonomy.

Here follows the memorable speech of Feb. 9. Mr. P. J. Smyth having expressed a desire to withdraw his amendment, at which cries of "No" arose, Mr. Gladstone rose and said: "As there is an indisposition to allow the amendment to be withdrawn, of course I can only express my regret at that indisposition. I do so, not because I am averse to the discussion my hon. friend has raised—not, because the subject introduced yesterday in so excellent a spirit, and with so much eloquence, is unworthy of our attention—but because I think that, recommended as it is by him, *it is entitled to discussion, and effectual discussion*; but that effectual discussion cannot be had upon this occasion. . . . With regard to the question

"of the extension of local government in Ireland, it was a matter of great pain to us to find that, owing to the impediments thrown in our way last session, we were unable to persevere with a measure of local government for Ireland, of which we had given notice of our intention and desire to introduce. We attach the greatest value to the extension—perhaps I ought to say to the establishment—of local government in that country. We believe that one of the great evils under which the country labours is that of local administration. . . . But that is treating of the subject of purely local administration. The motion of the hon. member embraces other matters of wider scope. . . . Two hon. members, who belong to what is known in Ireland as the Popular party, have spoken to-night, and both of them are entitled to the respect of this House—namely, the hon. member for King's County, and the hon. member for the county of Limerick. Both recommend that arrangements should be made to enable an Irish legislative body to deal with Irish affairs, and both declare their adhesion to the principle of the preservation of the integrity of the Empire, and their desire that Imperial questions should continue to be treated in an Imperial Parliament in which Ireland should be represented. As far as their general declarations go, I do not think that any exception can justly be taken to them; but, at the same time, these hon. members have shown how differently they construe the words which they themselves have used. I will not undertake to say at what decision this House might arrive on this proposal, provided a plan were to be laid before us under which what are purely Irish matters could be clearly and definitely separated from what are purely Imperial matters. . . . The principle upon which the hon. members propose to proceed is this—that purely Irish matters should be dealt with by a purely Irish authority, and that purely Imperial matters should be dealt with by an Imperial Chamber, in which Ireland is to be represented. But they have not told us

"how we are to distinguish between the two classes of subjects. *Until they devise some plan for separating these classes of subjects, I do not see how we are to arrive at any effective judgment upon the merits of their proposal.*"

What shall we say of the effect of Mr. Gladstone's words on Ireland? Were they not calculated to encourage agitation and give strength and support to the Land League, whose ultimate aim, as Mr. Parnell frequently stated, was autonomy for Ireland? Was his speech not a direct invitation to the Home Rule party to imitate the tactics of the Land League, which had supplanted, by means of outrage and sedition, the Home Rule Association and ousted it from power? What party would gain, and what principles would be enforced, then, by this speech? The Revolutionary or Separatist party must reap all the gains, and the principles of the Irish Republican Brotherhood must be disseminated on the authority of the Prime Minister of England. The Irish agitators had no idea of anything except a Republic like that of France in 1792. Mr. Gladstone's "flesh and blood" speech brought the country to household suffrage; his Home Rule speech—in which he said of Mr. P. J. Smyth and his friends, "As far as their general declarations go, I do not think that any exception can justly be taken to them"—must bring an Irish Republic "within the sphere of practical politics." The Prime Minister of the British Parliament had thus cut himself off from objecting, that a separate Legislature must necessarily lead to a separate State.

The French newspapers naturally expressed their astonishment:¹ "How can Mr. Gladstone imagine that the Irish will not make use of their local privileges to arrive at entire political independence? Lastly, and above all, we see that his Thursday's² speech opened a question it is no longer in his power to close, and prepared for his Government a crisis in which it might easily collapse." On February 13, Mr. Plunket, in his place in the House,

¹ *Times*, February 14.

² Wednesday's.

challenged Mr. Gladstone either to accept or disavow the interpretation which had been universally given to his invitation to the Home Rule party. Mr. Gladstone made no response. His silence was ominous; more significant than words. The next day Mr. Sexton, regarding Mr. Gladstone's silence as a happy augury, made a speech which no supporter of Mr. Gladstone thought that Mr. Gladstone could have allowed to remain unanswered. But what a change had come over the country within six days! Six days ago, most Englishmen regarded Home Rule as a fantastic imagination of Mr. Butt, which he knew to be too wild to be ever regarded in earnest. Not a statesman in England condescended to give the subject one moment's thought! Now, what shall we say? After a few vague words from Mr. Gladstone, the mind of the whole of England had turned round. Conservatives studied the subject of Home Rule in irritation and anger, as a nightmare they must seek, by all their wisdom, to dispel; the Liberals studied it to find excuses for supporting it, and arguments to prove Mr. Gladstone's perspicuity and far-sightedness. Every Liberal member said to his fellow: "After all, there is nothing so dreadful in Home Rule: I may tell you that I myself have always been favourable to it, since I can remember."

NO. LXXI.

MR. SEXTON, an eloquent Irishman, traced, in his speech of Feb. 14, 1882, the origin of the Land League, asserting that its objects had been to stop rack-renting, and to convert occupiers into peasant proprietors *by getting rid of the landlords*. If, said he, there had been no Land League, there would have been no Land Act. Yet that Act carried out only the first part of the Land League's programme; and when the League continued to agitate for the second part (the autonomy of Ireland), the Castle Government

suppressed the League. Even the Land question was not as yet settled (he averred), and could be settled only by the abolition of landlordism. The Land Act, which was supposed to have settled it, was but a dismal failure, involving an enormous cost for very little work. Mr. Sexton also heartily concurred in Mr. Parnell's wish, that the agitation might not be allowed to cease, "*until the detestable alien rule of the 'Buckshot Government,' which has kept the country impoverished, has been got rid of.*" He added that he trusted that the recent speech of Mr. Gladstone, the Prime Minister, foreshadowed the concession of those Irish demands. Boycotting, Mr. Sexton defended; he did so on the ground that it was necessary, and therefore justifiable, for the Irish, who "*were living under an alien law made by another Community.*" For he regarded the House of Commons as unhomogeneous. The Irish and English, he intimated, could never amalgamate. They must *for ever remain as separate Communities, as the Jews in the midst of Gentile nations.* The Irish had, in fact, hoisted the anti-English standard. The Celts, or Cimmerians, had proclaimed their old blood hate of the Saxon race. The extinction of the English landlords in Ireland was the aspiration of this feeling; and yet it was subordinate to their further end of utter separation from England. Hence Mr. Sexton exhorted the Irish "to have the courage and wisdom to stand upon the lines of the 'No-rent Manifesto,'" and he predicted that the landlords would thus be starved out, and the English Government defeated in its attempt to put down Irish lawlessness. It was this Nationalist doctrine of separation, which Mr. Gladstone had encouraged by his speech on Wednesday!

There was truth in Mr. Sexton's remark that the Land Act was "a dismal failure." The remedial measure had not brought peace, but a sword. "Its cost was enormous, for very little real work which was done." According to the estimates of February, 1882, the charge for the thirteen Courts of the Land Commission amounted, during the short

time of its existence, to £84,919. The rental dealt with amounted only to £38,000. The salary of a non-legal assistant Commissioner was £750 a year, while the legal gentlemen of course drew a far higher revenue. How much cheaper and better it would have been to have put the £85,000 into the pockets of the tenants, or to have expended it on effecting permanent improvements, without disturbing the country and robbing the landlords! But this would not have attained the ultimate aim,—the ruin and expatriation of the Protestant landlords, and the separation of Ireland from England, which was the policy of King James II. and Tyrconnel.

After this speech, from Mr. Sexton, the debate on the address was allowed to collapse without any reply, or even explanation from Mr. Gladstone. A discussion arose on the report, which was taken on Wednesday, Feb. 15. That sitting also was terminated; and Mr. Gladstone had offered no word of explanation. On Feb. 16, however, Mr. Gladstone felt himself constrained to speak. During his speech, he alluded to his former speech. He did not trust himself, accomplished orator that he was, to *speak* on this subject. He took up a written paper from the table and read the following words, which had doubtless been prepared with the greatest care, art, and circumspection.

“ Well, sir, I am now about to submit myself to examination on a matter to which the right hon. gentleman has referred—namely, the short speech recently made by me, not indeed upon the motion of my hon. friend the member for Tipperary (Mr. P. J. Smyth), but upon the general subject of what is termed Home Rule, and in particular upon two speeches with respect to Home Rule delivered by two hon. members in that part of the House. Sir, my great difficulty in referring to this subject is that I feel that I might, perhaps, if one of the rules, which it may be my duty to propose in a few days, were already in force, be liable to be arrested in the middle of my speech by you, on the ground of ‘tedious and unnecessary

"iteration.' So often have I repeated, upon so many occasions, the sentiments that I delivered last week, and so innoxious have they been deemed upon those occasions, that I own I was a little surprised at the sensitiveness of one of the members for Dublin University, who rose to take notice of the dangerous matter they contained. But I do not believe that even his attack upon them would have succeeded in producing any excitement upon the subject, had it not been followed—which was much more fatal to them—by an expression of opinion, in qualified language, from the hon. member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). It is naturally said that anything he could possibly approve must necessarily be full of danger and mischief. Well, this is a subject on which I have very distinct and clear opinions—opinions which I have never scrupled to declare. They are not held by many gentlemen, probably, in this House. They may be considered of a speculative character. It is highly unlikely that I shall ever be called upon to take practical part in relation to those opinions; but I have the very strongest opinions upon the nature of local government. I have the strongest objections to the tendency, which I see constantly prevail, to the centralization of government—not for Ireland merely, but for England. I hold this tendency to be open to the gravest objections, and I will take it and profess it at all points, as a cardinal rule of policy, so far as I can, with regard to the general structure and safety of the empire, to decentralize Parliament. I believe that local institutions—the institution of secondary authorities—is a great source of strength, and that in principle the only necessary limit to those powers is the adequate and certain provision for the supremacy of the central authority. I believe that when the demand is made from Ireland, for bringing purely Irish affairs more especially or more largely under Irish control outside the walls of Parliament, the wise way to meet that demand is not the method adopted by the senior member for the University of Dublin, who said that anything recognising

"purely Irish control over purely Irish affairs must be necessarily a step towards separation, and must therefore be fraught with danger ; that I do not believe to be the wise or the just method of dealing with the subject. In my opinion, the wise and just method of dealing with it is this : to require that before any such plan can be dealt with, or can be examined with a view to being dealt with on its merits, those who propose it—and this is a question I have universally put—should answer this point—What are the provisions which you propose to make for the supremacy of Parliament? That has been my course, and that is the course in which I intend to persevere."

Such a speech,—or rather such a studied declaration,—went much further in favour of Home Rule than Mr. Gladstone's speech on that memorable Wednesday. He took care to let it be understood that what he had previously said *did not refer merely to Irish Municipal and County Government, but to a separate Irish Parliament*,—to the fullest principle of Home Rule. The Parliament at Westminster, according to Mr. Gladstone, should no longer interfere with Irish affairs. The only proviso which Mr. Gladstone made, was "the supremacy of the *central authority*." Be it remarked that he said, "central authority," not "Parliament." The Irish Parliament is, then, to make its own laws, levy its own taxes, decide its policy, and so forth; only a "central authority" is to be supreme. He said he was prepared to give the same to Scotland as to Ireland. Scotland is to have its local Parliament too. He did not mention England, because it followed of itself. Mr. Gladstone's "*very distinct and clear opinions*" on the subject, which he said he declared as long ago as 1872 at Aberdeen, and the "*wisdom and justice*" of such a course, had (he said) *always* been apparent to him. But if so, why did he vote against Mr. Butt's motion for inquiry into the subject in 1874? why did he resist Mr. Shaw's motion for inquiry in 1880? His opinions were in favour of Home Rule, and were "very distinct and clear"; and yet he

voted in an adverse sense. Did he do this in order to hoodwink the people of England? Was he acting like a sentry who pretended to guard the fortress by night, while employing all his minutes in mining underground, in order to permit the ingress of the enemy?

The journals of March 13 contained extracts from a Pastoral issued by Archbishop McCabe, whom the Pope had just made a Cardinal.¹ The following extracts from the Pastoral were given in the *Times* of March 13, 1882 :—

"The clergy dare not remain silent in the face of crimes which are bringing disgrace on their name and the religion of their country. A decree which struck at the security of all property, and consequently exposed to peril the faith they all loved, went forth to the country some time ago, and they had seen that decree enforced by the threat of terrible penalties, and its violation punished by atrocities that made them shudder, even by murders, which call aloud to heaven against their perpetrators and abettors. . . . The injury the unhappy dupes of these associations inflict upon authority is probably remote and small. The injuries they inflict upon themselves are immediate and terrible. They vow obedience to an unknown authority; they convert themselves into blind instruments for executing the decrees of an invisible and irresponsible tribunal, and they become, in the worst meaning, abject slaves. They are partners in a thousand crimes, which would fill their souls with horror, could they calmly survey them; and, having parted with their liberty by becoming members of a body sold to iniquity, they are before God and man partakers in its guilt."

The very day that this Pastoral appeared, Mr. Forster, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, spoke, in the House of Commons, of the "enormous number" of agrarian outrages recently committed in Ireland. As he had before been reticent on the subject, and had not regarded the outrages as so very numerous, he clearly

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, March 14.

indicated that a vast increase in the number had taken place. On March 14, Lord Justice Fitzgibbon said, from the judicial bench in Tipperary, that, "bad as things were "twelve months ago, they were twice as bad now;" there were (he said) 389 cases of outrage sent for trial, against 181 for the corresponding period of six months last year. It must be remembered that the cases of outrage put down for trial, gave no adequate idea of the outrages committed. It was utterly impossible to obtain evidence enough to lead to the arrest of any one, as the perpetrator of any outrage which had been ordered by the Land League. Even where suspicion did rest, from the clearest circumstantial evidence, on any individual, the impossibility of obtaining a conviction was so well known, that it was useless to apprehend.

Already the gaols were choked with prisoners. Between 600 and 700 "*suspects*" had been arrested under "*Lettres de Cachet*," and remained in prison without trial. For the Chief Secretary, Mr. Forster, said on March 10, that "one "of the officials had told him that, if 500 men were "brought to give evidence against the criminals, they "would not be convicted." Moreover, whatever testimony might be adduced at the trial, no jury could be found to convict. Some, at least, nay, the majority, if not all, were sure to be steadfast in breaking their oaths and forswearing themselves. It would have been supposed that, under the circumstances, the Government would have used their own judgment in the matter. Having determined to arrest none but those on whom the gravest suspicion rested, they would have kept those persons, at least, in durance vile, until a fair trial could have been procured? Far otherwise; as the following letters, printed in the *Times* of March 16, from the *Tuam News*, will show:

"The following letters have been received from Pat "Gilligan, Tyaquin, and James Coen, Clough, two of those "who were arrested on Tuesday week (28th of February). "Pat Gilligan's letter will banish, from the minds of those

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“who know him, any of those foolish fears wrongly entertained by them of being sent to gaol. All the young boys around Tyaquin and Clough are vexed that such a privilege should be given to those who were arrested, and that others were left behind :—

“‘Monaghan Gaol, *March 2, 1882.*

“‘My dearest Honor,—I write you these few lines to let you know that you need not be a bit uneasy about me. *We have very good times here; plenty of the best to eat and drink; lots of amusement.* If I was to tell you the whole of it, every one round there would soon apply for a ticket to get themselves in. Thomas Coen is here with me, and is well. When they are sending him some clothes, you can send mine too. Let me know if there is any news, and I hope you will not be uneasy about me, as I *am grandly off*, and would only like to be taken up again.

“‘I remain, your affectionate husband,

“‘PATRICK GILLIGAN.’

“‘Kilkenny, *March 1, 1882.*

“‘My dear Father and Mother,—I write to let you know that I arrived here about 11 o’clock to-day in good spirits. I was immediately supplied with something to eat, and then, after an hour, *dinner was served up to us that was fit for the first gentleman in the land.* At dinner we got a bottle of stout, which serves as a wash down. By *special dispensation* we are allowed to eat any kind of food—meat as often as we like, and eggs and butter.¹ I have a very comfortable cell to sleep in. It is 15 ft. long by 7 ft. wide, and 10 ft. high. It has a good-sized window. It is as comfortable and as warm as I could wish. In the room there is a nice metal bedstead, mattress, and excellent clean bed-clothes, a nice table, chair, and looking-glass. We can retire to bed

¹ It being Lent, the “special dispensation” was given of course by the priest.

“at 8 o'clock, and we get up at 7 or 8. *As for society, there is no want of the gayest, most light-hearted, and merriest. . . . The people at home have no idea of the merriment we have ; it would nearly rise you from death to life.*

“I remain, your affectionate son,
“‘JAMES COEN.’”

In contrast with the comfort and peaceful happiness of the life of an Irish rebel, when in gaol, were the horrors in the lives of unoffending citizens at large. It seemed as if the Government wished to provide a haven of rest for the worst rebels, in order to induce the others to enter that malefic race where all run, but few will wear the crown. The following description of the state of Ireland was given in the *Times* of March 20 :—

“The condition of the country, as revealed during the past week in the reports from the Assizes, arrests, and number of crimes and outrages perpetrated in several districts, is beginning to call forth an expression of horror and alarm even from quarters in which, until recently, it had been represented in a favourable light. . . . Some persons go so far as to assert that the measures taken by the Government for the repression of disorder, have absolutely broken down ; and others argue that *the outrages are the natural result of the exceptional measures employed to prevent them.* With this theory in view, they are now ready to admit any amount of violence and anarchy. . . . Not only do the calendars furnished to the judges represent only a fractional part of the criminality of the country, but the number of cases in which justice has been vindicated has been comparatively trifling.”

The evident aim of Mr. Gladstone—if we may judge from the facts—was to starve or drive the Protestant landlords out of Ireland. This was a step to the constitution of a separate Roman Catholic country.

During the beginning of the session of 1882, Mr. Gladstone very speedily lost power and influence. His under-

taking to gag the House of Commons, and to bring the House of Lords into contempt by his vote of censure, was too arduous a task even for one of Mr. Gladstone's genius. Some other instrument had, therefore, to be prepared to carry on the task. At the beginning of March, 1882, when the Irish landlords were at their wits' ends, and were crying out for justice, and immediately after the Wednesday's debate on the Bill to amend the Land Act, Mr. Smith gave notice of a motion to enable the State to create a peasant proprietary by the sale of all estates in Ireland. In that Wednesday's debate Mr. Plunket and Sir Michael Beach had urged on the Government the necessity of an extension of Mr. Bright's "purchase clauses" in the Land Act. Lord Cairns had already done the same in the debate which took place on the motion for the Committee, in the House of Lords. The Conservative party had evidently been worked upon to take the place of Mr. Gladstone, and to carry out the policy of Tyrconnel.

On March 23, the *Daily Telegraph* expressed its unbounded astonishment that the territorial aristocracy of Great Britain should endeavour to trump the "Bright clauses"; outflanking the Philosophical Radicals, pushing agrarian reform beyond Mr. Cobden's wildest dreams, and repeating with glibness and relish the often-abjured lesson of Mr. John Stuart Mill. The *Daily Telegraph* ascribed this marvellous change to "the whirligig of time," and the desire of Irish landlords to be sold out and get altogether quit of Ireland and its anarchy. It suggested, also, that Sir Stafford Northcote should move for the release of Mr. Parnell, in order that the chieftain of the Land League might second the motion of Mr. W. H. Smith. Mr. Joseph Cowen took a similar line in the *Newcastle Chronicle*, and complained that Irishmen had been put in prison for advocating a scheme which the Conservative party would themselves propose.

Of course the motion would be supported by all the Irish party and by many Liberals? What then? If Mr.

Gladstone were beaten, the Conservative party would come in, already pledged to complete the Tyrconnel policy ; if Mr. Gladstone should be victorious, he would complete it himself, and would be able to count upon Conservative support in doing so. A very cunning manœuvre ! A very subtle and astute device ! The pudding-headed Tory Cabinet could not have devised it. It could not have been spun out of the head of "*Tête d'étoupe*," ycleped Sir Stafford Northcote, with the whole front bench to aid him ! The monstrous intrigue for ruining the Protestant landlords, and wading through blood to an autonomous Romanist Irish State, was the conception of others, outside of Parliament, whose brains had long been practised in the intricate combinations of intrigue ; whose hearts had long since been hardened against human sympathy ; whose souls had been thoroughly stained with crime ; and whose hands were still reeking with blood.

It was they who had concocted the plot. Both sides of the House were the slaves who were compelled to carry it out. The plot having been concocted, and the plans laid, the Conservative party were ordered to announce their policy of going beyond Mr. Gladstone's Land Act and capping his Land League. The Liberals were then ordered to trump the Conservative card. In preparation for these moves Mr. Gladstone, on April 4, just before the Easter recess, made a speech of despondency and wailing despair. He acknowledged implicitly, if not explicitly, the utter failure of the Land Act, and proclaimed the inability of the Government to cope with those evils in Ireland, which the Government themselves had fomented. He recalled to the memory of the House "the remarkable declaration "of the Duke of Wellington,—that warning which he gave "to King George IV.,—that if ever the time came when "there was a war against rent, the Government would be "reduced to extremities, and would have no resources to "bring to bear against such a movement."

The next evening, April 5, the *St. James's Gazette*—an

evening paper, which was probably very fully informed of the intrigues up to a certain point—that evening paper produced a remarkable article, with the evident aim of leading the gentry of the country on the intended track during the Easter recess. It began thus: “When, about “a fortnight ago, we called attention in two articles (one “entitled, ‘Opposition Plans for Peasant Proprietorship’; “the other, ‘The Land Act Superseded’) to a certain “movement in the Conservative party, it was not difficult “to foresee that the Radical wire-pullers were about to be “thrown into extreme confusion. What we then pointed “out—and it had passed quite unnoticed in the public “prints till then—was shortly this: that while every day “proved more clearly that the Irish policy of the Govern- “ment was a disastrous failure, and while it seemed im- “possible for them to pretend to govern Ireland much “longer by virtue of their Land Bill, the Conservative “leaders had evidently made up their minds to force “another policy, by which the legislation of last year “would be virtually extinguished. The facts we pointed “to were that Lord Cairns in the House of Lords, and “Sir Michael Hicks-Beach in the House of Commons, and “Mr. Gibson in a letter to a newspaper, had declared that “the Government must find some means of attempting the “pacification of Ireland by the creation of peasant pro- “prietorships; and that thereafter Mr. William Smith had “given the most formal expression to this view that it was “possible to give. That gentleman placed a notice of “motion before the House of Commons, declaring that “‘further legislation is imperatively required to enable “‘tenants in Ireland to acquire the freeholds of their “‘holdings’; and this no doubt was done in concert with “his colleagues in the late Cabinet. *A more serious step, “or one more pregnant in its consequences, can hardly be “imagined.* For, as we have already said, no scheme for “the establishment of peasant proprietorships by State “agency can be small or partial. To be of any value at

“all, it must take so wide a sweep as to be of complete and
 “general application. But if so, it must of necessity super-
 “sede the abortive Land Act altogether. . . . Lastly, it
 “remains to be said that *detailed plans for an Irish Peasant*
 “*Proprietorship Bill have already been drawn up.* . . .
 “Mr. Smith’s most formidable motion *must be trumped*
 “somehow ; and *thus it is that we hear these sudden admis-*
 “*sions of complete failure, and hence these cries for new*
 “*legislation.*”

No. LXXII.

THE *Times* of April 13, 1882, contained the speeches of Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote in Liverpool. Let us listen to the testimony of the Conservative leaders—the supposed opponents of Mr. Gladstone,—and see how they intended to carry out and further Mr. Gladstone’s Tyrconnel policy of freeing Ireland from the Protestant landlords, so that it might be constituted as an autonomous Roman Catholic State. Lord Salisbury said: “I am
 “addressing you at a moment which, in respect to the
 “interests of the Empire, is more grave than any to which
 “my recollection extends. I have no need to prove it ; it
 “is a matter of common notoriety ; it has been proved by
 “the admission of the highest authority, *the head of the*
 “*Government himself, who has told us that*, in respect to
 “one portion of this kingdom, we are in the presence of
 “that gravest malady by which any State can be afflicted—
 “*in the presence of a social revolution.* The announcement
 “was made almost in a spirit of despair—certainly *without*
 “*any consciousness that there was any connection between the*
 “*achievements of the speaker and the avowal which he had*
 “*made.*”

Did it not occur to Lord Salisbury that Mr. Gladstone had made an avowal—which was at once proclaimed by a chorus of newspapers to have been “unfortunate,” “ill-
 “advised,” “incautious,” “ill chosen,”—precisely *in order*
to encourage the Land League to make another effort for

achieving success, and in order to dishearten the loyal population of Ireland, and to coerce his opponents in Parliament into a support of his policy? Lord Salisbury continued: "But what is a social revolution? In the case of Ireland, and I suppose generally, it is a revolution against the laws of property. . . . A social revolution is something abnormal and monstrous, against which *apparently* even his power and even his courage were in vain. *Has anything happened that could account for this fact, that now in this day we have, for the first time, a revolutionary movement against the rights of property? You have this remarkable coincidence, that within the last few years you have had in respect to Ireland, for the first time in the history of this country, legislation hostile to the rights of property.* You have had a Parliament suddenly changing the doctrine which had been upheld for centuries—suddenly setting aside the rights which, beyond the memory of man, had been acknowledged without dispute; suddenly transferring to one set of men, the property that had belonged to another. I am not going to affix any ethical name to the transference; there is no subject so unpleasant as allusion to the eighth commandment, when dealing with politics. Let us abstain from qualifying the transference. The undoubted fact is, however, that one quarter of the property of a certain class, so far as the machinery has hitherto worked, *has been transferred from that class to another class.* Well, now, I do not refer to this for the purpose of dwelling upon this injustice that has been done—and there is much to be said in respect of it—but I want you to look at it from another view. *Look at it in its effect of producing this social revolution.* If there is a movement, a successful and dangerous movement, against the laws of property, it is possible, *in the first instance, that those who are all the natural defenders of property are discouraged, and are unable to defend their rights with the vigour which in other countries they exercise.* The landlords of Ireland have been accused—I think

“ have been very ungenerously accused—of feebleness in
“ defending their own rights; but what has been their
“ position? They have fought between two fires; they
“ have had the enemy conducting the social revolution in
“ their front, and they have had the Imperial Parliament in
“ their rear. They have been standing, now for a dozen
“ years, upon uncertain and shifting ground. Up to 1870,
“ the rights of property in this country were clearly under-
“ stood and never disputed, and Parliament had never
“ interfered with individual ownership. *A new theory of*
“ *property was devised in 1870, and we were told that was*
“ *the final legislation with respect to land in Ireland.*
“ Eleven years of anxiety passed away, and that finality
“ was forgotten. A new theory of property was invented,
“ a new transference took place, and the landowners of
“ Ireland were again driven to the conviction that there
“ was nothing in the system or policy of the Imperial
“ Government, in respect to property, on which they could
“ rely. . . . And at a time when all men of all parties
“ in this island are doing their utmost to maintain that
“ legislative connection which we believe to be so deeply
“ valuable for the interest of both islands, *the same high*
“ *authority also lets fall a set of ambiguous words, pointing*
“ *to the probability of a future revisal, even of this vital*
“ *question of Imperial policy. . . . Now, the effect of this*
“ *ill-disguised and thinly veiled concession to forcible agitation,*
“ *has been to make up the elements of an insurrection which*
“ *is encouraged by every sign of yielding on the part of the*
“ *Government, by every ambiguous phrase pointing to future*
“ *concessions.* Now this, and this in the first rank, is the great
“ cause of the policy of the Government in Ireland. . . .
“ *If they had from the first sat down with the intention of*
“ *pursuing a policy which should, above every other policy,*
“ *succeed in the disorganization of society, in promoting and*
“ *bringing about a social revolution, they could not have*
“ *devised a more effectual policy of vacillation and oscillation*
“ *than that they have actually pursued.*”

Here Lord Salisbury distinctly charged Mr. Gladstone with having himself brought about, and then promoted, the very social revolution which he had seemed to deplore. That was all very good. But Lord Salisbury, having shown that Mr. Gladstone had brought about a social revolution, did not suggest that the revolution should be put down. Having proved that Mr. Gladstone had nearly expatriated the Irish landlords, in order to "revise the legislative connection between England and Ireland," he did not propose that the landlords should be reinstated, and their rights defended. On the contrary, he advised that Mr. Gladstone should be assisted, and that Mr. Gladstone's Tyrconnel policy should be continued and furthered. He said: "The Irish Land Act established a species of ownership in land, which has never been tried in any country in the world before; and, as mankind has, for an indefinite number of years, had to do with the ownership and occupation of land, it is highly improbable that in this time, and with our present light of the experience of the human race, such a totally new scheme of ownership and tenancy can succeed. . . . *The most subtle ingenuity could not have devised a method more perfectly certain to secure that landlord and tenant should remain on bad terms till fifteen years had expired.* For myself, I believe that the Land Act will have to be altered, and think it can only be altered in one direction. *I am not one of those who believe that, after a revolutionary step, you can go back.* It is one of the curses of revolution, that it separates you by a chasm from the past which you have left, a chasm which you never can recross. If you wish to establish peace and contentment in Ireland, *you must do your best to bring the ownership of land again into single hands.* You will see that I am referring to the proposal—notice of which has been given by my distinguished friend, Mr. William Henry Smith—for *increasing* those powers, under which the Commissioners can now act for *enabling Irish tenants to become, with*

“ perfect fairness and justice to their present landlords,
“ themselves the owners of their lands. I am well aware
“ this is a great undertaking, and I could have wished
“ that it had been begun earlier. . . . Radicalism has
“ done its utmost to hound the classes against each other
“ in England. Great efforts have been made to set the
“ occupiers of land against owners, and the labourers of the
“ land against both. The same efforts, for a longer time,
“ have been devoted to Ireland, upon a more favourable
“ field, and you now see the result; the disintegration, the
“ kindling of the animosity of classes has there had its
“ perfect work, AND THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IS ALL BUT
“ COMPLETE.”

The kindling of animosity in the minds of the Roman Catholic peasantry of Ireland, against the Protestant owners of land, of which Mr. Gladstone had been the instrument, had made the social revolution all but complete! That was my Lord Salisbury's avowal. And Lord Salisbury proposed to perfect Mr. Gladstone's work. Now hear Sir Stafford Northcote: “At this moment we are threatened
“ with these evils; *we are threatened with the social revolution, of which we have heard; we are threatened, not only*
“ *with a social, but, perhaps, through that, with a political*
“ *revolution.* We know how some of those who have been
“ the guiding spirits in the events that we have lately seen
“ in Ireland, have declared openly that they would not
“ have gone into this matter, if they had not seen some-
“ thing far beyond the immediate cry which they were
“ raising. We know how their leader, in expressive, though
“ homely terms, told us that he would not ‘have taken off
“ ‘his coat’ for this, unless he thought it would pave the
“ way for *the disruption of the Empire and the casting off of*
“ *the connection of England.* Whatever may be the distinc-
“ tion which you choose to draw between the social revolu-
“ tion and the political revolution, *in this case the two are*
“ *united, and form the common object of those who are engaged*
“ *in this business.* If that is so, and if England is exposed



"to these serious dangers, must we not ask, *Where are we to look for our means of defence?* Hitherto we should have had no difficulty in showing that the Houses of Parliament were the Constitutional bulwarks of the country, and that, *in the maintenance of the independence and of the vigour of character of these two Houses, our real road to safety was to be discovered.* But is that so now? Can we say that with the same confidence, when we see the manner in which those who should be the guardians of our independence, *those who should be our leaders in the work of fortifying the Constitution against all attacks, are endeavouring to weaken and to discourage and to disparage those great institutions to which we look for our safety.*"

So, Sir Stafford! you see dimly the connecting links between the parts of Mr. Gladstone's policy! Social revolution in Ireland, and then the separation of Ireland from England on the one hand; and then you spoke of the degradation of the House of Lords, and the gagging of the House of Commons, to prevent interference with his evil work! But if you perceived that, however dimly, I ask you, were calmly muttered words, and milksop phrases, the proper exponents of your feelings? We expected the fiery words of indignation, rage, and proud defiance at least, if you had no means of resistance to indicate. He continued: "We know pretty well that its strength is derived from the unwholesome and dangerous institute which has become, unfortunately, known among us by the name of the Caucus. *The Caucus is the tool of the Prime Minister, for the purpose of putting constraint upon the consciences of his supporters.* It is that Caucus which, no doubt, he has found in times past to be a very useful servant; but which I venture to say he will find, and the Government will find, to be a most dangerous master."

Still the calmly muttered words, the absence of inflexion of voice, of expression of the face, of gesture in the limbs! You speak of the degraded character of the House of Commons, and of its cause, the Caucus in the boroughs, with

less feeling than you would tell of bots in a sheep, or farcy in a cart-horse! He continued: "Lord Salisbury referred just now to the examples that we have had from foreign countries. I think that there are many things in the history of *the French Revolution*, a century ago, which we may well take to our hearts, and consider as warnings specially addressed to us. *There was the same outburst of social revolution, there was the same attack upon property, there was the same setting of class against class. But this you have to notice.* If you study the history of that time, you will see that *the evil work was done very much at the instigation of a small minority of the people, a small minority in point of numbers, but still organized and unscrupulous in the use of their means; and they were not resisted.*"

Then Sir Stafford continued in the voice and with the manner of a schoolboy repeating his *Propria quæ maribus*: "*The state of Ireland is most serious, and it has become so within the last two years, and under the direct effect of the measures which the Government have taken.* From the figures I have here, which were taken from the return that was presented at the close of last year, I see that, in the six years during which the late Government held office, there were in all 1,961 cases of agrarian outrage, or an average of 327 in the year. In the single year 1880, that average number of 327 was turned into 2,589, or more than the whole number in the six years of the Conservative administration. But in the following year what do we see? In 1881 the outrages had risen from the average of 327 to the fearful and appalling total of 4,439; and among those 4,439 cases of agrarian outrage, I see it on record that only 204 convictions had been obtained, and there were 88 prisoners awaiting trial."

Before turning to Lord Salisbury's speech of the next day, let us recall some of the points in the above: the disclosure of the possibility of further concessions to the Irish agitators, could not have failed to keep agitation alive; the despondent attitude of the Government, and the avowal

that the Social Revolution was too strong for them, must have added courage to hope, and stimulated the agitation into activity. The Land Act had been so framed as to preclude a cessation of the agitation, both by means of the block in the Land Courts, and the divided ownership in the land. Lord Hartington had, as Lord Salisbury reminded his hearers, just before borne out this view, by asserting that the work of the land Commissioners had been intended only to *lead up to the creation of a peasant proprietary*. Lord Salisbury next announced that he would not be a party to retracing their steps, but would swim on with the revolutionary tide, and help to extend the provisions of the Act by supporting Mr. Smith's resolution; that he would do his best to expatriate the Irish landlords, by putting a pseudo-Catholic peasantry in their places!

On this point let us recall the action of the Irish Romanist bishops throughout this conspiracy. It shall be given in the words of a letter from "an Irish Catholic," which appeared in the *Times* of April 14. "Cardinal McCabe condemned outrages. He has stood out as a 'bright star among our Catholic bishops in Ireland, and, on 'every occasion that offered, has denounced the murderous 'tendencies of the Land League; *but, sir, can we say as 'much for the remainder of our bishops?* I fear not. Some 'have, in a feeble way, spoken against outrages; but *others 'have openly supported the Land League*, which many people 'think originated the outrages and the many foul crimes 'that have latterly disgraced our unfortunate country.

"I have not heard of the Catholic Bishop of Meath 'having publicly in his diocese denounced this last foul 'and barbarous murder of Mrs. Smythe at Barbavilla. 'Surely he cannot be callous to such an atrocious crime, 'committed within a few miles of his Episcopal See at 'Mullingar? Why does he not 'thunder forth' a pastoral 'letter on this subject as strong in language as many he 'has before written on political subjects, and have it in 'like manner read from the altars of the many chapels of

"his diocese? *Why have our Irish bishops not jointly, openly, and fearlessly spoken out at this crisis? Why have they left this arduous duty almost alone to be done by one of their number?* A great many of us Catholics feel convinced that had they done this some time ago, distracted Ireland would not have been in quite such a terrible state as she now is, and that the blood of some of the many victims might have been saved."

Let us now read Lord Salisbury's second speech, at Liverpool:¹ "Now, it is a very odd thing that one of the accusations against the Government—and an accusation which I do not venture to say here was true or false, for I do not know—but the accusation constantly made was, *that they had appointed the Sub-commissioners of the Irish Land Act with a partisan intention*; that is to say, they had appointed men of well-known opinions, whose decisions they could predict before the Act was passed. You know what the construction of the Land Act was. The Government tried very much not to go into details; but at last, despairing of inducing Parliament to take the view which they preferred, they passed a clause placing the absolute power in the hands of Commissioners and Sub-commissioners to decide what the rent of the landlord should be, not laying down any kind of principle whatever to guide them in their decision. Of course, you will see it was essential in the circumstances that men should have been appointed who were of absolutely fair minds, who leaned neither to the one side nor to the other, who had no prejudice in favour of the landlord and no prejudice in favour of the tenant; and, therefore, it was a very grave accusation indeed that, in particular cases, *men had been appointed who had been on public platforms evincing their strong sympathy with one side of the question, and whose decisions, therefore, could have been prophesied beforehand.*"

Alluding to Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury avowed that:

¹ *Times*, April 14.

"He has stimulated the malady into a dangerous and painful state of aggravation. That is what has happened. I believe that it was in this town that *the celebrated gospel of the Upas-tree was first broached. It was here that that fatal policy was announced, of which we have the latest results in the terrible outrages which have thrilled through the heart and conscience of England.*"

There! Lord Salisbury, whether he knew or not the extent of the proposition which he announced, at last made a thrust home, under Mr. Gladstone's guard! If he knew what he was saying, why did he, almost in the same breath, announce that he would carry Mr. Gladstone's policy still further? It had been seen that Mr. Gladstone was already too much weakened in public estimation to carry it out himself; why, then, did Lord Salisbury pledge himself and his party to a continuance of that policy? If, on the other hand, Lord Salisbury did not know what he was saying, then he was like a man who fired shots at random in the dark, and, by a lucky chance, wounded his enemy mortally, without any credit to his expertness or correctness of aim.

Had Lord Salisbury considered what it involved to carry out Mr. Gladstone's policy? Putting aside all knowledge of the Tyrconnel intrigue; forgetting even the declarations of the agitators and Land Leaguers themselves, could he not see for himself what it would lead to? He doubtless did not mean to fire a blank cartridge! he did not intend to establish a peasant proprietary only here and there, but over the whole country! What landlord would then care to remain in that damp, uninteresting country? Every landlord (being only a holder of land-consols) would be an absentee. All the landlords were certain to disappear from Ireland. With them would disappear, also, all the middle classes that depended upon them. Tyrconnel's desire would have been accomplished. The Protestants would have been violently swept out of the land.

Let us, however, look at the other side. Those landlords, with their land-consols, or Government debentures (the price of their land), would live in England or abroad, and spend there, and not in Ireland, the incomes they received. The Irish tenants, moreover, would, for forty years, pay, not to landlords, but to the English Treasury, the judicial rents of their holdings. That money also would go out of Ireland. To that state would Lord Salisbury bring Ireland, in continuation of Mr. Gladstone's policy! Poor and disappointed, with no money in the country to give employment, the whole country would be seething and ripe for revolution.

Mr. Gladstone fostered and gratified their hatred for landlords. He said the English State should be their landlord. Would not, in that case, the rule of England be hated still more bitterly than now it is? Mr. Gladstone granted them the Land Act as a step to autonomy. Would not autonomy, nay, even the rule of America, be a hundred-fold more eagerly embraced than that of England? If "*no rent*" were to be proclaimed, with the State as landlord, either the State must prove a more ruthless, harsh, and inexorable landlord than any of the expatriated landlords used to be; or else the State must relax its grasp of the rents in Ireland, and make John Bull bleed freely for the support of the Irish and their Peasant Proprietary Act. That would be necessary in order to meet the dividends on the new land-consols, and avoid a national bankruptcy. Yet that would rouse the bitterest hatred between English and Irish. Even the Peasant Proprietary Act would be hated; for the Irish would look back and remember that they were before enabled to live in bad seasons, by indulgent landlords, relaxations of rent, kind and tender solicitude. Then would come a general election; and, both in England and Ireland, those would be elected men who pledged themselves to sweep away that stupid Parliament of England.

The "judicial rents," by an understanding beforehand

M M

between the Commissioners and the Government or others, as to what the sentences should be, had already enormously reduced the rents. Let us suppose that the State, at Mr. Gladstone's instance, should consent to defraud itself, and reduce the rents still more, for the operation of the Peasant Proprietary Act. The tenants, let us say, agree to pay a very reduced rent for forty years, and will then own the fee-simple. But the tenant will at once perceive that the tenant-right will have been enormously increased by the Act. It would be worth any one's while, on the passing of the Peasant Proprietary Act, to give double the normal tenant-right, in order to obtain the land so cheap. Thus the incoming tenants of Ireland would not only be paupers, but would be in the grip of the village Jew and money-lender. A farm of mine had only eleven years of lease to run. The widow of the tenant asked my leave to sell the lease; and she obtained for it twenty-seven years' purchase of the rent. How many years' purchase of the rental would have been given for the fee-simple? Perhaps twenty. Then the profit of the tenant was to the profit of the landlord as twenty-seven to twenty. Nay more; for the landlord had to pay tithe-rent charge, and county cess, and main drainage out of the smaller share which he received of his own property. The tenants were already in a far better position than their landlords!

Mr. Gladstone broke faith with those landlords who had received a Parliamentary title in the Landed Estates Court; he broke faith with all the landlords in destroying the finality of the Act of 1870; he had evinced his capacity for legalized spoliation and plunder, and who would be then so mad as to trust him in the future? Yet the *Times*, on April 24, could complacently write the following in its leading article: "However fully we concede that all that has been done, has been justly done and properly; and that every sentence that has been pronounced (by the Land Courts) can, in some unknown

“way, be defended as the copy of a higher law ; yet the
“practical objections to the working of the fair rent clauses
“remain. The Irish landlord, whose rent has been thus
“fixed for him, has been so far deprived of his proprietary
“rights, that he has no longer the inducement, or the
“power, to discharge his proprietary duties. *He has become*
“*a mere rent-charger,—a mere encumbrancer on the land.*
“He has lost all interest in improvements. For fifteen
“years he is to receive, or to have a claim to receive, a
“certain annual sum of money. He can exercise no choice
“as to the tenant from whom it is to be due. His property
“may, in effect, be sold away from him, subject to the
“charge he has upon it. He fulfils no function except
“that of receiving such rent as he can obtain. His care
“for the land, and for the people in occupation of it, has
“been most effectually destroyed. *The next step would be*
“*that he should disappear from the scene altogether.*” The
subject of that leading article was the declaration of
Lord Salisbury, at Liverpool, in favour of Mr. W. H.
Smith’s motion for the 5th of May.

While Resolutions in the House were all the talk of
English Society, Revolutions in Ireland were the deeds of
the Government in that unhappy country. Mr. O’Connor
Power, one of the chief actors in a subordinate capacity,
stepped from behind the scenes to address the House, on
April 20: “As soon as the land agitation had reached
“national proportions, *he felt that a revolution was ap-*
“*proaching*, and his attitude was shaped by his recollection
“of what had happened in other countries on the occurrence
“of great popular reactions to overthrow systems opposed
“to the well-being of those countries. *A revolution was*
“*going on in Ireland—there could be no doubt about that ;*
“*and though it might be made by the Land League, it was*
“*not provoked by the Land League. The men who provoked*
“*revolutions usually belonged to one class, and the men who*
“*made them to another.*”

No. LXXIII.

A STRONG instinct had developed itself in the Conservative party against Mr. Smith's motion ; and rumours had got about that Mr. Smith would not propose his motion at all. The *World* of April 25 not only noticed this fact, but also divined the aims of Mr. Gladstone's action. After asserting that Mr. Smith would not venture to bring forward his resolution, because of its unpopularity with the Conservative party ; it proceeded to argue as follows : " On " Wednesday (April 26) Mr. Gladstone will probably avail " himself of the introduction of Mr. Healy's Land Law " Amendment Bill, in the House of Commons, to make a " statement as to the future Irish policy of the Government. " He will announce his intention of amending and expand- " ing, not only the purchase clauses, but the arrears and " emigration clauses of the Act. After this, Mr. Smith can " gain nothing by persevering with his resolution. . . . " The truth is, Mr. Smith has tried to play the game of the " Irish landlords. But though the landlords would gain by " being bought up, *their disestablishment would sever the* " *last connecting link between Ireland and England.* Mr. " *Parnell has never disguised the fact that the abolition of* " *landlordism is with him only a means to an end—the end* " *being Hibernian autonomy.* From whatever point of view, " therefore, it is looked at, one must consider Mr. Smith's " scheme a false move. But it is insanity for the Conser- " vatives to think of giving effect even to a portion of the " programme at a heavy cost to the English taxpayer, to " say nothing of a violent blow to the British Constitution. " *Lord Beaconsfield, if he had lived, might very probably have* " *brought about a coalition between the Conservatives and the* " *Home Rulers ere this ; but he would have done it with* " *more adroitness than Mr. Smith.*"

The whole world was, of course, on the tiptoe of expectation on Wednesday, the 26th of April. The House was crowded throughout, with members anxious to hear Mr.

Gladstone's expected statement. Will he refuse to advance, think you, in obedience to the demands of the Ultramontane party in Ireland? If so, he will be beaten on Smith's motion and have to resign, and the Conservatives will have to carry out the Gladstonian policy of Irish autonomy. No; he will not be beaten, because there will be so large a defection of Conservatives, there will even be an active hostility on their part. He will therefore not put it in the power of the recalcitrants to evince their enlightened hostility. Will he, then, take the wind out of Mr. Smith's sails, by promising to undertake all, or more than all, that Mr. Smith pretends to desire? No; because the Conservative party would then not be committed to the policy. So reasoned those who possessed the key to Mr. Gladstone's policy. The event proved the correctness of their reasoning. Mr. Gladstone spoke,—spoke many words, and scarcely said anything. What! had he nothing to say on those topics which have sprung out of six months' experience of the working of the Land Act? Nothing to propose for "meeting the present movement of the Irish masses for "the dispossession of the landlords, and the disruption of "the Union? (as the *Times* most naively asked, the next morning.) No! "his expressions (said the *Times*) may "not be unfairly interpreted to mean that he is looking to "his opponents for the suggestion of a policy."

Mr. Gibson complained of Mr. Gladstone's attempt to divide the responsibility, by inviting suggestions from the Conservatives; but he did not see the reason which had forced Mr. Gladstone to do so. He complained of Mr. Gladstone's use of "vague and doubtful language," when Mr. Gladstone might have learned by experience that lawless demands are stimulated by such exhibitions of weakness; but Mr. Gibson was not aware that Mr. Gladstone's aim might have been to stimulate the agitation, in order to force the people of England into a surrender. What was it to Mr. Gladstone, or to his Ultramontane friends, that Ireland should have become, under their management, the break in the dyke

which had commenced the "letting in of the waters" of Socialism? What cared they that the disorder was contagious, and that communistic principles had begun to take root in Scotland and England, from whence the seed would surely be wafted to the Continental countries, where the soil had been so well prepared to receive it, but where property was, as yet, defended by law? What cared they if the pestilence should spread, if Governments should be weakened by democratic principles, if Constitutions should be shattered by destruction of the rights of property? The false prophet can "almost deceive the very elect," and completely deceive those that are not elect; but a fearful falling away from Christianity will assuredly be the consequence.

The telegram from Dublin, which was given in the *Times* (May 3), was far from reassuring. It professed to describe the state of opinion in Ireland. "The prospect is regarded with despondency and alarm. There is nothing in the present condition of the country to warrant an expectation that the letting loose of the leaders, whose agitation has so deeply infected the community with disloyalty and dishonesty, will produce a magical change and transform the people into law-abiding citizens. On the contrary, there is too much reason to fear that a fresh stimulus will be given to lawlessness, and that 'Captain Moonlight' will receive a new commission and be promoted to higher honours and authority. The result of the secret embassy to Kilmainham is now revealed, although the utmost care had been taken to prevent the keenest curiosity from penetrating the mystery. It may some day form the subject of an interesting chapter of political romance, that the scene of a Cabinet Council was changed from Downing Street to Kilmainham, and that the head of the Government at Whitehall, in a great crisis, suspended the conference of his chief advisers, in order to await the return of a confidential plenipotentiary to the premier of the Land League Government."

What if the mysterious ambassador to Mr. Parnell,—the uncrowned king of Ireland—was sent to say : “ Now, “ at last, the moment has arrived when we can carry “ out our secret policy ! the agitation, the outrages, the “ terrorism, which we have maintained, have met with “ success ; and we can now force Great Britain to grant “ Home Rule to Ireland, and a fully accredited ambas- “ sador to the Pope. You, and the other suspects, must “ now come out of gaol and help us. We will make “ Forster resign, and will appoint, as Chief Secretary, “ some one who knows nothing of Ireland ; one who will “ be as soft clay in the fingers ; one whom we can easily “ knead into any shape. Rejoice then, oh Jesuits, Fenians, “ Socialists, with the whole *posse comitatûs* of your ignorant “ dupes, called agitators and Land Leaguers ! Rejoice ! “ shout ! light your bonfires on every hill ; for we have, “ at last gained the victory of two centuries ! The shades “ of the Stuarts, with their agent, Tyrconnel, may too “ rejoice, if there be possibility of joy in the regions where “ they are ! ”

When Mr. Parnell was arrested in October last, Mr. Gladstone, at the Guildhall thus announced the fact, and the grounds for it : “ Within these few moments I have “ been informed that, towards the vindication of law, of “ order, of the rights of property, of the freedom of the land, “ of the first elements of political life and civilization, the “ first step has been taken in the arrest of the man who “ has made himself *beyond all others prominent in the “ attempt to destroy the authority of the law*, and to substi- “ tute what would end in being nothing more nor less than “ anarchical oppression exercised upon the people of “ Ireland.”

Mr. Parnell, along with Dillon, O'Kelly, Michael Davitt, and many other leaders, were set free ; and all that Mr. Gladstone could say in excuse was :—“ In our belief it is “ advisable in the interests of law, order, and the security “ of property in Ireland.” If the freedom of Parnell and

Co. was incompatible with the observance of the law, the maintenance of order, the authority of the Queen, and the safety of life and property in Ireland, why should he have been enlarged before order had been restored, and at the very time that the Government had relinquished the powers which were necessary to maintain that order? Why should the Government have reverted to that state of things which they had found before to be so intolerable? Why should they have beaten an ignominious retreat from the position they had hitherto held? Why should they hope to resist the forces of anarchy, flushed with victory and in possession of the hardly contested strongholds, when they quailed before the same adversary while he was dispirited and apparently powerless? Or was the supposed adversary really no opponent at all, but an ally and accomplice? Was the battle a sham fight, maintained as an excuse for yielding those very strong places? Was the policy of the Government a farce, and were their protestations but lies?

The feeble censure of the *Times*, on May 4, was amusing. It said: "It is not pleasant to contemplate the possibilities which this involves. The Ministry, however, have staked everything upon the hope that Ireland can be reconciled by meeting the demands of Mr. Parnell's party at least half-way, and it is as well that, since the experiment is to be tried, it should not be hampered by futile efforts to keep up the pretence of a vigorous struggle against Irish lawlessness."

In other words, the *Times* hinted the doctrine that the repression of lawlessness had failed; that repression and conciliation could not go together; and that the Ministry must abandon their sham struggle against lawlessness, and grant those demands for Irish autonomy, which had repeatedly been made by Mr. Parnell and his party!

The attitude of the French Ultramontane organ—the Jesuits' paper, the *Univers*, was remarkable. The *Univers*, on May 3: "Exulted over the resolution of the Canadian

"House of Commons, advocated an Irish Parliament, described the Government as now accepting Mr. Parnell's much-denounced scheme, and predicted a new era for the heroic country of St. Patrick and O'Connell—*'Ireland will henceforth advance with rapid strides towards complete enfranchisement.'*"

The Roman Catholic *Monde*, observed that:¹ "Mr. Gladstone was consciously or unconsciously undermining a Constitution which had made England a great and powerful nation; . . . and though foggy Albion contains strong elements of resistance to anarchy, yet the flag of disorder was seen waving on the summit of the ancient British citadel; and no one can avoid sad forebodings."

The same Jesuit influence was to be seen in Ireland. Mr. Parnell² received the following telegram from Dr. Croke, the Archbishop of Cashel: "Archbishop of Cashel heartily congratulates Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. O'Kelly on their release. He congratulates the country through them on the general situation, though the triumph cannot be considered complete until Michael Davitt is free, and far from it if Shaw be appointed Chief Secretary."

It would be superfluous to add that Mr. Gladstone set Michael Davitt free at once, and refrained from appointing Mr. Shaw to the post of Chief Secretary of Ireland, although it had already been announced in the papers.

On May 4, Mr. Forster made his statement, in which he said: "The same grounds on which I vindicated the detention of these gentlemen—namely, the ground of the prevention of crime—leads me to object to their release, *which will, I believe, tend to the encouragement of crime.* Why were these gentlemen arrested? . . . The prisoners were not arrested merely for illegal agitation. It was our duty to arrest them for what we considered *reasonable suspicion of the commission of a crime punishable by law*, being either an act of intimidation or an incitement

¹ *Times*, May 6.

² *St. James's Gazette*, May 4.

“thereto. The Act gave us no power to arrest merely for
“illegal agitation or sedition, but it gave us power to arrest
“for suspicion of participation in those actual crimes by
“which men were ruined or injured, or forced, by fear of
“being ruined or injured, to do things which they did not
“wish to do, or not to do that which they had a right to do.
“ . . . The real ground why these gentlemen were arrested,
“and why many others were arrested, was *because they were*
“*trying to carry out their views, their unwritten law, as they*
“*often called it, and to carry out that by working ruin and*
“*injury to the Queen's subjects by intimidation of one kind*
“*and another ; and that was carried on to such a degree that*
“*no Government could have allowed it to continue without*
“*becoming a Government merely in name and shadow.* If
“the hon. member for the city of Cork had not been
“placed in Kilmainham at the time he was placed there,
“*he would very quickly have become in Ireland what he was*
“*called by many of his friends, uncrowned king of Ireland.*
“These or other members present *organized and success-*
“*fully carried into force a system of intimidation to indi-*
“*viduals generally, of punishing them for obeying the law of*
“*the land, or doing what they had a right to do, and very*
“often of punishing them for disobedience to their will and
“their unwritten law. As soon as I had obtained security
“that the law of the land would no longer be set at nought
“and trampled under foot by them, I would have assented
“to their release ; but until I knew that they either could
“not or would not try to put their will in the place of law,
“and make men do what they pleased, and tell the Queen's
“subjects that the Queen's Courts and the Queen's servants
“should not be able to protect them from punishment—
“punishment by ruin for disobedience in any case they
“might wish—I could not assent to their release. . . .
“Undoubtedly the secret societies have been more active.
“But *there is one thing worse than even secret societies, and*
“*that is the open acknowledgment of the powerlessness of*
“*the law without the assistance of the law-breakers.* Better

"even secret societies, with which we must contend and
"which we should put down, as we have put them down
"before—better even these hideous instances of the bad
"demoralization of Ireland—than *paying black mail to the*
"*law-breakers. The battle of law against lawlessness is not*
"*won*; and I believe that since that battle was begun
"there never was a time when it was more dangerous to
"relinquish the authority of the law."

Mr. Gladstone followed Mr. Forster: "I repeat what
"has been already stated, that *we have frankly availed*
"*ourselves of information tendered to us as to the views of*
"*men whose position in Ireland makes them at any rate sen-*
"*sible factors in the materials that go to determine the con-*
"*dition of that country*; and that information has led to
"conclusions on our part to which we have hastened to
"give effect. . . . *On Wednesday in last week, I had not*
"*received the information that has since come to my know-*
"*ledge. . . . We had information which, with the views*
"*we entertained, carried to our minds the weight of a rational*
"*conviction—taking into view the debate on Wednesday and*
"*the declaration of what was in their minds regarded as*
"*quite essential—namely, the settlement of the question of*
"*arrears—that those gentlemen would find themselves in a*
"*condition to range themselves on the side of law, order, and*
"*individual freedom in Ireland.*"

Mr. Parnell spoke next,—coldly, carefully, guardedly,
as if he were rehearsing by rote: "I have not, either in
"writing or verbally, referred to my release. I have not,
"either in writing or verbally, referred to this release; and
"*with respect to the statement of the Prime Minister—I am*
"sure the right hon. gentleman did not intend it—*I wish*
"*to say it is the reverse of the fact.*"

Mr. Gladstone, acting on some "mysterious communi-
"cation" from some "*superior power*," suddenly released
those who had been "steeped in treason up to the lips,"—
those who had endeavoured to subvert the government of
the Queen, and were seeking to promote the disintegration

of the Empire. They were released without trial, without punishment, without having been asked to give promise to behave better in future ; without even a "penitential confession." They were released at a time when the outrages had increased, and the law was more set at defiance than ever. Not a shadow of ground was alleged for the release, except that "secret and mysterious communication." It was done against the opinion of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland ; against that of the Chief Secretary ; against that of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland ; against that of the Lord Chancellor of England. One Irish member after another,—one of the suspects after another,—rose in his place in Parliament to protest against the supposition that he had promised to abstain in future from promoting lawlessness, intimidation, outrage, sedition, rebellion. One after another repudiated contemptuously Mr. Gladstone's insinuation that it was one of them who had communicated that "mysterious information," upon receipt of which Mr. Gladstone had released the prisoners. Even Mr. Gladstone himself, after having shifted from evasion to evasion, admitted that the secret information only "appeared to him to include" the names of those suspects who were "steeped in treason to the lips." From whom, then, came the mysterious information, or the stern order to Mr. Gladstone to release the prisoners ?

NO. LXXIV.

IT had become extremely difficult, at the beginning of May, 1882, for Mr. Gladstone to escape the consequences of a reversal of his apparent Irish policy. I distinguish the apparent from his real policy ; for his aim to establish Irish autonomy had been steadily pursued under all the changes and varieties of the superficial garb of its accidents. Yet every casual, and even ignorant observer must have doubted whether his apparent policy was his real policy ;

he must have remarked that, if Mr. Gladstone had really meant what he was always so profuse in professing, the results had been strangely at variance with all his expectations; so that his policy heretofore had been nothing but a series of blunders. "Why, then, should such a blunderer be trusted (he would ask) to enlarge the suspects who were 'steeped in treason to the lips,' to permit the Coercion Act to lapse, and to support Mr. Redmond's Bill for the payment of arrears, and the establishment of peasant proprietorships? All this may prove another series of gigantic blunders too!"

But was it really to be supposed that Mr. Gladstone's intended legislation would bring about the peace and tranquillity of Ireland? "Of course; and the increasingly disturbed state of the country rendered it urgent that the Opposition should aid in passing those sedative measures." Indeed! then why had Mr. Gladstone repeatedly urged that the resolutions on the Procedure of the House should first be taken? Why did he refuse even to reveal his intentions until the *clôture* resolution had been passed? Why did he take the expression of a desire to know his plan for pacifying Ireland, as a resolution of want of confidence?

He had already given Ireland three large doses of sedative mixture: he had promised them some form of Home Rule; he had promised to pay their arrears out of the Consolidated Fund; and he had enlarged the suspects who were "steeped in treason." Surely the doses are operating, and Irish agitation is being lulled to sleep? No! the evening papers of May 6¹ informed us that: "the rejoicings in Dublin over Mr. Parnell's victory *have reawakened all the old bad spirit which had been pretty well allayed. The populace generally take it that Mr. Parnell has beaten the Government, and (as they would say) England, and can do what he now pleases and get whatever he asks. Among politicians of higher*

¹ *St. James's Gazette.*

"mark, but having the same sympathies, there is much "doubt as to what the whole *mystery* may be, or may "mean. . . . Yesterday the Home Rule Society reappeared in Dublin, and passed a resolution *in consequence "of what has just occurred, that nothing but an Irish Parliament will or ought to produce peace in Ireland."* The correspondent in Dublin of the *Irish World*, the American print, had an interview with Mr. Parnell after his release, during which the member for Cork said: "I feel convinced "it will result in the working out of a practical solution of "the land question, and in bringing about an entirely new "departure as regards English government in Ireland, *in "the direction of allowing the Irish to govern themselves."* The evening papers, of May 6, narrated also an affray between the police and the mob, during the rejoicings, in Ballina, at Mr. Parnell's release, wherein seven persons were shot. The account proceeded to narrate that, also: "A "serious riot occurred at Clonmel last night. The windows "of all buildings not illuminated in honour of Davitt's "release were broken. The police were stoned by the "mob, some constables receiving serious injuries. The "police charged with their bayonets through the principal "streets, which they cleared. Quiet was not restored until "far into the night. The banks, magistrates' houses, post-office, and some principal merchants' warehouses were "damaged, in consequence of their not being illuminated." Moreover, "At Tramore last night, during the progress of "a procession in honour of the release of Davitt, the windows of many houses were broken by the mob because "they were not illuminated."

Those accounts were published on the 6th. On the previous evening, the New Lord Lieutenant, Earl Spencer, and the new Irish Secretary, Lord Frederick Cavendish, left London by mail train for Ireland, to inaugurate the policy of conciliation. On the morning of the 6th they were both sworn, in Dublin. The afternoon was sunshiny, calm, and balmy, a fitting herald and emblem of the

vaunted conciliation. The Phoenix Park was full of persons enjoying their evening. Lord Frederick Cavendish, and Mr. Burke, the Under-Secretary, were walking to the Lord Lieutenant's! When within one hundred yards of the Viceregal Lodge, and in sight of the Lord Lieutenant himself, they were both gashed and cut to pieces by four assassins. The Liberals in London at once spread the report that the intention had been to assassinate only Mr. Burke (who was a Roman Catholic); and that Lord F. Cavendish was killed in defending his newly-made friend. The following, however, was the account given in the *Times* of Monday morning:—

“*The murder must have been deeply planned, and although the public impression appears to be that it was only intended to assassinate Mr. Burke, and that Lord F. Cavendish was murdered because he happened to be with the Under-Secretary, and to guard against discovery, there is reason to believe that the design was the very contrary, and that the object of the miscreants who plotted the murder was to commit a deed which would strike terror into the English Government, by murdering not a mere subordinate officer of the Government here, but one of the highest rank next to the Viceroy in the Irish Executive, and the son of a great English peer. They could at any time have assassinated Mr. Burke, who was well known in the city, and who walked about at all hours without fear and unarmed. He never had an escort, and his habits must have been familiar to all who chose to watch his movements. . . . Mr. Burke and Lord F. Cavendish both walked together until they reached a spot exactly opposite the Viceregal Lodge. It was then about half-past seven o'clock. There the assassins were in waiting for them, and evidently, from the nature of the wounds, attacked them from behind with savage ferocity, inflicting upon each of them death wounds with deep deadly thrusts of a triangular weapon, probably a long dagger. The work of blood must have been done in a couple of*

"minutes; and as if to make it the more shocking, it was committed *in full view of the Lord Lieutenant himself*, who was walking in the grounds in front of the *Viceregal Lodge along with Colonel Caulfeild, and saw a group of men struggling*, but attached no importance to it, thinking it was some horse-play or wrestling on the part of some of the humbler classes who frequent the park. *The same struggle was witnessed by Captain Greatrex*, of the Royal Dragoons, stationed at Island Bridge Barracks, who walked through the gate nearest the barracks into the park and observed a car waiting. He walked on, and near the scene of the murder *saw the struggle*, but had no suspicion that a murder was being perpetrated. He saw four men get up on the car and drive away."

The points in that narrative appeared astounding. Yet the statement was corroborated by the evidence of Captain Greatrex. It appears, therefore, that numerous persons were looking on at the murder, from a short distance, and that no one interfered. Captain Greatrex was near enough to distinguish patent leather boots! He thought it was a highway robbery; he spoke in a friendly way to the supposed robbers, but did not attempt to stop them; nor did he take the number of the car, although it was broad daylight. When he had seen that a murder had been committed, he did not pursue the car; nor did he call on his dragoons or on the mounted police to follow its tracks; nor did he call on the numerous passengers to stop it. The suddenness of the occurrence must have been bewildering.

The *Times* further gave the following account:—"The Lord Chancellor held an inquiry to-day at Dublin Castle respecting the death of the Chief Secretary, and heard the statement of Mr. Spencer, M.P., and Captain Greatrex, of the 1st Royal Dragoons, who saw the tussle with the assailants, but did not suspect what had happened. He next saw the men get on to the car, and, as they drove away, remarked, in a careless way, 'That was

"'rough work,' thinking it was a drunken row. They answered, 'Rough, indeed,' and drove away by the side road that leads to Chapelizod and also to the Island-bridge gate. It is remarked as at least an unfortunate fatality, if not a most culpable omission, that no precautions were taken for the protection of the Chief Secretary, who, as a stranger, might have been expected to need careful watching. Mr. Forster was perfectly fearless, and refused to have any escort; but the police authorities, without letting him know the fact, always had a guard kept upon him, as they had reason to believe, from information in their possession, that his life was not safe."

Lord Frederick Cavendish was extremely averse to the acceptance of his appointment; but Mr. Gladstone pressed him strongly to do so, and he gave way, unfortunately. The foreign papers—in France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia—condemned the atrocious deed, in language fitted to its atrocity. The French *National* compared Irish Fenianism with Russian Nihilism. The *Débats* said that "the exploits of the Nihilists were surpassed; in Ireland, as in Russia, the ultra-revolutionary party did not shrink from the most abominable crimes to intimidate." The *National Zeitung* detected the same striking similarity between the Russian Nihilists, the German Socialists, and the Irish Fenians. All those papers were loud in their condemnation of the crime. There were, however, two exceptions. The socialist *Marseillaise* could palliate guilt:—"We pity the victims; but the immense pity we feel for the horrible situation of the Irish people forbids us to show too much sympathy. Ireland, since the first day of the conquest, has been in a state of *legitimate self-defence*. If, at the cost of a series of outrages, she succeeds in casting off the terrible yoke which the sister island imposes on her, what friend of humanity would think of blaming her for it?"

The Jesuit organ, the *Univers*, tried to put the blame on others who did not incite the people to wrong-doing, and

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then said :—"The assassins have not missed their aim. "Their new crime will excite in England such an outburst "of public opinion that *Mr. Gladstone's fall has become "probable, and unfortunate Ireland will be again exposed to "all the wrath of her powerful neighbour."*

The Jesuits deplored the crime as bad policy, thinking it might cause the fall of Gladstone and the failure of his schemes. The leading article in the *Times* of Monday morning, May 8, was most remarkable. It seemed as if it had struggled out through the almost impenetrable barriers, which had been carefully placed by the guilty, into the freer air of light and truth :—

"The Under Secretary, like the Chief Secretary, the "Lord Lieutenant, the Judges, and the principal agents "of the Executive, was never molested *until the repressive "measures, which might be considered in some sense pro- "vocative, were relaxed.* It is impossible not to see that "the assassination in the Phoenix Park *was deliberately "planned with the object of showing the British Government "the futility of attempting to arrange a compromise with "Irish Nationalism, on the basis of a transaction with respect "to arrears of rent or State aid to tenants' purchases of land.* "Whether the ambiguous utterances of the Land League "leaders cover any honest meaning or not, the disloyal "section of the Irish people are resolved to make it known, "with all the emphasis of atrocity, that they will not be "bound by any compact, and that they will not desist in "*their implacable warfare against the English connection.* ". . . Mr. Forster's warning words will now re-echo "with painful distinctness in the minds of many who duly "cheered the Prime Minister's limping answer to his former "colleague four days ago. *It was Mr. Forster's duty to tell "the House of Commons and the country that the release of "the suspects, so far from conducing to the pacification of Ire- "land, would tend to the encouragement of crime.* The "Government refused to believe him, and the Ministerial "majority dutifully, though half-heartedly, applauded the

“Government. Mr. Parnell and his friends were careful
“not to commit themselves to any general and uncon-
“ditional condemnation of outrage. *Not more than four*
“*days have elapsed since the policy of conciliation was thus set*
“*in motion*, and already we have its hollowness exposed by
“the tragedy in the Phoenix Park. *It did not deserve any*
“*larger measure of success. It was founded on a combination*
“*of credulity and malice.* The Cabinet was induced to run
“open-mouthed, to the representatives of Irish disaffection,
“with offers of surrender. Mr. Forster, who knew by a
“hard experience what the Irish question really meant,
“and who manfully stood by his convictions, was deserted
“by his colleagues, *and left no choice but to resign.* The
“history of this transaction, though its details may be
“decorously veiled, is perfectly understood by the public,
“and, if we know the temper of the English people, it will
“be judged as it deserves. MR. FORSTER WAS THE VICTIM
“OF AN INTRIGUE WHICH WAS WORKED FROM WITHIN
“THE CABINET, *and which was industriously developed out-*
“*side through ‘organs’ and organizations.* The personality
“and the policy of the Chief Secretary were alike assailed
“unscrupulously and unsparingly, and A SHAM CRISIS WAS
“GOT UP TO PRECIPITATE HIS ENFORCED RESIGNATION,
“*precisely at the time when, as he stated in Parliament, his*
“*measures might have been made successful by persistence*
“*and courage. . . . The cowardly machinations against*
“*Mr. Forster, paralysed the forces of order. Not the Chief*
“*Secretary alone, but ‘Dublin Castle’—that is, eminently*
“*and almost exclusively Mr. Burke—became the object of*
“*systematic vilification. . . .* The aim of Irish agitation
“is to establish in Ireland an independent government,
“implacably hostile to England and protected by the
“United States, and in this cause the Land League has
“contrived to enlist the agrarian greed of the peasantry.
“ . . . Only wilful blindness can now fail to see that
“*behind the agrarian agitation, behind the ‘social revolution’*
“which is Mr. Gladstone’s latest but still imperfect diag-

"nosis of Irish disorder, *there is a political revolution inspired by implacable hatred to English rule, and shrinking from nothing* that may seem to further its ends or even gratify its passions. The assassination of the Chief Secretary and Under Secretary is a contemptuous defiance flung back in the face of a Government which has just put a severe strain upon the allegiance of its supporters, by a nearly unqualified surrender to Irish ideas. *The removal of Mr. Forster*, the reversal of the policy with which he has been associated, the opening of the prison doors to the suspects, the promise of legislation upon arrears, the postponement of legislation for the strengthening of the law—all have been in vain. The answer to all this is the cruel murder of a man personally unknown to the Irish people, at the precise moment when he most distinctly embodies an immense concession to Irish demands."

The aim of the assassinations was revealed by the cut and dried resolutions passed at meetings on Sunday, the day after the murder, in London and Manchester;—a little more than twelve hours after the murders in Ireland, these resolutions were ready and passed! The meetings were evidently not hastily called, but must have been organized, beforehand, by the pliant and obedient tools of the political intriguers. At Clerkenwell Green the following resolution was passed:—

"That this meeting, while condemning the brutal murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, still wishes to express its decided opinion that *the peace of Ireland can only be conserved by placing the responsible representatives of the Irish people in charge of the destinies of Ireland*; and therefore calls for the appointment of Mr. Charles Stewart Parnell, M.P., to the Chief Secretaryship of Ireland, and that this resolution be forwarded to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone and the Right Hon. Sir William Harcourt."

At Manchester, Mr. Redmond, M.P., attended a demonstration of Irishmen held in the Free Trade Hall "to

"celebrate the collapse of coercion and the triumph of the Land League, to rejoice at the liberation of Messrs. Parnell, Davitt, Dillon, and O'Kelly, and to express delight at the breakdown of repression, and to rejoice at the disgrace and humiliation of its most offensive champion, Buckshot Forster."

The following was the resolution which was unanimously carried :—

"That this meeting has learnt with consternation the rumour of the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish yesterday in Dublin, and heartily trusts that confirmation may not be given to what would be, if committed, a crime repugnant to the feelings of the entire Irish people. But this meeting desires to impress upon the Government and the people of England that *the only way in which law and order can be assured is by the establishment of a Government constitutionally responsible to the people of Ireland.*"

In connection with those prepared meetings, and cut and dried resolutions, we must advert to a Bill for the Abolition of the Vice-royalty of Ireland, which had been brought in by Mr. Richard Power. This Bill provided new arrangements for the Irish Privy Council and for the exercise of powers (till then vested in the Lord Lieutenant), by Her Majesty on the advice of the Irish Privy Council. The 14th Clause provided that the Secretary of State for Ireland should be an Irishman, and must represent an Irish Constituency. "It is for this Bill (said the *Times* of May 8) that Mr. Speaker Brand granted precedence over Mr. Heneage's motion."

It behoves us now to give some quotations from the speech which the Right Hon. W. H. Smith delivered, at Coventry, on Saturday, May 6, at the very time the assassinations were taking place.

"On the 26th of April there was a Bill before the House of Commons which was intended to amend the Land Act. That Bill, according to Mr. Gladstone and the hon.

"members belonging to what was called the Irish National
"party, afforded the only gleam of hope he had seen
"during a long period. But what were the concluding
"words of Mr. Redmond's speech? He said, '*Ireland*
"*'would be a peaceful, a prosperous nation, finding her best*
"*'security for law and order in her prosperity, in the making*
"*'of the laws for Ireland by Irishmen on Irish soil.'* Now
"you see here the train of mind through which the Govern-
"ment has been passing. You see that they recognised a
"social revolution; *they received a measure at the hands of*
"*the Irish National party, the declared aim and object of*
"*that measure, and the ultimate purpose of that measure*
"*being the dissolution of the union between England and*
"*Ireland, and the making of Irish laws upon Irish soil.*
"Then Mr. Gladstone considered the course which he should
"take; conciliation was once more had recourse to; and
"for whom was this conciliation intended? *This conciliation,*
"*this concession was extended to the very persons who had been*
"*denounced only on the 4th of April.* They were the men
"who, Mr. Gladstone himself stated or suggested, *were*
"*among the persons who obviously had assisted in this social*
"*revolution.* Why were they conciliated, and why were they
"released? Was it because the policy of Her Majesty's
"Government was felt to have failed, *or was it for another*
"*purpose? . . . Was it conceivable that men, with a single*
"*eye to the interest of the country placed in their hands, should*
"have willingly, and he was going to say hastily, thrown
"over their colleagues, simply because they had not time to
"wait to pass an Act which would have secured the repres-
"sion of crime and strengthened the administration of the
"law? . . . But if the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and the
"Chief Secretary were supposed to be prejudiced, to be led
"by the nose by those who had an interest in endeavouring
"to persuade them that coercion was necessary, what was
"to be said of the opinion of one of the staunchest of the
"Whig peers, Lord Fitzwilliam, who had said that *the*
"*action of the Government in Ireland had produced the most*

"terrible demoralization ever recorded in the history of a civilized people; and the complete surrender now made to intimidation and crime, for the sake of a temporary and possible tranquillity, must ever remain a source of weakness to all Governments hereafter, and a danger to every loyal man in the community?"

No. LXXV.

THE *Times* correspondent, who telegraphed from Paris on Monday, May 8, had been busily employed in eliciting the opinions of the statesmen in that capital. Their judgment he regarded as calm and unprejudiced; for their minds were unruffled by passion, and their interests were not involved. The correspondent had put aside the opinions of those Roman Catholics who were inflamed against England by "religious fanaticism." It was through a mistaken fervour that they had taken the side of the Irish rebels, and thought light of the frequent violations of God's laws. Even the calmest of the clerical party—those who held that the religious question had nothing to say to the Irish sedition—even they refused to condemn the assassinations, because (said they) Roman Catholicism had, in former centuries, been oppressed in Ireland! As if that statement, supposing it true, could have warranted the crime of murder! Such a notion was the result of the teaching of Mariana, Suarez, and the other Jesuits!

Putting them aside, the result of the inquiry was this: The Conservatives looked upon the assassinations as parts of a general plan, which was being realized, now here, now there, throughout Europe. It was one outcrop of a world-wide conspiracy. The assassinations in Dublin were the necessary result of a supposed compromise between Mr. Parnell and the Government. It was a protest against all half-measures. It was, therefore, they said, a positive duty of the Government to abandon a policy of concession and compromise, which the Revolutionists regarded as mere

signs of weakness and fear, and which "irremediably weakens "respect for authority, not only in England, but also through- "out Europe." The Liberals, on the other hand, saw in it the determination of the Irish to separate themselves from England. Home Rule was (they said) a mere form, a pretext, a byword, for the Irish. The desire was to separate Ireland by means of revolution, so that it might become "the centre, the basis, and the support" of the revolution in Europe. Such was their view of the Tyrconnel, or rather Jesuit, scheme.

Those who had separated themselves from those feelings of the moment, which had naturally been aroused by the account of the brutal murder of their friend and associate of but two days before, remembered that such murders had been occurring for the last two years; murders as horrible, although they had not been brought home by the sudden severance of the ties of intimacy. Lord Mountmorres had been murdered; Mr. Herbert had been murdered; Mrs. Smythe had been murdered. During that time Mr. Parnell had calmly said no more than that murder is "an entirely "unnecessary measure of procedure, and absolutely prejudicial, *where there was a suitable organization of the "tenants.*" Mr. Sexton had condemned murder merely because "it hurts our cause; it raises the cry for coercion, "which may perhaps interfere with our movement." The *Irish World* directly inculcated the doctrine that "every "pistol shot will stimulate action." Mr. Parnell's paper, *United Ireland*, taught its ignorant readers much the same doctrine.

Who was shocked at all this? Did it come home to the minds of the Government, or Mr. Gladstone's followers, as it should have done? Yet the outrages of those two years had all been perpetrated with the consent and connivance of that Irish organization—the Land League. Under that specious land agitation, every form of disaffection and lawlessness had been grouped, in order to effect Mr. Gladstone's object of the separation of Ireland from England. The

last outrage differed from the others merely in being the last, and in its having immediately followed Mr. Gladstone's "new departure";—his manumission of the suspects; his policy of concession and conciliation; his treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Parnell, Davitt, and Co.; his promise to grant further concessions with regard to the land—to grant, indeed, all that the Land League had demanded in that respect. It was felt that, when those concessions had been gained and fully secured, then would come the next step, to which the land question had been but the means—namely, the separation of Ireland from England. The gullible British public, however, refused to see that Mr. Gladstone had been all along marching with the Land League. They listened to the volumes of words he ever and anon poured forth; were mystified; and did not observe the direction in which he was advancing. Thus the *Times* leader of May 9: "There will inevitably be the suspicion that *when people are playing the same game, with the same wild and reckless licence, and the same disregard of rules, some with the tongue, some with the hands, there is something of an understanding between them.* But, whether in Parliament or out of it, whether in public or in private, it is quite certain that all temporizing, all negotiating, all parleying with the Secret Power governing Ireland will be a ridiculous failure, and most likely a sanguinary failure also."

The same number of the leading journal contained a letter from Mr. O'Donnell, the Home Rule member, dated "House of Commons, May 8." He was a gentleman that *knew* much; but was, I should say, not certainly "among the prophets," and could not foretell. He wrote as follows: "In a letter which your courtesy allowed to appear in the *Times*, I declared that *the danger of the moment was the occurrence of some deplorable crime calculated to shock and startle English feeling back into a mood of merciless repression.* In justice to myself as well as my friends, allow me to remind your readers of that warning,

"since so horribly justified, and to quote a couple of the sentences in which I urged, upon the responsible authorities in Ireland, the course which I conceived to be especially required by the danger of the moment. 'I do not 'fear,' I said in my letter dated May 3, 'to ask that now, 'above all, *magistrates and police shall do their duty in the protection of unpopular lives, in the defence and protection of threatened persons and property, with even greater vigilance than ever.* Let not the inevitable changes at headquarters cause a failure or falling off of this most necessary duty, which is, if possible, *doubly necessary now.*'

"Sir, why did not some such caution occur to the mind of some person in governing authority in Dublin? *The most moderate vigilance, the slightest supervision of precious and inestimable life, would have absolutely prevented the occurrence of that fearful and odious tragedy, and never should we have heard of the grimly burlesque work of barbarous murder being coolly accomplished under the half-amused eyes of a viceregal household, unconcerned spectators of what was believed to be a vulgar brawl, the assassins finally driving off with the cheery jest of a captain of Dragoons in their ears—'Rough work, boys!' 'Rough, indeed,' responded the reeking assassins.*"

As might have been expected, an enormous reward (£10,000) was offered for such information as would lead to the conviction of the murderers. Yet, strange to say, the same paragraph in the *St. James's Gazette* (May 10), which made that offer known, also informed its readers as follows: "But, on the other hand, two men who were observed at Crewe station, as 'answering minutely,' and in fact, 'corresponding in every particular' to the advertised description of the murderers, were 'lost sight of' by the Crewe police, who 'refused,' it is said, 'to take the responsibility of telegraphing.'"

The popular imagination had been struck, and popular feeling was strongly excited against the Government. "A large and excited crowd of persons, who were for the

"most part well dressed," said the *Times*, "gathered in Palace Yard, when the Houses were assembling. The police had been strengthened early in the day; and as the people in Palace Yard commenced to groan and hiss several of the Ministers as they arrived, the yard was cleared. The mob increased in the street to large proportions; and among those who met with unfriendly notice were the Prime Minister, Mr. Bright, and Mr. Chamberlain." The last-mentioned Minister did, in effect, get into the clutches of persons who seemed as if they would have strangled him and torn him in pieces, but for the prompt and resolute interference of the police. For the police can interfere when not hampered by cross orders.

The feeling of those in wealthy circumstances, again, was evinced by a requisition to the Lord Mayor to call a meeting in the Guildhall, for petitioning the Queen to dissolve Parliament, on the ground that many Liberals and Conservatives throughout the country desired to elect another Parliament to deal more successfully with the "reign of murder" which had prevailed in Ireland during the last two years, and which the present Government had failed to cope with.¹

Those manifestations of popular feeling in quiet, orderly old England, against the Government, induced the Home Secretary, Sir William Harcourt, to take precautions for the preservation in London of his own precious skin—precautions which had been so scandalously neglected in the case of Lord Frederick Cavendish, on his entry into the capital of lawless, seditious, murder-loving Ireland. "Sir William Harcourt (according to the *Times*) in the afternoon sent round an official note to Col. Henderson, the head of the police, the result of which was that *extra* special constables were placed near the official and private residences of all the Cabinet Ministers." One policeman had been for many months—ever since the incident of the rusty pistol—on duty at the door of Sir W. Harcourt's

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, May 8.

residence in Grafton Street. But one was not enough ; he must have extra policemen !

The *Manchester Courier*, on May 9, stated that the Fenian ticket-of-leave man, "Michael Davitt, had an interview with Mr. Gladstone on Sunday evening, May 7, "and immediately left for Paris to confer with Mr. Patrick "Egan," the Secretary and Treasurer of the Land League. This circumstance hinted pretty plainly at the relations which existed between Mr. Gladstone and the Land League ! The mission was destined to have results ; and the results perhaps became apparent in the action of Mr. Parnell's intimate friend, M. Rochefort. That gentleman, in his newspaper, justified the Dublin atrocities, and wrote, *on the faith of information received from Irish friends*, as follows¹ : "The leaders of the Land League think it "almost certain they will be able to prove that their "subordinates *had nothing to do with the murder of the two "Secretaries of State, and that the assassins must be sought "for in the landlord party, who are afraid above everything "of being dispossessed. The instigators of the Irish move- "ment are so firmly convinced of this, that Parnell, in his "proclamation, reserves himself for the day when the guilty "persons will be in the hand of justice ; but it is to "be feared that they will never be secured. . . . Our "Irish friends rely on a number of indications which they "consider sufficient to rebut the idea of any participation "by the Land Leaguers or Fenians in this double crime. "In the first place it is evident that Lord F. Cavendish "was followed, not merely from the time of his arrival in "Dublin, but from the moment of his departure from Lon- "don. Now, the men of *coups de main*, who fire on farmers "in order to cure them of the desire to pay their rents, "have always acted spontaneously, and under the influence "of an altogether unpremeditated fury. They are in- "capable of marking their victims from such a distance, "and are, moreover, too short of means to concoct a plot*

¹ *Times*, May 10.

"with threads extending from England to Ireland. In the "second place, the choice of the park where the Secretary "of State was to alight, and the waiting in the very avenue "where he was walking, *denote an exact knowledge by the "conspirators of the topography of the park*, and of the "certainty that Lord F. Cavendish would pass through it "in order to reach his official residence. Moreover, the "Irish revolutionists, in the accomplishment of their vengeance, almost always use the pistol or gun, not the "dagger. Lastly, the care taken to despatch their victims; "and to postpone mounting the car until they had drawn "the last sigh, indicate anxieties not in keeping with the "clumsiness of the executions perpetrated by the Irish "peasants. *Everything, therefore, leads to the presumption "that millionaires, and not outcasts, had to do with the "Phoenix Park catastrophe.*"

The *Times* then appended a challenge to the Irish members to disclaim the transmission of such intelligence to M. Rochefort—a challenge which of course was not taken up. These were the words of the *Times*, in excusing itself for reproducing the article: "Because M. Rochefort's "Irish friends may think it necessary to disclaim having "prompted him. *The details into which he enters are a "proof that it was inspired by SOMEBODY*; and in the "absence of disclaimer, suspicion may evidently fall on "innocent persons. The *Citizen*, moreover (which all "through its columns continues to substitute 'execution' "or 'suppression' for 'murder' or 'assassination'), appends "this note to the Parnell manifesto: 'This manifesto explains itself. There are two organizations in Ireland, "'one public, the other secret. The former pretends to "'keep within the limits of legality, and *for form's sake* is "'obliged to protest against the terrorist measures.'

The same number of the *Times* contained a letter from Miss Anna Parnell, justifying the murders, and vilifying the "conciliation." She concluded: "If there are any who are "surprised that the assassin's arm is not idle, they must

"forget that there is such a thing as human nature among "Irishmen." That letter was dated the day after the assassinations, "Dublin, Sunday, May 7." Beneath this letter, the *Times* appended Mr. Gladstone's opinion of the assassinations, which had been telegraphed to the Marquis of Ripon, on Monday, May 8, by Mr. Gladstone himself in reply to a telegram from the Viceroy of India: "Many "thanks: all are as well as could be hoped. The object of "the black act plainly is to rouse indignant passions and "embitter relations between Great Britain and Ireland." The question remained: Who desired to arouse passions, so as to cause a separation between England and Ireland?

Mr. George Otto Trevelyan, M.P., was appointed to succeed Mr. Forster as Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and started for his post on May 10. Yet hardly to succeed Mr. Forster; for Mr. Forster had been in the Cabinet, while Lord Cowper, the Lord Lieutenant, was not in the Cabinet. The successor of the latter (Lord Spencer) was put in the Cabinet, while Mr. Trevelyan had no seat in the Cabinet. The *Times* of the 10th gave the true explanation of this change: "It is true that Mr. Trevelyan's position "outside the Cabinet, like that of his lamented predecessor " (Lord Frederick Cavendish), must be taken as a *proof that* "*the Prime Minister intends himself to assume a large respon-* "*sibility for the management of Irish affairs.* Lord Spencer, "who represents the Irish Government in the Cabinet, "must be, with rare exceptions, at his post in Dublin; and "in Cabinet Councils, it may be presumed, *Irish business* "*will be specially under the control of Mr. Gladstone.*" The same leading journal also reproduced the singularly clear-sighted remarks of the official journal of Prince Gortchakoff: "To-day's *Golos* thinks that the tragical deaths of "Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke prove that *Mr.* "*Gladstone was profoundly mistaken in supposing that Par-* "*nell and his friends were the real leaders of the Irish* "*movement, and that peace could be obtained by mere agrarian* "*reforms. The movement is political, and not entirely agra-*

“*rian*; and THERE IS A SECRET PARTY BEHIND THE LAND LEAGUE who aim at nothing short of overthrowing English authority.”

Was Mr. Gladstone really mistaken? or was he working intelligently towards a different aim from that which men supposed, different from that which had been openly avowed? True it was, that there was a Secret Power behind the Land League, which aimed at achieving the Tyrconnel policy, in the separation of Ireland from England. But what if Mr. Gladstone were submissive to the head of that secret power? What if his acts were such that they could not be accounted for, except either by attributing gross ignorance, or else met by a charge of subservience?

Let us watch and see what his policy was, in this awful conjuncture. Let us see whether his eyes had been opened and the veil of ignorance partially removed; let us mark whether his policy changed; or whether he went on his way unchanged in all, not excepting verbose sentences and sounding professions!

NO. LXXVI.

DIRECTLY after those horrible murders, while innocent blood was crying to Heaven for vengeance, the Government of Mr. Gladstone proclaimed that they were not going to propose anything different from what the Cabinet had already agreed to, before the outrages had been committed! Thus Lord Granville announced the intentions of the Government on May 8: “Your lordships are well aware that some days ago I announced the intention of Her Majesty’s Government to propose to Parliament three measures—one with regard to strengthening the administration of justice and the security of private rights in Ireland, one affecting arrears, and another affecting what are called the Bright clauses. *Her Majesty’s Govern-*

"*ment adhere to that intention. After very careful consideration by a Committee of the Cabinet, and by the Cabinet itself, a Bill for the first of these objects was drafted before the end of last week. It still requires some little consideration as to some of its details, but it is hoped that the Government will be able to ask the House of Commons next Thursday to give a first reading to that Bill.*"

Mr. Gladstone was more guarded, and said: "We intend to ask the House on Thursday next to permit us to introduce a measure relating to the repression of crime in Ireland; and we have the fullest confidence that, if that measure really corresponds in its spirit to what it ought to be, we shall be duly supported and assisted in its various stages by the sentiments of all quarters of the House. That on Thursday next. Next to that, and I hope upon an early day, we shall introduce a measure *with respect to the question of arrears in Ireland.*"

To that adherence to the fatal "new departure," which had been adopted before the assassinations, the Conservative leaders, in both Houses, assented. The Houses were then adjourned. The answer was given on Wednesday,¹ "Placards were posted in Dublin, announcing the formation of a 'National Association of Ireland,' which will have for its object *the restoration of the ancient legislative independence of Ireland.* A meeting was called for the 15th inst. to enrol members. The placard contained hostile references to the Castle officials and to the present form of Government."

In the *Times* of May 11, a letter appeared, from an authority of weight and consequence. His words deserve to be remembered. "It is well to have such sympathy exhibited by the people, who have hitherto been unmoved by atrocities as great, though not so conspicuous and so startling, as that which has been committed almost under their own eyes. The event might have been turned to good account in the way of *awaking their slumbering con-*

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, May 10.

"sciences ; but care has been taken to limit the demonstration to the particular occasion, and to ignore the deeper lesson it might have taught. It is not the crime of murder which has been so vehemently denounced by popular speakers. It is the murder of the stranger who came to Ireland trusting to the humanity and hospitality of its people ; and, if the sentiments of the people were to be judged by the language of those who assume to speak for them, there would be reason to suspect that the sorrow and indignation which have been manifested were rendered more acute and earnest, if not to a large extent produced, by the conviction that it was *ill-timed and impolitic* as well as *iniquitous*, that it was not only a crime but a *blunder*. It has naturally inspired a fear that the Government will retrace their steps on the road to further concessions, and that a political reaction will be produced, if the indignant feeling of the people of England be excited. This result is earnestly deprecated ; and the demonstration of public sympathy is dwelt upon as affording a reason for a continuance in the new policy, rather than for any restrictive measures. . . . If a tenth part of the horror evoked by the murders in Phoenix Park had been shown when the Land League was in the full exercise of its power, and carrying on openly what is called a constitutional agitation, the malignant spirit of hatred against English rule and its administrators would not have been fostered and sustained. But they uttered not a word of hearty reprobation of the murder of Lord Mountmorres ; on the contrary, they denounced a neighbouring landlord on the following day. They expressed no abhorrence of the murder of young Boyd at New Ross, or of Feerick at Ballina, or of Hodgins and others. It is said that the recent atrocities were caused by the growth of secret societies after the suppression of the Land League. The murders above referred to were committed before the Coercion Act was passed, and while the 'constitutional' agitation was in full swing."

Mr. Parnell of course spoke, in the House of Commons, against the murders: and Mr. Parnell¹ had to apply to the Home Secretary for the privilege of police protection, as he had found from threatening letters which he had received, and from current rumours which he had heard, that his life was in danger from assassins. There were also meetings of Boards of Guardians and Municipalities in Ireland, to protest against the murder of Lord F. Cavendish; and persons felt surprised thereat, because, for two long years, murders as atrocious had been perpetrated without a word of protest from either prelates or people. It was soon discovered, however, that those meetings were not spontaneous. They had been ordered by telegraphic messages from London.² A gentleman who had seen one of those orders, which had been telegraphed from an Irish member of Parliament, wrote to the *St. James's Gazette* an account of it. It was in these words: "Gladstone informs me that he has appointed Trevelyan, a friend of mine and of Ireland. Gladstone will stand or fall by conciliation. *Let priests and people strengthen his hands* and hold meetings to denounce the crime."

On the previous day, a letter from Mr. Davitt—the Davitt who had been sent by Mr. Gladstone to Rochefort—appeared in the *Standard*. He complained that last year he was setting out on a pilgrimage through the country *to denounce outrage, and was engaged on that very work, when he was arrested by Mr. Gladstone's Government*. He asserted, moreover, that he was "*silenced by those who wished the outrages to continue*." He endeavoured to explain this startling fact by the following theory. He said: "What are the facts of Irish history? Are they not that, over and over again, seditious conspiracies have been allowed to grow, nay, even *have been stimulated*, in order that a certain stage of criminality should be reached by those whose actions and plans were known to the police, so that the blow should be struck at their movements

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, May 12.

² *Ibid.*, May 12.

"with the greater *éclat*, and the chastisement given
"be all the more effective from the numbers involved in
"the revolutionary design? I was either sent back to
"penal servitude in pursuance of such a policy, or I was
"not. . . . I challenge Mr. Forster, or whoever is re-
"sponsible for my arrest, to come forward now and declare
"upon what grounds I was deprived of liberty during the
"past fifteen months, or to allow Dublin Castle to lie under
"the imputation of having *removed me from its path, be-
"cause of my stand against the policy of conniving at murder
"and outrage."*

Let us now consider the phenomenon of the Coercion Bill, brought in by Sir William Harcourt, which was *denied the sanction of Mr. Gladstone's presence*. A week before, the whole Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Forster, who was absent in Ireland, was led to believe that the only way to arrest the fearful, and ever-increasing growth of crime, and sedition, and lawlessness in Ireland, was to let loose the traitors, and to take the conspirators into partnership; while they bribed the populace to remain quiet, by giving them ever-new concessions in land legislation. In other words, the agitation was to be quieted by the Government accomplishing the work of the agitators; the conspirators were to be consigned to rest, by the Government undertaking to become conspirators, and to grant all that had been demanded. This was the "new departure" which Mr. Gladstone took, and which Mr. Forster refused to sanction. The Dublin murders, however, appealed forcibly to the popular imagination, and there arose a great danger of Mr. Gladstone being turned out of office, and then his work, so long carried on, would possibly lapse for a considerable time. Something had to be done. A strong Bill, he said, must forthwith be brought in. The majority of the Cabinet, indeed, insisted on it; and Mr. Gladstone knew that the effects of the Bill would altogether depend upon its administration. It might be passed, and then be allowed to remain a dead letter for ever.

The Ultramontane paper, the *Univers*, described it¹ as "a policy of hatred"; and said that although the assassins were certainly guilty, yet "*the Liberal* (Sir W. Harcourt) who "had made himself the tool of a merciless policy," had also his share of injustice. The *Journal de Rome* of May 11 said that: "Mr. Gladstone would not abandon the supreme "power, but would endeavour to pursue his programme "of conciliation, shaping it according to the necessities "of the new situation, such as the late events have made "it." It also expressed a hope that "Mr. Parnell would "rally all the moderate elements of Ireland to the support "of Mr. Gladstone's Government, and of order and security "in Ireland." The *Italia* foresaw that if the Irish revolvers should prove successful, it would be a bad example of a people getting rid of those whom it chose to consider as oppressors. The struggle would be understood by the masses, and the consequences would be great. In every country where the land was not the property of the peasants, grave difficulties would arise. The Italians would not lose sight of the lessons given by the Irish; the Italians would soon organize a legal resistance to its Government. The *Lega della Democrazia* saw in the situation of Ireland the proclamation of a Federal Constitution for Great Britain. All that had hitherto prevented Mr. Gladstone from introducing his Federal system (it said) was the proverbial hatred of the English for the Irish. "Yet (it "continued) *Mr. Gladstone has made his first step to justify "that policy of his.* His next step will be to place Irish-"men in the offices of Ireland, and make them responsible "for the condition of the country. The programme of "'Home Rule,'—that is, the Federal principle,—will then "have been realized, and it will be the most important "victory of the triumphant career of Mr. Gladstone."

A meeting of the citizens of Manchester was held on the 12th to express abhorrence of the Dublin assassinations. Dr. Vaughan, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford, wrote

¹ May 12.

to the Mayor, who presided: "God grant that our just indignation may not degenerate into the weakness of vengeance or panic, and that the black deed of last Saturday may not be allowed to retard by a day that policy of conciliation towards the sister country which had already been announced. The English people are rich and strong. They can, therefore, afford, while steadily following up crime and extending the protection of law to the weak, to be generous and just, and to reverse, *if possible, by a supreme act, once for all, the remnant of misrule in Ireland which is the result of the policy we have pursued during the last two centuries.*" What was "the supreme act" by which he desired the English people to reverse, once for all, the remnant of misrule in Ireland, "which was the result of the policy of 1688"? Doubtless, he meant that autonomy should be granted to Ireland, so that it might become a separate Roman Catholic country. But would it be a Roman Catholic country? After your incentives to robbery, pillage, boycotting, cruelties, and murder, could it remain Roman Catholic? If so, then Roman Catholicism can thrive along with violations of the law of God. If the Roman Catholic Church is the true Church, you have all along been labouring to expel the Roman Catholic Church from Ireland, and to make Ireland an autonomous atheistical country, the focus of revolution for Europe!

The *Times* of May 13 contained the following sensible remarks from Dublin: "It is time the public should be informed clearly and with exact particulars, *who was and is responsible for allowing Lord F. Cavendish to walk unattended from Dublin Castle through the streets and over the bridge to the entrance of the park, and proceed alone—absolutely alone—in the evening, into a comparatively lonely part of the Phœnix Park.* Outside Dublin Castle, the secret society had its agents. If the officials were asleep, the assassins were awake, alert, strenuous, and unflinching. They meant to 'catch' the Chief Secretary ;

"and, shocking as the truth is, no one now doubts it. *If Mr. Burke fell, that was an accident of the occasion and the emergency.* The assassins had doomed the highest officials in Ireland, and one of them, at least, they secured through the oversight of those whose duty it was to leave nothing whatever to chance. The peril in which even a higher dignitary than the late Chief Secretary was placed ; *his nearness to the spot in which assassins, like tigers, lurked with safety ;* his entire absence of suspicion of foul play—all tell the one tale of incompetence in the authorities, and of deadly organization elsewhere. And yet no authorities ever had more potent instruments, apart altogether from the military. *The mounted constables of the Irish constabulary, who are now met at every point in the park, will compare with the smartest cavalry in the world. Two of these trim, stalwart horsemen on Saturday, would have saved Lord F. Cavendish's life ;* six of them, if called out in time, could easily have run down and captured his assassins. *There was neither protection before, nor energy after the crime.* The assassins may or may not be arrested. If they are, something will have been done towards avenging a specially dangerous and ferocious murder. *In any case, the public have a right to demand an answer to the question just put. Seeing that Mr. Forster was protected without his knowledge and consent, why was Lord Frederick Cavendish, his immediate successor, left entirely unprotected ?*"

Two days afterwards (May 15), the *Times* gave the following account of the transaction : "Every one expresses surprise and disgust at the want of promptitude on the part of the authorities after the crime was committed. Seldom if ever has there been an instance in which information has been so quickly conveyed to the police, and all the resources of the Executive were within easy reach. *Within a quarter of an hour after the murder, the police heard of it. There is a mounted section of the force. There were military and police to spare within a hundred yards*

"of the spot at the Viceregal Lodge, where the murders were IMMEDIATELY known, where in fact they were witnessed. There is a cavalry barracks within half a mile. There was no absence of authority, for the Lord Lieutenant himself was on the spot, and the Commander of the forces living almost at the principal entrance to the park. The whole machinery of the Executive was complete, and all that was required was to set it in motion; but it lay completely idle all night, and while every moment was precious, time was allowed to fly past as if it were of no value. An instantaneous or speedy pursuit might have tracked the villains before they became swallowed up in the crowd of the city, as it is supposed they have been, and before they could have removed the stains of guilt."

On the 18th of May, Mr. Redmond, the Home Rule member, gave notice of the following question: "On Monday next I shall ask whether it is a fact that, during the time of the late Chief Secretary, special police were constantly on patrol in the vicinity of the Viceregal Lodge where the recent murders were committed; *whether the police were maintained there until the morning of the murders, and then suddenly withdrawn*; and who is responsible for this, and what steps are being taken in the matter?"

As the *Times* of the 15th, however, contained the following article, the notice of Mr. Redmond may not have been suggested by his personal knowledge. "The four men, who for no private quarrel struck down Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke in open day, with specially prepared weapons and at a special crisis of events, were the agents of a deed of which *others were the first instigators. The thing done is a part and symptom of a well-organized conspiracy. Of this conspiracy we know little beyond the mere fact that it exists. How far it reaches, how many it includes, into what sections it is divided, who are its main movers, and in what country its headquarters are placed, are all points of which we have no certain infor-*

"mation. But that a conspiracy there is, of desperate and determined men, with an ample machinery at their command, and exercising a terror over the whole length and breadth of Ireland, we are sure. . . . The secret society, which the Bill strikes at, exerts an influence for evil over the whole country in which its machinations are carried on. *It is a presence hostile to freedom.*"

On the same day (May 15), there appeared an article, headed "ASSASSINATION VICTORIOUS," in Archbishop Croke's special organ, the *Tipperary*. Judge from that, the cue he gave to the friends of the agitation, the new war-cry he raised, the "new departure" he bade them take. It began with the statement that "the assassins have won;" and that Sir W. Harcourt had announced that four murderers had succeeded in upsetting the British Empire on its vital Imperial policy, and in driving the British Government into a state of panic; "in other words, Sir W. Harcourt, on behalf of his Government, introduced on Thursday night the fiercest Coercion Bill ever fabricated *for the better propagation of disaffection in Ireland.* This, then, is the answer of this responsible Ministry, who rule them, to the wonderful outburst of abhorrence of crime, and fealty to peace and justice, by a generous people, within the last few days. Very good; that is the Ministry's business. Let us look at their new panacea. If they meant it as a distinct message of blind, reckless hate to this country, they did well to get Sir William Harcourt to explain it." The writer, "*whose Roman hand is unmistakable*" (said the *Times*), then observed,—“And this is how Mr. Gladstone seizes this magnificent opportunity put into his hands this week. . . . The nation that vanquished Mr. Forster are not likely to give up the ghost to his minor bully, Sir W. Harcourt.”

That was the Roman Catholic Archbishop's war-cry: an attack on bloodthirsty assassins, thought he, is an attack on the Irish nation! Thus he proclaimed that the Irish nation and the murderous conspiracy were one. Thus he

put himself at their head, and led them on in the path of bloody revenge. Thus he gave them hope, by proclaiming that assassination had been victorious! Was his doctrine not the doctrine of Mariana the Jesuit, of Suarez the Jesuit, and of most of the great Jesuit writers? Nay, it was worse than their doctrine. They proclaimed that king-killing was a righteous deed; while Croke incited to the murder of the Queen's officials. The Jesuits urged the murder of Henri IV. because the king was a Protestant at heart; and the knife of Ravaillac killed him. Elizabeth was a Protestant; and the Jesuit Garnet planned her murder. They were called tyrants because they were Protestants, just as the British officials in Ireland are called tyrants for being Protestants. And the Jesuits teach that it is right to kill tyrants.

In the debate on the "Prevention of Crime Bill," on May 24, Mr. Dawson, a Home Rule member, said, in reference to the Phoenix Park murders: "Before the commission of the crime, the air was thick with rumours, and there were grave presentiments of some impending calamity throughout the city, too soon, unhappily, to be realized." Yet the police were withdrawn from the Vice-regal Lodge, on the very morning of the arrival of Lord Spencer and Lord F. Cavendish; on the very morning of the fatal day when the latter was murdered!

On the evening of May 26, the following paragraph stood alone in the *St. James's Gazette*:

"Treason and murder ever kept together,
As two yoke-devils, sworn to either's purpose,
Working so grossly in a natural cause,
That admiration did not whoop at them.
But thou, 'gainst all proportion, did'st bring in
Wonder, to wait on treason and on murder:
And whatsoever cunning fiend it was
That wrought upon thee so preposterously,
Hath got the voice in hell for excellence:
All other devils that suggest by treasons
Do botch and bungle up damnation

With patches, colours, and with forms being fetch'd
 From glistering semblances of piety ;
 But he that temper'd thee bade thee stand up,
 Gave thee no instance why thou shouldst do treason
 Unless to dub thee with the name of traitor.
 If that same demon that hath gull'd thee thus
 Should with his lion gait walk the whole world,
 He might return to vasty Tartar back,
 And tell the legions, '*I can never win*
 '*A soul so easy as that Englishman's.*'"

KING HENRY V., Act. II., Scene 2.

NO. LXXVII.

ON the 15th of May, the House of Commons seemed determined to know why Mr. Gladstone had liberated Messrs. Parnell, Dillon & Co., as well as the convict Davitt, whose release Archbishop Croke had commanded. Thereupon Mr. Gladstone declined to produce the correspondence, while Mr. Parnell volunteered it in the following words: "I have a copy of a letter which I understand "forms part of the documentary evidence alluded to in the "question. It is a letter from myself to the hon. member "for the county of Clare. It is headed, 'Private and "'confidential,' and is dated from Kilmainham, April 28, "1882. It is in the following terms:—

"'I was very sorry that you had left Albert Mansions
 "'before I reached London from Eltham, as I had wished
 "'to tell you that, after our conversation, I had made up
 "'my mind that it would be proper for me to put Mr.
 "'M'Carthy in possession of the views which I had pre-
 "'viously communicated to you. I desire to impress upon
 "'you *the absolute necessity of a settlement of the arrears*
 "'question which will leave no recurring sore connected
 "'with it behind, and which will enable us to show the
 "'smaller tenantry that they have been treated with
 "'justice and some generosity. The proposal you have
 "'described to me, as suggested in some quarters, of

"making a loan, over however many years the payment
 "might be spread, should be absolutely rejected, for
 "reasons which I have already fully explained to you.
 "*If the arrears question be settled upon the lines indicated*
 "*by us, I have every confidence—a confidence shared by my*
 "*colleagues—that the exertions which we should be able to*
 "*make strenuously and unremittingly would be effective in*
 "*stopping outrages and intimidation of all kinds. As re-*
 "gards permanent legislation of an ameliorative character,
 "I may say that the views which you always shared with
 "me as to the admission of leaseholders to the fair-rent
 "clauses of the Act are more confirmed than ever. So
 "long as the flower of the Irish peasantry are kept out-
 "side the Act there cannot be permanent settlement of
 "the Land Act, which we all so much desire. I should
 "also strongly hope that some compromise might be
 "arrived at this session with regard to the amendment of
 "the tenure clauses. It is unnecessary for me to dwell upon
 "*the enormous advantage to be derived from the full ex-*
 "*tension of the purchase clauses which now seems practically*
 "*to have been adopted by all parties. The accomplishment*
 "of the programme I have sketched out to you would, in
 "my judgment, be regarded by the country as a practical
 "settlement of the land question, *and I believe that the*
 "*Government at the end of this session would, from the*
 "state of the country, *feel themselves thoroughly justified*
 "*in dispensing with further coercive measures.*—Yours very
 "truly, C. S. PARNELL."

Mr. Forster desired to ask the hon. member for the city of Cork whether he had read the whole of the letter.

Mr. Parnell said: "I have not read from the original letter, but from a copy furnished me by the hon. and gallant member for Clare, and *it is possible that a paragraph has been omitted.*"

Mr. O'Shea said: "I have not the letter in question with me, and am, therefore, unable to read it. (A document was here handed to the hon. and gallant member

"by Mr. Forster.) A copy of the letter in question has "been put into my hands, which I will read." The hon. member then read the same letter as that read to the House by the hon. member for Cork City, the concluding paragraph of which was, however, in the following terms :—

"The accomplishment of the programme I have sketched "would, in my judgment, be regarded by the country as a "practical settlement of the land question, and would, I "feel sure, *enable us to co-operate cordially for the future "with the Liberal party in forwarding Liberal principles,* "and that the Government at the end of the session would, "from the state of the country, feel themselves thoroughly "justified in dispensing with future coercive measures."

Mr. Onslow desired to know whether the right hon. gentleman, the Prime Minister, had seen the letter of the hon. member for Cork before he informed the House that no understanding had been arrived at between himself and the hon. member for Cork before the Kilmainham suspects were released.

Mr. Gladstone: "With regard to the question of the "hon. member for Guildford, I may say that *I had seen "that letter.* I did say, and I repeat it now, that there was "not the slightest understanding of any kind. The hon. "gentleman the member for the city of Cork asked "nothing from us, and on our side we asked nothing from "him."

At a much later period of the evening, or rather, the next morning, the subject was recurred to, in the debate on the Arrears Bill, which the Government had, that evening, introduced. During that debate, Mr. Forster, the late Secretary for Ireland, said, in reply to the hon. member for Clare, Mr. O'Shea: "To a great extent I agree with "the hon. member, that *the matter arose out of a letter from "the hon. member to my right hon. friend the Prime Minister.* "My right hon. friend knows it very well, for he sent me that "letter, and when I sent it back to him I took precisely the "same view as that which I stated I took a few days ago in

"the House when explaining the motives for my resignation. However, the negotiations or correspondence went on. The hon. member says he was in constant communication with me. I certainly did see him two or three times, but his communications consisted to a great extent of a letter to the Prime Minister, and a communication to my right hon. friend the President of the Board of Trade. The time came when it appeared to be desirable that the hon. member for Clare should see the hon. member for Cork at Kilmainham. There was a question by the hon. member for Newcastle as to what would be done with the members of Parliament who were under arrest; and there was a question addressed to me on that subject. I happened to see the hon. member for Clare, and I told him the answer that I thought should be given. The question was, Would the Government release those members or not? and my reply was exactly in the same direction as what the House knows was my opinion. My opinion was that we could release them when either we got Ireland quiet, or got a fresh Bill with powers, or got a pledge from them without any conditions whatever that they would not break the law. I was not very *exigeant*; I only asked them not to break the law. The hon. member did not think that an advantageous answer, and the Prime Minister did not approve of it, and in consequence the question was not answered by me, but by him. The hon. member for Clare then went to Kilmainham, and I certainly facilitated his seeing the hon. member for Cork, precisely as I have facilitated many visits to persons detained under the Protection Act, whenever I had reason to believe, or any expectation, that the results would be such a promise of good behaviour as would enable me to recommend their release. I cannot say that I was very sanguine as to the result of the visit of the hon. member for Clare; but he went to Kilmainham, and came to see me on Sunday morning. I am afraid I must really state the impression that his conversation gave me when he

"returned. *I took a memorandum at the time, and I sent it to the Prime Minister, and circulated it among my colleagues.* It was to this effect:—

"After telling me that he had been from 11 to 5 yesterday with Parnell, O'Shea gave me his letter to him, saying that he hoped it would be *a satisfactory expression of union with the Liberal party.* After carefully reading it, I said to him, 'Is that all, do you think, that Parnell would be inclined to say?' He said, '*What more do you want? Doubtless, I could supplement.*' I said, 'It comes to this —that upon our doing certain things, he will help us to prevent outrages'—or words to that effect. He again said, 'How can I supplement it?'—referring, I imagine, to different measures. I did not feel justified in giving him my own opinion, which might be interpreted to be that of the Cabinet, so I said I had better show the letter to Mr. Gladstone and one or two others. He said, 'Well, there may be fault in expression, but *the thing is done; if these words will not do, I must get others, but what is obtained is*' (and here he used most remarkable words) '*that the conspiracy which has been used to get up boycotting and outrages, will now be used to put them down.*' And that *there will be a union in the Liberal party.* And as an illustration of how the first of these results was to be obtained, he said that *Parnell hoped to make use of a certain person and get him back from abroad, as he would be able to help him to put down conspiracy or agitation—I am not sure which word was used—as he knew all its details in the West.*

"I added, for the information of my colleagues:—
"This last statement is quite true—this man Sheridan is a released suspect, against whom we have for some time had a fresh warrant, and who, under disguises, has hitherto eluded the police, *coming backwards and forwards from Egan to the outrage-mongers in the West.* I did not feel myself sufficiently master of the situation to let him see what I thought of this confidence, but I again told

" 'him that I could not do more at present than tell others
 " 'what he had told me.' ¹

" *Now, the situation is this. I was informed that if certain things were done, if a Bill were brought forward, then the hon. member would cease from his illegal course, and would strive to help the law, and the illustration that was given was one that perfectly surprised me. It gave me a sort of insight into what had been happening, which I had not before—that a man whom I knew, so far as I had any possibility of knowing, was engaged in these outrages, was so far under the influence of the hon. member for the city of Cork, that upon his release he would get the assistance of that man to put down the very things which he had been provoking.* Well, I came away from that interview with this feeling: I was very sorry I had had anything whatever to do with the negotiation, although all I had to do with it was, to have got from the hon. member for the city of Cork a promise not to break the law. I felt I would have nothing more to do with it. If it was possible to injure the power of the Government in Ireland, and to make it more difficult to preserve order, it was by entering into any arrangements with a gentleman who said: 'If I can get certain things done, then I will no longer instigate a breach of the law; I will try and help you to keep it; and I will even make use of agents, who have been used for the purposes of outrages, to put them down.'"

¹ To show the character of Mr. Sheridan's agitation, the following extracts from a speech of his at Lackagh, on August 1, 1880, may be appended. He kept a public-house at Tubbercurry. His words were: "Mr. Chairman and fellow-countrymen,—I feel proud at seeing you assembled here to-day in your thousands. We must assert our rights, and if we do not get them through our M.P.'s, I would ask you then to *ring out your voices through the muzzles of 'Minie' rifles* as well as from those platforms. We have America at our back, and she is watching over us and helping us in the hours of our distress. . . . Most of us here will agree that *the highest form of government is a Republic.* Well, you may establish an Irish Republic on Irish soil; but, as long as the tillers of that soil are forced to support a class, your Irish Republic would be but a mockery of freedom."

The next day, the 16th, the House felt itself compelled to recur to the subject. The Government had got into a very awkward position. There had evidently been some very underhand negotiations. But the House and country were as yet ignorant as to what might have been the real object of them. We must remember that Parnell, Dillon, and the others had, by the responsible authority of the Government, been proclaimed as "steeped to the lips in "treason." We must bear in mind that, at the trial of Davitt, on July 18, 1870, it was sworn that he had attended meetings of Fenians in Liverpool after the failure of the Fenian attempt to blow up Chester Castle; that he had frequently deplored the failure of that attempt; that he had assisted to make arrangements for a rebellion in Ireland; that he had frequently discussed the plans for raising the rebellion; that he had written a letter (which was produced), which gave directions as to how a Fenian scheme of assassination should be carried out, and (to use the words of the Lord Chief Justice) "some measure of the "deepest atrocity"; and, finally (to use again the words of the Lord Chief Justice), that "there cannot be the shadow "of a doubt that he bought those arms and sent them to "Ireland, to be used in a Fenian rising there." And then the Lord Chief Justice added, emphatically:—

"There is one thing I cannot help regarding with a "feeling of the utmost condemnation and horror, and that "is that assassination is not considered as a means too "desperate or bad to be resorted to when it is found convenient to have recourse to it. That letter of yours "shows that there was some dark and villainous design "against the life of some man. The letter speaks for "itself."

In addressing the Court before the sentence was delivered, Davitt did not deny the letter, nor the interpretation of it.

Those were the men whose release Archbishop Croke had demanded, and whose release Mr. Gladstone had

determined on giving, against the advice and sanction of the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary for Ireland !

Of course (especially in the face of their two resignations), some colour, some gloze had to be put upon the transaction. The Land Leaguers, the suspects, the convict, were to be liberated in order that they might assist the Government in maintaining order ! But they were not to be asked to give a promise that they would either do that, or even abstain from promoting sedition, outrage, and assassination. Mr. Gladstone saw that, even after that laborious glozing of his real aim, the matter would wear a very ugly aspect in the eyes of the British public. This was evident from the anxiety and solicitude he evinced, to burke the "information" on which he and his Cabinet had proceeded. He declined to give the "private correspondence," on the ground that "it would tend to diminish the responsibility of the Government !" Mr. Parnell on the other hand (who had never any real power except the power of an instrument), feeling that his power was fast slipping away, because that the ignorant masses thought he was making a compact with the alien Government of England,—he, therefore, read out a garbled copy of his letter to Mr. O'Shea. The omitted sentence revealed that a portion of the compact was that Parnell should aid in the triumph of Liberal principles. The rest of the bargain was, that if the question of arrears should be settled on the lines of Mr. Redmond's Bill, Parnell, Dillon, Davitt and Co., would cease to promote outrage, sedition, and intimidation, and would use their organization to assist in maintaining order.

We know the doctrine of Liguori and the Jesuit doctors, of the permissibility of telling lies under certain circumstances. We have seen the understanding with the suspects, and heard Mr. Gladstone's frequent and angry denial of any understanding whatever ! Whether Mr. Gladstone spoke the truth, rests with his own conscience. The conspiracy which had established boycotting, inaugurated a fearful system of intimidation, suggested outrages,

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and connived at Mariana assassinations, was to have been used by Mr. Gladstone to spread "Liberal principles!" Liberal principles? The Liberalism of Suarez, the Liberalism of Sheridan, not that of Englishmen. Mr. Gladstone entered into this compact with the Land Leaguers. He made a covenant with them, because they had established a vast conspiracy and were members of a great organization; because they had inaugurated boycotting, maintained a system of intimidation, and connived at assassination! He struck the bargain; denied the bargain; and carried out the bargain. He liberated the suspects and convicts, and introduced the Arrears Bill for the robbery of landlords.

That the discreditable affair was Mr. Gladstone's own, was proved by another fact, which was stated by Mr. Forster. Mr. Cowen had given notice of a question about the release of the suspects. As the matter related to Mr. Forster's department, he was intending to answer the question: "My opinion was that we could release them "when either we got Ireland quiet, or got a fresh Bill with "powers, or got a pledge from them, without any conditions whatever, that they would not break the law. I "was not very *exigeant*; I only asked them not to break "the law." Now mark the concurrence which existed between the Prime Minister and the Land Leaguers. An identity of aim, an identity of feeling, an identity of thought. Mr. Forster continued: "*The honourable member "did not think that an advantageous answer, and the Prime "Minister did not approve of it; and in consequence the "question was not answered by me, but by him.*" That is, by Mr. Gladstone himself.

It is plain, too, that Mr. O'Shea, the Land Leaguer, was Mr. Gladstone's plenipotentiary,—his ambassador, not to Parnell, but to the Chief Secretary,—to wheedle Mr. Forster over to Mr. Gladstone's views. Mr. Forster recorded in his official memorandum, written at the time for the use of the Cabinet, the words of Captain O'Shea:

"THE THING IS DONE, if these words will not do, I must get others ; but WHAT IS OBTAINED IS *that the conspiracy, which has been used to get up boycotting and outrages, will now be used to put them down ; and there will be a union in the Liberal party.*" The thing *had been done.* It had been agreed between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Parnell.

As to the Arrears Bill, which had just been introduced by Mr. Gladstone, we must remember that Mr. Parnell had said : " If the Arrears question be settled *upon the lines indicated by us,*" then order shall be restored, and crime shall cease.

Now the Bill of Mr. Gladstone, and that of Mr. Redmond were amazingly similar ; and Mr. Gladstone was anxious, in his speech on introducing the Bill, to show that they were almost identical. He compared them step by step, and pointed out the coincidences ; as much as to say, " See ! I have fulfilled my part of the bargain, now fulfil yours." The settlement was to be compulsory on the landlord, not voluntary ; by gift to the tenant, not by way of loan. Both Bills were confined to tenancies of £30 a year and under, by Griffith's valuation. A year's rent only, of the arrears, was to be paid by the tenant ; the rest was to be wiped out, the State paying for the defaulter a sum not exceeding one year's rent, or half the arrears ; and so forth.

It was remarkable that, although tenants who paid any rent were always shot by the Land League, and their houses burned down, Parnell agreed that the outrages and intimidation should cease, if the tenants should pay one year's arrear of rent under the Arrears Bill ! But then the landlord was to be robbed of the remainder.

It was also remarkable, as noticed by the *Times*, that the negotiations at Kilmainham began at the middle of April (April 13), and that, at the very time, the press began to write down Mr. Forster as incapable, and his administration in Ireland as a failure.

No. LXXVIII.

ON the 21st of May, 1882, Cardinal McCabe, who had been alone in denouncing the crimes of the Land League, returned from Rome, whither he had gone to receive the Cardinal's hat. Instead of there being a demonstration by crowds of Irish, according to custom, to welcome a Romanist bishop on his return from the Pope, not three persons met him at the station; and that evening his hall door was hung with crape. The same day, Dr. Croke received an address in Galbally, in the County Tipperary, and said that "the address, together with a demonstration in the same district a couple of days before, *afforded convincing proof to him, if proof were needed, that the priests and people of Ireland were thoroughly united.* . . . Now he, as one of the Irish bishops, would earnestly call on the Government *to pause in their coercive career, to settle substantially the land question, to consult in future, with a view to the government of Ireland, the friends of the country rather than its enemies; and he would promise them that, if they did so, peace and prosperity would be as manifest in a short time as disturbance and uncertainty were at present.*"

"The friends of the country" doubtless meant himself and those who shared his views regarding the Land League, and the love of "martial music," and the necessity of being "resolute" and "*not moderate*," and so forth. The "people of Ireland" had lately gone beyond that limit, and had claimed the absolute abolition of landlords, the separation of Ireland from England, and the use of outrages and assassination as means to those ends. "The priests," said the Archbishop, "were thoroughly united with the people of Ireland" in holding those views. Lest there should be any mistake concerning the views of the people of Ireland, we may quote a letter sent by the Rev. J. Stewart Perowne, Dean of Peterborough, to the editor of

the *Times*, and published in the number of May 22. The letter was written to the Dean from Dublin: "I was in the procession entering Dublin, and heard one man say, as the Lord Lieutenant passed, '*I hope you may be shot down like a thrush before you get to the Castle.*' Another man, just released from prison, whose father lives in our parish, said, after his liberation, '*There will be no peace for Ireland till every Protestant is killed.*'"

The *St. James's Gazette* of the same evening contained another sign of the feeling of Ireland. The Council of the Fenian Brotherhood had issued a manifesto to all the Irish in America and the English Colonies, as well as to those in Ireland. The manifesto contained the following passage: "Awake, arise, in solemn secret conclave, continue with augmented force, give emphasis, *dagger, fire, sword, and other available resources of civilization to our imperishable hatred* of our ancient, merciless, unrelenting enemy, to *destroy whom we shall use, while life endures, every means within reach of human effort.* We proclaim our unswerving fidelity with ancient Gospel force; we authoritatively declare you are to *regard recent events merely as a cloud the size of a man's hand on the horizon, clearly indicating what will infallibly follow in the near future.* To our brethren of every Irish secret revolutionary organization we now solemnly declare that the watchword of the hour has gone forth; we pledge ourselves to apply all our resources with redoubled energy and devotion, and with even a ferocity equal to that of our arch-enemy, to the great work confronting us—*the destruction and annihilation of British power in Ireland.*"

That was a nice specimen of Archbishop Croke's friends and the "friends of the country"! Such as these, his Grace asserted the priests of Ireland to be!

The *Times* of the same day contained a report of a speech made by the ticket-of-leave convict, Michael Davitt, when presiding at a large Land League meeting in Manchester. He "was enthusiastically received by the large

"audience, pointed to the great change which had come
"over public opinion upon the subject of land reform
"during his incarceration in Portland, and defended the
"movement by the aid of which such a revolution in the
"popular mind had been effected. . . . It was for
"Englishmen to make up their mind what course to
"pursue in furtherance of English political interests; *the*
"*people of Ireland had fully made up theirs as to what was*
"*their just demand, and what the sentence that must be passed*
"*on Irish landlordism. . . . The Prime Minister deceived*
"*himself egregiously if he believed that the Land League*
"*movement was about to efface itself all the world over, be-*
"*cause he had been converted to Mr. Parnell's views upon*
"*the arrears question, and had accepted the services of Mr.*
"*O'Shea in effecting the treaty of Kilmainham.* The Land
"League movement was organized to effect *a complete*
"*abolition of Irish landlordism*, and until that work was
"fully and completely accomplished there could be no
"alliance between the people of Ireland and the Whig
"party of this country. Mr. Gladstone wanted Ireland to
"give a trial to his second attempt to settle the land ques-
"tion, but *the people of Ireland would refuse to give any*
"*further trial to Irish landlordism. . . .* The concession
"upon the arrears question was offered side by side with a
"Bill which was really intended to arrest the further public
"action of the people of Ireland towards the abolition of
"landlordism. *Had Mr. Gladstone been in the confidence of*
"*the secret societies, he could not have more completely played*
"*into their hands."*

The *Irish Times* determined to clinch the nail. It boldly asserted that Davitt's speech was "a striking and positive
"repudiation of the Kilmainham Treaty; that Davitt dis-
"sented from the course of Mr. Parnell; and told Mr.
"Gladstone that he had gained nothing by his great
"humiliation. The Land League (he said) was not to
"be affected by the new experiment in legislation—the
"Arrears Bill, which had arisen out of the Kilmainham

"bargain—any more than by the negotiations of Captain O'Shea."

This brings us, indeed, to the consideration of the Arrears Bill—the part of the Government in the Kilmainham contract. The moment the Bill had been introduced, it was observed that the payment of rents was stopped all over Ireland. Tenants greedily sought after the pecuniary advantages promised by the Bill, to those who would consent to defraud and rob their landlords. The landlords were, therefore, at once put in a worse position than before. Another curious result of the introduction of the Bill was a movement among those tenants who had already paid their rents, to have a "rebate" of that money handed back to them.

Before this time, when a tenant was in arrear, the tenant-right of the farm could be sold, and the landlord be paid his arrears out of the proceeds, while the tenant received the remainder. The Bill proposed to do away with that equitable system, by defrauding the landlord, by handing the tenant a year's rent if he was in arrear and could not pay, and wiping out the balance of the arrears. But how was the tenant to prove that he could not pay? and if he could prove it, how soon would his case come on for hearing? Perhaps not for four or five years; and in the meanwhile all rents and arrears were to be in abeyance, and the landlord was to be starved out. Thus the Bill proposed to do a grievous wrong to the landlord; to do nothing for the honest tenant; to grant a boon to dishonesty, by making a gift to the dishonest and insolvent tenant; and finally, to discourage for the future all payments of rent.

Moreover, the Bill seemed to contain a direct inducement to the utterance of falsehood, and the commission of fraud. It was indeed said to be a curriculum for teaching swindling.

Mr. Gladstone estimated that only one-third (say 200,000) of the tenants under £30 holdings (which amounted to £585,000) would come under the operation of the Act;

that a sum of two millions would cover their arrears ; and that the balance of the Church Temporalities Fund would nearly meet that demand. On that point the *Times* of May 22 gave the following caution :—

“ It must not be forgotten that, with all the Prime Minister’s financial ability, some of his estimates *in connection with Irish affairs* have been very wide of the mark. The Church Surplus was found to be much less than the amount computed on the introduction of the Disestablishment Bill. The cost of working the Land Act has proved to be vastly greater than was supposed a year ago. The assumption, therefore, that the charge upon the Consolidated Fund will not exceed half a million sterling is one which should be entertained with much reserve.”

Not only was that charge, of misleading the House, brought forward by the leading journal, but other journals announced the “intention of the Government to force the Arrears Bill through the House of Commons with scandalous and totally unjustifiable haste.” On the 22nd of May, after a short debate of one night, Mr. Gladstone objected to an adjournment, and divided the House against it, saying that the speeches of the opponents had dealt with extraneous matters (an assertion which was at once met with an unqualified contradiction from Sir Stafford Northcote). The advocacy, or rather defence, of the measure “was feeble in the extreme,” and “practically no defence was made to the attacks from the Opposition benches.” Even the *Daily News* remarked the refinement in Mr. Gladstone’s cruelty to the landlords of Ireland : not only were the Protestant landlords to be defrauded of their arrears, but the Protestant taxpayers of England and Scotland were to be mulcted to aid the Roman Catholic, or rather, Fenian, tenants of Ireland. The *Daily News* did not see in the matter, it is true, the thread of the religious question ; it spoke merely of hardship and of economical principles. It then rehearsed Mr. Gladstone’s admission that the measure was “exceptional and extra-

"ordinary," and urged in conclusion that, as the conditions were extraordinary, the sacrifice should be made. The *Morning Advertiser* called the Land Act and the supplementary Bill "revolutionary" measures; and said that "Irish landlordism had been too deeply shaken, by the blows administered to it during the past twelve years, to remain a permanent and influential factor of the social fabric"; wherefore it thought it better to have a peasant proprietary in Ireland at once, and "enable the landlords to take themselves out of a country where living had been irksome for all, and intolerable for many." The *Glasgow Herald* could not see why the fair and just landlords of Ireland—"the great majority, as the Premier told us last year"—should be treated as hardly as the rack-renters; while the honest tenant did not receive the boon extended to "the mean rascal who, it may be under a low rent, can point to his hoard as proof that there is no good in a moral code."

The *St. James's Gazette* (May 23) considered the Arrears Bill to be something else than it pretended to be. It was not a measure for relieving the distressed; it was rather a scheme for "rewarding the dishonest and bribing the violent," for "rewarding the dishonest who had thriven by violence. It was meant to buy off Captain Moonlight, and to secure their gains to those tenants for whom the Captain acted." "They would see that the Government reserved its gifts for the unscrupulous, and that the rogues were too strong for the law."

In the debate on the second reading of the Arrears Bill, Mr. Childers, the Secretary at War, made an important, but suicidal statement. He said that a tenant was not to be held "unable to pay his arrears," until he had exhausted his power of raising money on the tenant-right of his holding. If so, the tenant must first have borrowed, at a ruinous rate of interest, from the village attorney or "Gombeen man," as much as could be got on the security of his tenant-right, before he could claim any

of the benefits of the Arrears of Rent Act. That is to say, that *the landlord was to be defrauded of the arrears due to him, even though the robbery should not in any way benefit the tenant.* For the tenant was to be screwed in the vice of a hard-hearted country attorney, or money-lender, in order to free him from the presence of a tender-hearted and indulgent landlord! The aim of Mr. Gladstone in carrying the Arrears Bill, was therefore not the good of the tenant, but the ruin of the landlord!

It was therefore not a wonderful thing that no Minister was found to defend the principles of that extraordinary measure; for no one knew or could be brought to believe the real aim of Mr. Gladstone's policy; and his Ministers were puzzled to reconcile the means provided in the clauses of the Bill, with that which they had been told was the end and aim of the measure. The objections to the Bill therefore remained unanswered, because unanswerable; and the second reading was passed, of a Bill which had the appearance of a bribe to disaffection, an incentive to outrage and murder, an elixir of life to agitation, a sure means for the demoralization of the people, a most dangerous legislative precedent, a law most unjust to English taxpayers, a reward to lawlessness, and a discouragement to honesty. With all that, the bribe would not procure the support which Mr. Gladstone said he desired, and would not buy off the enemy which Mr. Gladstone professed to oppose. Like the Dutch burghers, who sold powder and shot to the enemy who had expended all their supply in besieging the burghers' town, so Mr. Gladstone was held to have encouraged the Fenian enemies of the British connection, and bribed them to continue their fatiguing and dangerous agitation.

The *Times* of the 25th displayed its sense of the incongruous in the policy of the Government. "The notion "that a system of pure conciliation and concession would "restore order and peace and the authority of the law in "Ireland, if the Government were wholly to abandon its

“repressive powers, is the figment of a distempered fancy. . . . Upon any view of Irish affairs, it must be recognised, unless we close our eyes deliberately to the facts, that we have to deal in Ireland with a form of disaffection which is not only politically dangerous, but is subversive of all law, and can be met effectually by force alone.”

The *Times* was merely expressing the mutterings of Pall Mall clubs, and the whisperings of the salons. The Government appeared to be not disconnected from the Fenian intrigue. “The two Governments of Ireland”—(for men had been got to believe that there were two Governments, which were not in sub-alternation)—had not even the appearance of mutual opposition.

NO. LXXIX.

IN the debate on going into Committee on “The Prevention of Crime Bill,” Mr. Dillon spoke as follows: “I am not ashamed to say, in this House, that I have, in Ireland, publicly advocated ‘boycotting.’ . . . The hon. member for the county of Mayo has denounced ‘boycotting’ as ‘brutal and immoral.’ Now, ‘boycotting’ has kept the roof-tree over the heads of hundreds of poor families in the county of Mayo; and I challenge that hon. member to resign his seat and go down with me to the constituency of Mayo, making his appeal on the question whether the doctrine of ‘boycotting’ was ‘brutal and immoral’ or not. I have always held that ‘boycotting’ is the minor of two evils, of which we have the choice. If I were an Englishman sitting on the Treasury bench, I would denounce ‘boycotting’; but have you ever heard of lynch law? I suppose, from its name, that it was started by an Irishman. If you had lived in mining camps in California or Australia, you would have been glad of the protection of lynch

"law, rather than be at the mercy of every ruffian. . . . A blood tax can have no effect except to exasperate honest people, for the men who will be required to pay it are not those who commit the murders. Besides, if terrorism prevails to the extent it is alleged to do, the Irish peasant will rather pay a blood tax than risk his own life by coming forward to give evidence. A blood tax may make the Irish peasant *sorry for a murder unless he obtains the advantage of it*. Beyond that, it can only serve to impoverish the country and still further convince the people that justice is not to be had."

Mr. Gladstone followed, and said: "*There are those in this House who may have some sympathy with the objects of the hon. member, but they are not prepared to go to the fearful lengths advocated by him. . . . What has been told us was deliberately, and even coldly spoken; in perfect self-possession and not in the heat of the debate.*" He begins by saying that he will refuse to denounce outrage so long as we refuse to denounce eviction. ('Hear, hear,' from the Irish members.) . . . Eviction is the exercise of an undoubted legal right, which, I admit, may involve the highest responsibility and even deep moral guilt upon the person exercising it; but it is also the means of the establishment of those legal rights upon which existence and society depend, rights which have been deliberately and insolently denied, by men who audaciously refuse to perform their part of the contract; men with money in their pockets, perhaps loaded with benefits by him whose rights they deny. That man is placed, by the declaration of the hon. member, on a level with those who commit outrages. . . . That these declarations should be made on behalf of the Irish people, that they should be scoffed at by the hon. member for Cavan—these, sir, are among the gravest and most grievous facts that can carry sorrow to my heart, and rejoicing and mockery to the heart of the hon. member for Cavan. . . . The view he takes of murder, may be judged of from another passage of his

"speech. With great *naïveté* he let fall a sentence which
"opened to us the interior of his heart, and the sentence
"was this. He said: 'What will a mere blood tax do?
"It may make the Irish peasant sorry for the murder
"unless he obtains the advantage of it.' . . . The pro-
"cess called 'boycotting' is, according to the hon. member,
"a legitimate and proper process. What is meant by boy-
"cotting? In the first place, it is combined intimidation.
"In the second place, it is combined intimidation made use
"of for the purpose of destroying the private liberty of choice
"by fear of ruin and starvation. In the third place, that
"being what boycotting is in itself, we must look to this, that
"the creed of boycotting, like every other creed, requires
"a sanction, and the sanction of boycotting—that which
"stands in the rear of boycotting, and by which alone boy-
"cotting can in the long run be made thoroughly effective,
"is the murder which is not to be denounced. . . . By
"boycotting, he means nothing but merely ruining men
"who claim to exercise their private judgment in a direc-
"tion opposite to his. That is all he means. . . .
"The hon. gentleman becomes here the apostle of a
"different creed, which is a creed of force, of oppression,
"of the destruction of all liberty, and of the erection of
"a despotism upon its ruins, a despotism differing from
"every other despotism only in this, that it is more abso-
"lutely detached from all law, all tradition, and all restraint.
"The hon. gentleman says that if Her Majesty's Govern-
"ment will abandon coercion, and if they will recast the
"Land Act, then the land question may be settled on the
"basis of legal agitation. *There is the groundwork of the*
"*new treaty offered by the hon. gentleman.* What he means
"by the abandonment of coercion, is that no Bill of re-
"straint is to be introduced against any evil-doers whatever
"in Ireland."

If Mr. Dillon's speech had been merely words, and had not revealed the intentions of a great power behind him, then it would have incurred reprobation, but would have

merited neglect. But he spoke the deliberate mind of the secret Fenian conspiracy, and revealed the colour of its every-day coat, the Land League. When Mr. Gladstone heard that speech, he spoke to the House of Commons as the Prime Minister who had been responsible for the state of Ireland during the last two years ; who had introduced measures for the amelioration of Ireland, as if he were the only man who understood the case ; and yet as a man who was so surprised at the discovery of the intentions of the Land League, as to be utterly "heart-broken !" The most horrible crimes had for two years been going on ; and Mr. Gladstone had sat unmoved. An Irishman made a calm and deliberate speech, and Mr. Gladstone was "heart-broken." He cried, "Give me a little water, Titania ! "Titania, I am sick" of despair ! Mr. Dillon advocated boycotting, and refused to denounce boycotting, and even coquetted with murder ; he appeared as the apologist for a state of Ireland to which we had become accustomed, and Mr. Gladstone said he was "heart-broken !" Mr. Dillon's position was exactly the same as that which had been taken by Mr. Gladstone in the "Kilmainham Treaty." Mr. Dillon said : "I will insure that outrages shall cease "if you will stop evictions ; and, when you have settled "the land question as we desire, you shall find Ireland "pacified." Was not that the bargain which had been struck at Kilmainham about three weeks before ?

It was remarked that, before the debate had begun on the 24th, Mr. Forster volunteered a personal explanation on his resignation, and said : "The facts were as I have "already stated them. *I was cognisant of the negotiations* "to which the right hon. gentleman alluded, although *the* "time came when I felt I could no longer share in the "responsibilities connected with them. As regards these "*negotiations*, I would never have made any reference to "the subject had it not been referred to by others."

Thus Mr. Forster, on the 24th, deliberately volunteered the information, that negotiations had been carried on, and

that the time had come during the progress of the negotiations, when he felt "he could no longer share" with Mr. Gladstone "the responsibilities connected with them." To "receive information" would have been a duty, and could involve no responsibility. To conduct negotiations does involve responsibility. The negotiations had endured some time, and then had reached a point when Mr. Forster felt he must withdraw from them, and refuse to share the responsibility, by resigning; because he found that the negotiations were being carried on in spite of him.

The same number of the *Times* (25th), which contained the report of that debate, contained also a remarkable speech of Lord Salisbury at Stratford. "I do not know "whether you noticed a letter addressed to the *Standard* "by Mr. Staples, an Irish magistrate, a few days after the "Dublin tragedy. He says:—'About a year ago, I had "'occasion as a magistrate to see Mr. Burke on business "'connected with the state of the country. I told him "'what I thought, and lamented the troubled and danger- "'ous state into which we were drifting, and his answer "'was, "*We may thank Mr. Gladstone for it all.*"' Now "that is the solution to which, I think, a calm examination "of the recent connection of this country with Ireland will "lead every one who devotes his attention to it. . . . You "know he has preached about the abolition of the Irish "Church, when he spoke of the outrages in Clerkenwell "bringing that question 'within the range of practical "'politics.' . . . I go from that measure to what happened "two years ago. Lord Beaconsfield dissolved the late "Parliament, warning the people of this country of the "struggle impending over them—warning them that an "effort was being made to disintegrate the Empire, which "would be more dangerous than pestilence and famine; "but the result of that warning was that *the Liberal party* "threw themselves into the hands of the Irish voters. . . . As "payment for that support *the Land Act* was introduced, of "which I will not discuss the individual provisions, but it

"may be described in this simple phrase, that *it was a measure for the transfer of a quarter of the property of the landlords, or what had been regarded as the property of the landlords, to the tenants who were in the occupation of the land.* What is more of importance to my argument, it was a measure directly in the teeth of the assurances by which Mr. Gladstone had forced upon Parliament and passed the Act of 1870—the direct reversal of those principles of free contract which he had then laid down in the most emphatic terms were to be the permanent guide. We know from Mr. Chamberlain that *the Land League was looked upon by the Government as a very useful auxiliary in passing the Land Act. . . . No application of the coercive powers was made against the leaders of the Irish movement until the moment the Land Act was passed,* and then Mr. Gladstone commenced his third lesson to the Irish malcontents. . . . The third and most important point is this, that this man with whom this compact was made, and on whose behalf the powers given by the Legislature were exercised, was in prison on a charge of treasonable practices. One of two things must be true. Either at the moment before he was let out, there was no ground for the charge made of treasonable practices, and in that case he was the most deeply injured of men; or else, when he was let out without having given any security that the treasonable practices with which he was charged should cease, Mr. Gladstone was bartering the interests of the Empire for Parliamentary advantage. Now we come to *the fourth lesson that has been given to the Irish malcontents,* and it has been given quite recently. I do not think that the nature of this Arrears Bill is really present to the minds of the English people. . . . I wish you to look at it merely as a lesson which Mr. Gladstone gives to the malcontents in Ireland with whom he has to deal. *What is the Arrears Bill? It is a Bill for paying other people's debts, and paying them out of the funds to which those people have no claim.* . . . What I wish

“you to centre your attention upon is the proposal to pay
“the debts of the Irish tenant-farmers out of the Consolidated
“Fund. . . .

“You may be told that they were seriously distressed in
“1878 and 1879 ; but did the sun refuse to shine in 1878 and
“1879 in Ireland alone ? I believe that there are parts of
“this country which have suffered more deeply from the
“adverse seasons than any part of Ireland. . . . In each of
“these four cases the Irish tenant has been taught by the
“powerful preaching of facts—the most powerful kind of
“preaching there is—that outrage will obtain from the
“English Government concessions which can be obtained
“in no other way, and that obedience to the law is not so
“profitable as breaking the law—that committing a series
“of agrarian crimes, which have now for so long disgraced
“the country, is repaid by the English Government by
“handing money from the Irish Church, from the pockets
“of the Irish landlords, and from the pockets of the English
“taxpayers to those who have committed the outrages, in
“order that they may be kind enough to commit them no
“longer. . . . *Depend upon it, that it is a mistake to think that*
“*this terrible problem of Ireland arises because of the evils*
“*that exist in Ireland itself.* It is a symptom of the general
“disease of the body politic—the disease, the symptoms
“of which show themselves at the extremities, is really at
“the heart. IT IS THE HEART, THE GOVERNMENT IN
“ENGLAND, THAT CAUSES ALL THE TROUBLES WHICH
“YOU HAVE TO FIGHT IN IRELAND. . . . When that pro-
“cess has been repeated four times, I imagine that a
“*less suspicious person than an Irish peasant sees through*
“*the shallow pretence of justice.* If these things were
“just, they would have been granted long ago ; if they
“are not just, no change in the circumstances of Ireland
“could make them so. No consideration of expediency
“can make it just to empty the purses of English tax-
“payers into the pockets of Irish tenants. Mr. Gladstone
“never spoke a truer word than when he said that we

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"were in the presence of a social revolution. *Who has caused this revolution it is unnecessary to inquire, but you cannot compromise with it.*"

Lord Salisbury had evidently his suspicions (although he carefully guarded himself from expressing them too openly) that Mr. Gladstone had been "consciously and "intentionally" keeping the agitation alive.

The *Times* may have had its suspicions too. At all events, it said, on the 25th: "The unwisdom, not to use a "stronger word, of this sort of *dalliance with the Home Rule spirit, at the very time when it has been plainly shown to what ends that spirit is tending, is to be censured. . . .* "The separatist movement in Ireland, with its subversive social "characteristics, is disclosed, still more completely than by Mr. "Dillon's speech, in a letter written by Davitt to the Roman "Catholic Bishop of Meath. That prelate had made himself "conspicuous as an exponent of doctrines, relating to property "in land, not distinguishable from those of the most advanced "of Continental Socialists." Those sentences seemed somewhat uncalled for, until the following announcement appeared in the *Morning Post* of the following day: "There "is much reason for believing that Mr. Gladstone, who has "already indicated his adhesion to the desirability of giving "consideration to the plea for 'Home Rule,' is contemplating "another 'new departure' and a fresh plan for settling "Irish difficulties on the basis of *four great provincial "councils for the four provinces of Ireland. This, it is "contended, would afford a large and satisfactory concession "of local self-government.* We need hardly point out that "these great local councils would expect to have the police "subordinate to them, and that they would on their very "first meeting vote for the principle of unity, and seek to "transfer their divided authority to one seat in College 'Green. The Premier is daily teaching the Irish that they "have only to ask and to receive; that they need but 'ring "'the chapel bell' to obtain their most extravagant wishes."

The other allusion in that extract from the *Times* was

to a letter, from the Fenian convict Davitt, to Dr. Nulty, the Bishop of Meath. In that letter, he said that the Land Act of 1881 was "only one or two degrees less of a complete failure than the Land Act of 1870"; that the system which had endured since the accession of King William III., "200 years ago," was "hopelessly unsuited to the genius and interests of our race"; and that they "refused landlordism any more trials whatever," and must have no more "temporary expedients," but "a radical measure—the only logical and final settlement of agrarian strife in Ireland." Mr. Davitt received an official letter from the Bishop's house at Navan, saying that his *letter had been read, by the Bishop, to all his clergy assembled at the Ecclesiastical Conference, and that it had been received "with universal and enthusiastic applause,"* and that the Bishop would "take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging personally the receipt of Davitt's splendid and most welcome communication."

Sir R. Cross, on May 25, expressed his just suspicions and misgivings, in the following manner: "*He believed it was due to the action of Her Majesty's Government that those secret societies had been allowed to revive; and it was in consequence of that action of the Government that those secret societies, having revived, the House was now bound to support them in those very stringent measures for the purpose of putting them down. . . . It would be the duty of the Opposition to watch with vigilance that Her Majesty's Government did not go back upon their steps. If the Government retired in the least degree from the position they had taken up, the country would be of opinion that they were not in earnest in this matter after all.*"

The statements of Sir R. Cross were, that the revival of the activity of the Fenian and kindred secret societies was due to the action of Mr. Gladstone's Government, and that it was therefore the duty of the Conservative Opposition to support Mr. Gladstone. He moreover expressed a strong suspicion that Mr. Gladstone would retrace his steps

from the Coercion Bill, or allow it to be whittled away until it should have become ineffective, in which case the country would at last arrive at the conclusion that the Government were not at all in earnest about the matter. Lastly, he asserted that the Arrears of Rent Bill had been so framed that it would increase instead of diminishing the agitation in Ireland.

The *Times* seemed to have shared those suspicions, for it said, on May 26: "It is necessary for the House to bear in mind that the value of the Prevention of Crime Bill consists in its operation as a whole, and in its moral impression upon the popular mind in Ireland. *If it is to be whittled away*, in deference to technical objections or through fear of affronting constitutional commonplaces, it would be better for Parliament frankly to turn the cheek to the smiter without wincing."

NO. LXXX.

THE *Univers*, of Paris, the organ of the Jesuits, contained, on May 29, a letter from an Irish priest. That priest began by complimenting the *Univers* on its sympathy with Davitt, Parnell, Devoy, and the other land agitators. He protested against the opinion that Mr. Davitt's gospel of "the land belonging to the people" was Communism. He added that an ever-increasing number of the priesthood of Ireland approved of that cry, which he considered a proof that such a doctrine was not Communism, seeing that Communism had been condemned by the Roman Church. Mr. Davitt, he said, was moreover a disciple of a good Roman Catholic, namely, Mr. Patrick Ford. An additional proof of the orthodoxy of the cry was found by the priests, in the fact that Bishop Nulty had maintained and still held the doctrine of the common property of the nation in the soil. He added, that if some sympathisers in the land agitation, dwelling in France, America, or elsewhere, should go still further, it was not to be regretted ;

and that he was ready to co-operate with them in such a good work. This meant, obviously, that he was ready to throw himself into the arms of M. Rochefort and the other Socialists. The *Univers* gave prominence to this letter, without a word of condemnation, not even a syllable of warning to its readers ; nor so much as an apology to the public for its reproduction ! Yet it must have known the recent action of the Socialists of London ; for we learned from the *St. James's Gazette* of May 26, that at a recent meeting of the Social Democratic Working Men's Club, in London, a resolution had been unanimously adopted "highly approving of the courageous deed¹ of the Irish "rebels, which act was especially well-timed, inasmuch as "it took place at a moment when certain chiefs of the "Land League party were upon the point of entering into "a shameful treaty with the English Government." A similar resolution had also been passed by the London Communistischer Arbeiterbildungsverein also. The *Univers* must have known this ; and yet it approved of Socialism !

On May 31, 1882, Mr. Smith said at Southampton : "On the 4th of April Mr. Gladstone said : 'The other "'point to which the hon. member has not referred, and "'which appears to me to be by far the gravest subject, is "'the absence of evidence that outrages in Ireland are not "'associated with some influence behind them higher than "'that which belongs to those who commit the outrages. It "'is not for me to explain that influence ; but undoubtedly, "'I should be very glad to be assured that the funds of "'the Land League were not made available for the com- "'mission of the outrages.' Mr. Gladstone charges the "Land League with providing funds out of which pay- "ment for these outrages was made. This was the charge "brought by him against the leaders of the Land League "on April 4, and within a few weeks they were out of "gaol. They are gentlemen with whom Mr. Gladstone is "believed to be on friendly terms. Mr. Davitt, a released

¹ The Phoenix Park murders.

"suspect, a convict—says, in his speech at Manchester, "that 'Mr. Gladstone's temporary expedient of fixing rents "may satisfy some and frighten others, but he deceives "himself if he believes the anti-landlord movement will "efface itself because *he has been converted to Mr. Parnell's "views, and has accepted the services of Mr. O'Shea in "effecting the treaty of Kilmainham.*' We have it here in "evidence that there was a treaty of Kilmainham, that "Mr. Gladstone was converted to the views of Mr. Parnell, "and that Mr. Parnell and other gentlemen were instantly "let out of prison. Mr. Davitt announces, in his Manchester speech, that he is commencing an agitation not "to be met by any of those concessions which Mr. Gladstone has made, and that *the object is to be the complete "abolition of landlordism in Ireland, and the substantial "independence of the country, as far as England is concerned.* "This is a grave matter, because there can be no doubt "that these men rebel against the Union. *They are resolved "upon the dissolution of that union, and the land agitation "was but a lever used for the attainment of their object."*

There was a plain, unvarnished statement of facts, by Mr. Smith. The deplorable condition of Ireland was, by his strong common sense, traced to the action of Mr. Gladstone's Government. The occult and mysterious "influence behind," was hinted at; and the ulterior aim of the whole agitation was plainly stated; namely, the complete abolition of the Irish landlords, and the separation of Ireland from England.

But Mr. Smith was a Conservative, and a member of the late Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet! Let us then turn to the letter, in the same number of the *Times*, of an extreme Radical, the Hon. Auberon Herbert. Writing of the Irish, he said: "The Irish people have learnt to see the figure of "the Prime Minister ever advancing with fresh gifts in his "hands, while a contented Ireland recedes into the distance "before him. For each fresh bid that he makes, Ireland "raises her price. Compensation for eviction is succeeded

“by a tribunal of rents ; tribunal of rents, by payment of arrears ; eviction of the larger farmers, prairie rents, protection of Irish trade will all in due time tread on the heels of their predecessors. BEHIND BOTH MR. GLADSTONE AND MR. PARNELL ARE FORCES WHICH, HAVING ONCE BEEN ACCEPTED AS MASTERS, ARE NOW EXACTING FULL SERVICE FROM THEIR SLAVES.”

The *St. James's Gazette* of June 2 published an extract from a monthly Review by the London Jesuits, of which the Rev. Albany Christie, S. J., was the Editor. The aim of the publication was “to implant right principles in the minds of the youth of this country, and to instil into them political views and aspirations,” in accordance with the Jesuit idea of the Roman Church's teaching. The name of the Review is *Catholic Progress*. The extract was as follows :—

“The woes of Ireland are *all due to one simple cause—the existence of Protestantism in Ireland*. The remedy could only be found in *the removal* of that which caused the evil which still continues. Why were the Irish not content? Because *being Irish and Catholic they are governed by a public opinion which is English and Protestant*. Unless Ireland is governed as a Catholic nation, and full scope given to the development of the Catholic Church in Ireland by appropriating to the Catholic religion the funds given to religion, a recurrence of such events as are now taking place cannot be prevented. Would that every Protestant house were swept from the land ; then would Ireland recover herself, and outrages would be unknown ; for there would be no misbelievers with her champions.”

The principles of Home Rule were out-Home-Ruled in that extract. Not only was Ireland to become an entirely separate and independent Roman Catholic nation ; but it was to be kept isolated, so as to remain uncontaminated by every influence of the “tree of noxious growth”—English public opinion ! The means proposed for this end also went beyond those hitherto employed by Tyrconnel

and Mr. Gladstone. Not only were the Protestant landlords to be driven out of the country, but "every Protestant 'house' was to be swept from the land!"

It was a curious coincidence that, at this very same time,¹ the news reached England that two vacant High Court Judgeships, and two posts of Secretary to Indian Governments were all four filled by the appointment of Roman Catholics. Moreover, a vacancy on the Bench in England was filled by a Roman Catholic (Mr. Day); and another vacancy on the Bench by another Roman Catholic (Mathew).

The following announcement also appeared in the *World* of June 7, 1882: "The new Bishop of Newcastle is not "only a first cousin of Father Bertrand Wilberforce, a "Catholic priest in the town where he will in future reside, "but he is also the nephew of Cardinal Manning, who is "one of at least four uncles of the new bishop who have "gone over to Rome, whither also his eldest sister and his "brother-in-law have gone."

On June 6, 1882, Davitt made a speech in Liverpool, in favour of "the Nationalisation of the land." To nationalise Irish land, meant, not its transference to the whole of the Irish nation, but to the present occupiers; it meant, not its administration to the best commercial advantage, for the benefit of the whole of that nation, but its mismanagement by a few farmers. Such commercial advantage would, on the contrary, render wholesale clearances of tenants absolutely necessary; and a consolidation of small holdings into large farms; and, in many places, a substitution of pasture for ploughing and spade digging. The holders of small patches of land can never support themselves and their families. It is out of the bounds of possibility. In Ireland, there are far too many farmers or tenants to farm profitably. That is a physical fact, which theory and sentiment cannot affect. Even if the small holder were to pay no rent at all, he would not be able to live on his little patch in bad years; and if he felt he had

¹ *Vanity Fair*, June 3, 1882.

no rent to pay, he would only ape the fine gentleman, and not work, and would thus come to ruin all the sooner. An English labourer may have his allotment; but then he is a labourer, and lives by his labour. The allotment is merely a help, a relaxation, and a luxury. The Irishman always desires to be a landlord, and not a labourer. There is the difference. Emigration to a country where land is cheap, because population is scarce, is the only true remedy for Irish distress. Yet that was the very thing against which the Roman Catholic prelates and the English Government had set themselves. Why? Because the benefit of the Irishman is secondary to the aim of making Ireland a Romanist State. The common ground of Mr. Davitt and the English Government was, that the Protestant landlord must be got out of Ireland, by substituting the State for the landlord; and that the land was then to be handed over to the present Romanist tenants, the State accepting those tenants as its debtors for instalments of the purchase money. The State, backed up by the English taxpayer, was to accept thousands of dishonest defaulters as its debtors, in hopes that they would not, a second time, try the successful trick of wiping out debts by means of bloodshed and revolution!

On the 5th of June, a debate took place, in the House of Lords, on the treaty of Kilmainham, and Mr. Gladstone's release of Parnell, Davitt and Co. Some passages in it are too important to be passed by. It was opened by the Marquis of Waterford. Lord Cowper, the late Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, spoke, and said:

"My lords, I wish to say a few words. I think, perhaps "it will be more convenient if I do so before the noble "Earl rises from the front bench. I was still Lord Lieutenant when these men were released; but I wish to "explain that my resignation had been accepted some "days before; and from the time that my resignation was "accepted, I considered myself to be virtually no longer "filling the position of Lord Lieutenant, because *I knew*

"no more of all this than any member of your lordships' House. I wish to explain that before I signed the release of these three members of Parliament, I sent a telegram begging that it might be left to my successor, and I only signed the release on the distinct understanding that it was a matter of form, and that I did not commit myself to its policy. I feel, therefore, that I am as much entitled to express an opinion on these facts as any one of your lordships. I confess that when I received the telegram, it took me so completely by surprise that I could hardly believe it, and I must say that I thought it a most grave step. Such was not only my opinion, but was the opinion of everybody; and I saw a great many people whom I came across—and I wish distinctly to say that I am not alluding to any of the permanent officials, but all the professional men I met—military and naval officers, landlords, agents, the clergy of all denominations—everybody, I believe, was astonished at this sudden step. It was its suddenness which constituted its chief evil; and I am bound to say that I think the anticipation which we all felt of the evils which would follow has been accomplished. I do not refer to the tragedy in Phoenix Park. We know as yet too little about that deplorable occurrence to say from what motives it arose; but I refer to the effects produced locally in every part of Ireland which had not previously been at all disturbed. It is notorious, and was made so by every bonfire which was lighted on that occasion, both publicly and privately, by what appeared in the press, and from all channels of communication, that it was looked upon as a complete surrender; that its effect was most disastrous, and will be to stimulate disaffection and to make the restoration of law and order more difficult than it was before."

The Marquis of Salisbury took part in the debate, and said: "*The peculiarity of the action of Her Majesty's Government has been throughout, that they have so contrived their conciliatory measures that, whatever their own motives in*

"their own minds may have been, they have done their very utmost, by the time and the manner of applying those conciliatory measures, to enforce and strengthen the belief that they have been extorted from them by apprehension, and are used by them as a means of buying off outrage and crime. In no transaction in the course of their government, has this fatal mistake been so strongly manifested as in this unlucky treaty of Kilmainham. . . . The measures of the last two years have so deeply impressed on the minds of all, whether they are loyal to England or the reverse, whether they approve the policy of the Government or the reverse, that each successive step of concession has been extorted by a constantly rising demand of agitation and of outrage, that for years and generations the impression will remain. It will be a shadow that will fall, not only on the path of this Government, but on the path of many future Governments that will succeed it. The treaty of Kilmainham—not only of itself, but as the culminating point and the typical incident of the system on which the Government have proceeded in their legislation towards Ireland—will long be remembered as the cause of constantly increasing evils in Ireland, and as threatening with serious danger the connection which is of vital importance to both countries."

NO. LXXXI.

WAS it greed and love of money which afflicted the Dominican "Fathers," or was it complicity with Parnell, Davitt, and the land agitation? Their conduct, at all events, was such as to encourage the agitation; their example was unchristian, in endeavouring to rob a poor widow; and example, we know, is contagious. On the 8th of June, at the Tullamore Quarter Sessions, "the Rev. Aloysius Ennis, head of the Dominican confraternity, at Lehinch, near Clara, was sued by Mrs. Clibborn for two and a half years' rent of land held from her at the annual rent of £12 2s. 6d. There was practically no defence to

"the action. The chairman, in giving judgment for the plaintiff, with costs, said that he did not deny the *legal* right of the defendant to adopt the course pursued, but commented severely on his conduct, inasmuch as, although he was the representative of a religious community, *he availed himself of every way of defeating the just claim of the landlord.*"

The *Times* of June 12 contained a manifesto or pastoral letter of the Bishops of Ireland, who met under the presidency of Cardinal McCabe, in Dublin. The manifesto bears marks of a struggle. It is evidently a compromise between light and darkness; it is an attempt to serve both God and mammon. Therefore it was that the trumpet gave "an uncertain sound," so that no one would prepare for battle, and for resistance to the principles which overwhelmed conscience and mind in Ireland. It said with authority of a Synod: "It is true that on religious as well as political grounds *it is the indisputable right of all Irishmen to live on and by their own fertile soil, and be free to employ the resources of their country for their own profit.* It is, moreover, the right, and often the duty, of those who suffer oppression, either from individuals or from the State, to seek redress by every lawful means, and to help in obtaining such redress is a noble work of justice and charity. On those grounds it is that *the object of our national movement has had the approval and blessing, not only of your priests and bishops, but of the sovereign Pontiff himself,* and has been applauded, in our own and in foreign countries, by all men of just and generous minds, without distinction of race or creed. . . . In this peaceable and just movement of yours, the clergy shall be with you to guide and, if necessary, to restrain you; but you must not expect them to do what in conscience they condemn. *They cannot be the sowers of dissension and hatred among their flocks; they cannot under any pretext tolerate, much less countenance, lawlessness and disorder.* They will work manfully with and for you, but in the light

" of day, and with lawful arms, and for just and laudable objects. . . . Before concluding, we feel it our duty, " without in any sense meaning to excuse the crimes and " offences we have condemned, that in our belief (*sic*) they " would never have occurred had not the people been " *driven to despair by evictions and the prospect of evictions* " for the non-payment of *exorbitant rents* ; and furthermore " that the continuance of such evictions, *justly designated by* " *the Prime Minister of England as sentences of death*, must " be a fatal permanent provocative to crime ; and that it is " the duty of all friends of social order, and especially of " the Government, to put an end to them as speedily as " possible and at any cost." This manifesto was signed by all the Roman Catholic bishops.

The manner in which the bishops' manifesto was regarded in Ireland was telegraphed to the *Times* on June 12, as follows :—" *Their reference to 'unjust evictions' as the 'cause of the murders must be understood as offering the 'utmost palliation conscience would permit in the face of such 'awful facts as the murders in the Phoenix Park, and the 'murders of other persons who never evicted a tenant. . . . 'Many of their priests, not to say the bishops themselves, 'have been drawn into the full current of the 'national 'movement.' The majority of the people will be likely to read 'the pastoral as the programme of a new advance in the 'national movement, to which a fresh impetus will be given 'by the fact that the Church blesses the work upon the condition that it is to be kept free from crime. . . . But as 'the formal adhesion of the Church to the 'national movement,' the acceptance of the concessions made to it as only 'considerable instalments of justice,' and the recognition of a 'right to claim the 'full measure of justice' in the popular 'sense, its effect will be rather to justify than to allay discontent and irritation, and to postpone indefinitely the 'period of rest and peace which is so urgently needed for 'the moral and material welfare of the country.'*"

The Pope's organ, the *Journal de Rome*, of June 18, in an

article headed "Le Manifeste de Dublin," deliberately affirmed that: "It has been plainly seen that it is not so much the aspirations of the Irish (for repeal of the Union), as the traditional policy of England, which has created the grave difficulties against which the Ministry of Mr. Gladstone, in spite of its good intentions, has had fruitlessly to struggle. It is just a hundred years since an independent Parliament was permitted in Ireland." The article was altogether apologetic. It had evidently been written to palliate the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland for their half-heartedness in denouncing crime, for the excuses they offered for the crimes which had been committed, and for their unworthy endeavour to serve both God and mammon. The Papal organ apologised for the bishops, saying that they had to write what was false, and advance the principles of Communism, because that the revolutionary party, forsooth, had played the bishops false by spreading a rumour that the bishops had, in a body, been bribed and bought over to the interests of the English Government! That was the marvellous statement of the Papal organ; and therefore, it said, the trumpeters were compelled to give an uncertain sound. That was the Papal justification for the Romish bishops!

On the 19th of June the *Times* contained a statement that the Government of Mr. D'Israeli had supplied 200,000 rifles, from the Woolwich Arsenal, to the disaffected Irish; and that, the next year, a further sale was about to be made, when Mr. James Lowther, who was then Irish Secretary, protested so energetically against it, that the sale did not take place. Poor Mr. Lowther! your honest patriotism has been rewarded according to the invariable rule! You have not received a place in the next Conservative Government.

The same evening, Lord Eustace Cecil, who was the Controller of the Ordnance in Mr. D'Israeli's Government, said, in the House of Commons, that on account of a leading article in the *Times* of that day, reflecting on the

conduct of the department over which he had the honour to preside for some years, and containing statements of a misleading character, he begged to ask the Secretary of State for War some questions, of which he had given him private notice. The statement in the *Times* was :—" *When we remember that in 1879 some 200,000 rifles were sold by the War Office, and, in spite of the protest of the then Irish Secretary, were allowed to find their way into Ireland, and that these very weapons are now in the hands of the miscreant bodies with which Ireland swarms, we may well doubt whether one landlord the less will be shot, or one official the less be struck down, in consequence of Saturday's seizure.*" He wished to ask the right hon. gentleman, whether any arms at all were sold in 1879; secondly, whether any sale of arms took place since the protest of the Irish Government was received at the War Office in July, 1879; and thirdly, with reference to the seizure of Saturday, whether he could state if the arms seized at Clerkenwell were manufactured by or for the Government.

Mr. Childers: "In reply to the noble lord, I have to state that no arms were sold by the War Office in 1879, and that *no arms have been sold since the objection made by the Irish Government in that year.* The arms seized at Clerkenwell are in course of examination to-day, but I have just heard that *none of them* were manufactured by "or for the Government."

Mr. Mitchell Henry wished to ask the Secretary of State for War why the Irish Government remonstrated in July, 1879, respecting the sale of arms if no arms had been sold, and whether it was not the fact that an unadvised *large sale of arms took place in 1878*, under the auspices of the late Government.

Mr. Lowther said perhaps he might be allowed to say at once that *he did make a remonstrance* against the sale, by an individual in Sheffield, of some arms *which bore the Government mark, and had previously been in the possession of the military authorities.*

Sir R. Cross asked the Home Secretary whether he could give any further information about the seizure of arms, and as there was considerable anxiety among the public at the fact that only one person had been apprehended, whether he would explain how it came to pass that *the police were not ready to apprehend other persons concerned.*

Sir W. Harcourt said that *the accounts in the newspapers as to that matter were substantially correct.* A large number of arms and a great quantity of ammunition and revolvers had been seized by the police. He did not think it desirable to make any further statement.

We must remark, in the first place, that the charge against Walsh was for "feloniously receiving and fraudulently dealing with certain rifles, bayonets, and other firearms, believed to be the property of Her Majesty's Government," and it was sworn that between 300 and 400 of the rifles discovered in Clerkenwell (the rest not having been examined) bore the "Tower mark." Mr. Childers, however, brought himself to say that "*he had just heard*" that none of them were manufactured by or for the Government! A friendly *Deus ex machina* must have been persuaded to say so. Secondly, it must be remembered that both question and answer were framed so as to lead the inquirer away from the truth; they were quibbles. The large sale of arms took place in 1878; and Mr. Lowther protested against another sale taking place in 1879. Of course the *Times*, next day, alluded to the subject:—

"Lord Eustace Cecil endeavoured yesterday to obtain from the Secretary for War an official contradiction of the statement published in these columns, that in 1879 some 200,000 rifles were sold by the War Office, and that the fact excited the alarm of the Irish Government. It appears, indeed, that no rifles were sold in 1879, *when Mr. Lowther protested against their distribution through a private firm at an extraordinarily low rate.* But Mr. Childers was not able to deny that *the sale took place in*

"1878, when it attracted, as a correspondent assures us, "the criticism of the gunmaking trade, on the ground of "unfair competition at ridiculously low prices. In the "following year, when the weapons had passed into private "hands—at the rate, in some cases, of three-and-sixpence "apiece—it proved too late to recall them."

On the 22nd, the *Times* correspondent of Dublin explained the transaction:—

"No little astonishment has been excited by the attempt "to discredit the statement made in the *Times* as to the "sale of arms by the War Office, during the late Administration, against the remonstrance of the then Chief Secretary for Ireland. The sale, reported at the time, caused "a cry of alarm to be raised in the North of Ireland, where "it was instinctively felt that the weapons would be soon "used for criminal and treasonable purposes. The rifles—"Sniders of the best make—were tied in bundles like "walking-sticks, and sold, not only in the shops, but in the "open streets, and hundreds of them were bought up at "from 6s. to 7s. apiece. They were conveyed in wagon-loads, without any secrecy, into Kerry and other counties "in the South and West, where they are borne by the "night patrols of 'Captain Moonlight,' and prove, unhappily, a very effective weapon. The disaffected classes "in Ireland bought them up with avidity."

That evening, in the House of Commons, "Mr. Findlater "asked the Secretary of State for War whether between "100,000 and 200,000 Government rifles were sold by the "War Department in the year 1878, and shipped to Ireland "and sold in the course of the year 1879."

Mr. Childers: "Yes, sir; between 100,000 and 200,000 "muzzle-loading rifles were sold by the War Department "in 1878. . . . There was some correspondence between my predecessor and the late Irish Government on "this subject after the sale, but as *it resulted in nothing* I "do not think that any public advantage would be gained "by describing what passed."

R R

Before passing on to the Arrears Bill, let us pause to hear Cardinal McCabe. Let us next listen to the echoes from Rome, concerning one who supported the leader of the Liberal party, while faintly and feebly practising the tactics of opposition, and uttering, with the object of securing the fealty of his followers, some empty sounding epithets of censure, and grandly rolling phrases of warfare. Cardinal McCabe said, in a Pastoral read in all the churches on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul (June 29, 1882): "*An unnatural warfare rages through the land, and crimes that call loudly to heaven for punishment stain the once holy soil of Ireland. No word of defence can be offered for the deeds of oppression which in some districts are driving our poor unhappy people to desperation and ruin. But, on the other hand, no words of reprobation are strong enough to denounce the horrid deeds of vengeance which are making our country a byword amongst civilized nations. By the one class of wrong-doers as well as by the other, nought but terrible judgments from Eternal Justice can be expected.*" On the same day, the Pope's organ, the *Journal de Rome*, wrote: "It would not be quite just to censure the whole Conservative party for the unreasonable and blind opposition which some of its members incessantly offer to the Government, and that for the sole reason that its measures issue from the Liberal camp. The attitude of Sir Stafford Northcote has never for one single moment ceased to be correct ever since the tragical end of Lord F. Cavendish sufficed to prove to the Conservative leader the necessity of uniting all the forces of the nation to overcome its internal evils. . . . To all the charges of the Conservatives, Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville can reply invariably: 'You complain of the anarchy in Ireland; but it is you, Conservative landlords, who have driven the Irish farmers to despair,' etc.

The organ of His Holiness then proceeded to spread the opinion that those who raise their voices against the external and internal policy of Mr. Gladstone (as Lord Salis-

bury had done), were "irresponsible politicians, who burned rather with the desire to signalize themselves in some way or another, than to do that which is required by the interests of their country." So eager was the Pope to support Mr. Gladstone, while exonerating the murderers in Ireland, and laying all the blame on the landlords, who were supposed to have driven a righteous people to despair.

On the 5th of July, '82, between the Committee and the Report on the Crimes Prevention Bill, Mr. Gladstone moved the Committee on the Arrears Bill. Lord Clanricarde, a Liberal peer, had just addressed a communication to the *Times*, enclosing a letter from his agent, Mr. Blake, who, with his wife and coachman, had been lately murdered on their way to mass. Mr. Blake had written: "*The Arrears Bill has completely paralysed the payment of rents; and its introduction at a time when some slight symptom of a disposition to honesty was beginning to manifest itself among the tenantry was most unfortunate. Tenants of all classes now evince a determination not to pay until they see the upshot of this measure before Parliament.*"

A short extract from the *Times*¹ shows the deliberate judgment of the leading journal, as to the cause of the crisis: "It was frankly admitted by the Prime Minister, when the Arrears Bill was originally introduced, that the measure could not be defended on ordinary principles. The one argument for it was that a crisis had arisen in Ireland which needed extraordinary and exceptional remedies. *It may be contended that upon the policy of the Government is really chargeable the responsibility for that crisis; but, at any rate, it exists, and it is necessary to deal with it in some way or other. . . . One consequence is that the payment of rent is now to a great extent suspended.*" That is to say: the Arrears Bill was indefensible, except on the ground that it was necessary to allay the critical agitation in Ireland; and further, that

¹ July 6.

critical agitation had been created by the direct action of the Government, in order to pass measures resulting in the destruction of the Irish Protestant landlords.

In moving the Committee on the Arrears of Rent Bill, Mr. Gladstone admitted the same: "In a letter of Lord Clanricarde, he quotes, on the authority of a gentleman whose career was closed by so deplorable an incident and so wicked a crime, a declaration of that gentleman of great weight. That declaration is that 'the Arrears Bill has completely paralysed the payment of rents.' I *have no doubt that a Bill of this kind must have a tendency to check the payment of rents.*"

The next day, Mr. Gladstone (July 6) admitted, in reply to Mr. Gibson, that since the 1st of May, nearly all the appeals had been heard by two, instead of the three Commissioners as provided by the Act. Since the only decision favourable to the landlords, in the case of *Adams v. Dunseath*, in April (on the interpretation of "Healy's clause"), Mr. Gladstone had transferred the independent Commissioner, Mr. Vernon, from the bench of the Commission, to an office in Dublin. The other two Commissioners were considered more favourable to the Irish Nationalist views than Mr. Vernon. Did not that proceeding reveal Mr. Gladstone's animus and intentions in regard to the Irish landlords?

NO. LXXXII.

A FOOLISH report appeared in the Irish papers, that the Government were about to import bloodhounds from the Slave States of America, in order to aid the police in tracking out murderers in Ireland. In an article on the murders lately perpetrated in that country, and especially that murder which happened so opportunely for Mr. Gladstone's legislative purposes, the *St. James's Gazette* of July 7 contained the following remarkable paragraph:

"You may safely contradict the statement that the Government will encourage, or, if they can help it, allow, the 'despatch of sleuth-hounds to Ireland. *The instinct of those dogs is too keen, and Ministers know too well how to take care of themselves. If a brace of these beasts were laid on the trail, they would be soon found resolutely posted in a street not far from Whitehall, with their eyes intently fixed on a well-known door.*"

It appeared, from this paragraph, that a new Obadiah had hidden prophets by fifties in a cave. When the day of awakening shall arrive, there will be more than one of them to point out the guilty.

The afternoon of July 7 was devoted to the Report of the Prevention of Crime Bill. During the Committee on the Bill, Mr. Gladstone, on June 20, without consultation with his colleagues, had promised the Irish members to make a relaxation in the Bill,—a concession which would have made the Act a dead letter; just as similar concessions had rendered previous Coercion Bills nugatory. A notice of amendment had been given, in Committee, by one of the Irish members, Mr. Richard Power. It was this insidious amendment which Mr. Gladstone had promised to carry on the Report. The object of the amendment was, to weaken the hands of the Executive, and do away with the right of search, at the only time when it could be of the slightest avail. To be effective, the police should be able to make a search, in suspicious quarters, unexpectedly, suddenly, and at any time. To lay a trap in the sight of a bird is a fatuity. If a murder has been committed at night, and the murderers have been tracked to some house on a lonely bog or moor, may the police not enter the house because it is dark, to confront the murderers who are red-handed from the deed of darkness, and to see the stains on their clothes, and the reeking weapons in their possession? Or if at night men have been seen to approach a lonely house, stealthily, and one by one, may the police not enter the house to find the conclave sitting to

condemn another victim, and plotting his destruction? Is the house to be held sacred as long as the sun is down—sacred, although it is full of murderers and conspirators? If, during the long winter months, the conspirators are to enjoy a right of sanctuary, then a domiciliary visit could not be a surprise. It is certainly of no avail unless it is unexpected. To see the approach of constables gives time for escape, or for the concealment of documents, and makes the visit of the police a futility. At a time when Mr. Gladstone knew of the wholesale distribution of arms among the disaffected in Ireland, Mr. Gladstone, under the plea of fulfilling an apparently rash promise, and by adroitly inserting an insidious amendment at the last moment, made the Coercion Bill a dead letter. What are we to think of Mr. Gladstone's leadership? Or of his patriotism?

The House learned from Mr. Bright, that the *Committee* of the Cabinet, which settled the original draft of the Prevention of Crime Bill, had decided against a power to search by night. When the Bill was considered by the whole Cabinet, the power to search by night was promptly inserted; and the Home Secretary, when moving for leave to introduce the Bill, dwelt strongly on the absolute importance of the provision. On the 11th of May Sir William Harcourt described it as "most necessary." It was "a power to search for the secret apparatus of murder, for the daggers, for the documents, for the threatening letters, for the crape masks which are hidden and which the police cannot reach; and unless the police have power to enter houses and look for them, the persons who make use of these apparatus possess practical impunity." The clause, the Home Secretary added, was taken from the Peace Preservation Act of 1870: "the search (he said) will take place by day and by night, and by night it will be more necessary." That was the clause which Mr. Gladstone, without consultation with his Cabinet, promised the Irish members, on June 20, that he would discard. Of course, if Earl Spencer did not like such a power, he would

have been under no compulsion to use it. Mr. Gladstone should moreover have remembered that the duration of the Bill was for three years; and that, before the expiration of that period, great and unexpected developments of Irish outrage and crime might render the exercise of such a power a necessity; and that the advantage of being able to put it in force without delay, and without the irritation which would be caused by the passing of a New Coercion Bill, would be enormous.

On Friday, July 7, the Government were beaten on the insertion of that stultifying amendment, by a majority of thirteen (207 to 194), many Liberals voting against Mr. Gladstone.

The Pope's newspaper, the *Journal de Rome*, on Aug. 26, 1882, made a revelation showing how a conspiracy had been frustrated by the act of God. "That which many centuries of legislative efforts could not obtain for Ireland, Mr. Gladstone was on the point of demanding from a New Régime, which is inspired not only by his Liberal principles, but is also conformable to those principles of self-government which sway all modern States, and to which England owes the power and greatness of her institutions. The tentative beginning of such a Régime would have been worthy of the political career of Mr. Gladstone; and many have bitterly lamented that he should have suddenly abandoned his excellent intentions and returned to the ancient traditions of repression by extraordinary laws. Certainly the assassination of Lord F. Cavendish, immediately on his landing in Ireland, *whither he had brought the pledges that Mr. Gladstone would carry out a policy of conciliation, which was to be only a first step towards autonomy*, made every heart shudder with indignation. But was it wise to resort to reprisals in the heat of that impression?" etc. That is to say, Lord F. Cavendish was sent to Ireland to prepare to carry a measure of Home Rule; but his murder defeated the project.

The blindness of the newspapers and the people of England, was extraordinary. Throughout the agitation, the papers chronicled that the Government had done all in their power to increase the agitation ; and yet neither editors, nor any one else, would see, in the acts of the Government, any evidence of their design ; and that too in spite of Mr. Gladstone's open avowal that he would cut down the three branches of the Upas-tree of Protestant ascendancy, and his latter declarations in favour of the autonomy of Ireland as a Romanist State.

On Oct. 6, it was announced that a new political campaign had been determined on, in Galway ; and a two days' Conference was therefore held in Athenry, on the 13th and 14th. The movement, or rather agitation, had received the sanction of the bishops and priests ; and the requisition for the Convention had been signed by a very large number of priests, ex-prisoners, and prominent agitators. Dr. McEvilly, the Archbishop of Tuam, stated, in reply to inquiries, that he approved highly of the Convention. The Pope's newspaper, the *Journal de Rome*, of Oct. 15, contained the following official paragraph in reference to it : "As a concession to the general opinion which prevails among the Roman Catholic priesthood, an important modification has been introduced, by interpretive letters of the Irish bishops, in the rescript of the sovereign Pontiff, by which he interdicted all the priests from participation in any political movements. All the bishops of Ireland, with the sole exception of Cardinal Archbishop McCabe, have given permission to the priests of their diocese to associate themselves with the movement inaugurated at the Dublin Mansion House for the support of evicted tenants ; and also with the Labourers League founded by Mr. Parnell. Many of the dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland have been elected as presidents of the various branches of these associations ; and in this character they will take part in the Conference which will be held in Dublin, next week."

Davitt had announced at Wexford, on October 9, the renewed agitation, "with the unmistakable issue—Irish "landlordism, and its total and complete abolition." Davitt had repudiated the Land Act and Arrears Act, as merely miserable instalments of some great debt owing by England to Ireland; because those measures had not, in his opinion, fulfilled the only end on which they pretended to be justified. They had, indeed, not pacified Ireland one whit. The agitation was continued as before. The country was to be plunged further into the slough of Socialism and Jesuitism; and the priests and bishops of Ireland were to be those who were to enter the herd of Irish swine, and urge them down that steep place, into the abyss. Mr. Gladstone would hoodwink the people of England, by saying to them: The half of the Irish party which are moderate, must not be driven into the arms of the extremists, by a refusal to make further concessions to their demands. The Parliament and people of England would surely not wish to see their labours and sacrifices hitherto, go for nothing? Unless you satisfy the Catholic, and national aspirations of the country, all your remedial legislation will be lost. Your only chance of keeping down the dangerous agitation in Ireland, is to grant the wishes of the moderate Irish members who desire to keep within the lines of the Constitution; and so forth. Thus Mr. Gladstone was prepared to urge; and, "swearing he "could ne'er consent, consented."

In fact, on Oct. 9, the *St. James's Gazette* announced a "fresh series of understandings and transactions between "the Irish party and the Government"; while the Papal newspaper, the *Moniteur de Rome*, of Oct. 14, wrote in favour of Davitt and Mr. Gladstone, coupling them most curiously together, like Siamese twins. After heaping encomiums on Davitt, as "the chief of the Land League," it said: "We are "the last to ignore the incomparable benefits and generous "initiatives of the eminent man who presides over the "political destinies of England (that is, Davitt). We are

"the last, having rendered homage to his persistent activity,
 "and to his claims to the gratitude and honours which are
 "legitimately due to him. Mr. Gladstone also has served
 "the cause of humanity. . . . Mr. Gladstone has pur-
 "sued, throughout his whole political existence, the partial
 "liberation of the Irish people. . . . But in endeavouring
 "to do this, he had to calm the darkened consciousness of
 "the Tories, to soothe the terrors of landlordism, menaced
 "in its interests ; and, when those tenacious prejudices of
 "landlords were revived by criminal attempts, to render
 "justice, in a certain measure, to *the legitimate revenge* of
 "the agrarian party. In spite of the imperfections, and even
 "lacunæ, in his work of economic reorganization in Ireland,
 "the labours of Mr. Gladstone bear a character, which cannot
 "be gainsaid, of justice and of force ; and there is in them
 "a feature of audacity which strikes the imagination. . . .
 "*Yet the initiative of Mr. Gladstone is, so far, but a first*
 "*essay. A greater, a more extended work is in store—a work*
 "*which will crown his laborious and restless life, and the*
 "*glory of which will overbear all cavil. For all that, we*
 "firmly believe that all Gladstone's legislative efforts
 "would have been doomed to futility, had it not been
 "that *the Church of Rome caused his prolific and healthful*
 "*influence to affect men's hearts and minds. . . . THE*
 "PAPACY IMPRESSED ITS SEAL ON THAT LEGISLATOR'S
 "POLITICAL LABOURS."

No. LXXXIII.

ON Oct. 17, 1882, the "National Conference" met in
 Dublin. The objects of the League were presented in five
 articles : the complete autonomy of Ireland, the trans-
 ference of the land to peasant proprietors, and so forth.
 Those articles and the rules had to be accepted *en bloc*.
 On the same day, Davitt made a violent speech at Edge-

worthstown against "landlordism," and in favour of "the land for the people."

Now let us turn to the proceedings at the National Convention. It must first be remarked that all the moderate Home Rulers had been silenced and driven away, as having "deserted under the fire of the enemy." All who shrank in the least, from the aims and methods of the Land League, had come under the ban of the Land League, and their refusal to advance was met with a moral boycotting. The wire-pullers of the Conference threw the Land Act and Arrears Act behind them, and went in for the total abolition of the Irish Protestant landlords. One and all contemptuously assailed the Land Act as a paltry piece of Parliamentary huckstering. Their proposal to pay the Irish members of Parliament was also an astute piece of revolutionary mechanism. It was proposed that only the foremost members should be paid £250 a year. This would be an incentive to the younger, or the more moderate, members to increase in violence and rancour. Members were not to be paid by their constituencies, but by the Council of the League. The Irish members would thus become the servants of that secret tribunal. Davitt's scheme for the election of the Council of the League was a similar contrivance. The Irish members of Parliament were not to have *ex officio* seats on the Council, although they might be candidates for election. The election was to be made, not by the county electors, but by all the poor and ignorant. Thus it would be certain that the eager tools of the Fenian Society would alone get elected.

The proceedings at the "National Convention" were as follows: Mr. Parnell made the first speech, congratulating the assembly that their meetings had been presided over by Roman Catholic bishops. He moved the adoption of the five articles and the rules of the "Irish National League."

The Rev. Mr. Cantwell, of Thurles, seconded the motion. He said the Land Act was a complete failure. The great

remedy for the wants of Ireland was *national self-government*.

Mr. Davitt repeated his declaration that, until the land of Ireland, stolen from the people of Ireland, was restored to them, there could be no final or satisfactory settlement.

The Rev. Mr. Tormey also pronounced the Land Act a failure. A peasant proprietary should be established in Ireland.

Mr. Loudon, who was received with mingled cheers, hisses, and cries of "Renegade," with difficulty obtained a hearing at the request of the chairman. Even then it was with great reluctance that Mr. Loudon was heard, and with constant interruption. At last he was hooted down. He was once a most popular speaker at the Land League meetings, but is now below zero in the estimation of the party. *His fall is attributed to his having preserved his liberty.*

Mr. Harrington, an ex-suspect, commenced an attack on Mr. Loudon, who, he said, worked in the movement when it was safe, and ran away when it became dangerous.

The Rev. Harold Rylett moved that each county should elect a representative to the Executive Council, subject to such conditions as may be deemed necessary by the Executive Council. *The rev. gentleman professed himself to be for the will of the people, whether right or wrong.*

And so forth.

During the meeting it became evident that some of the Irish members were distrusted by the Fenian wire-pullers; and those members of Parliament knew that they were distrusted. Davitt desired that the supreme Council should be entirely elective; but he gave way in favour of the proposal which was ultimately carried, namely, that two-thirds of the Council should be elected, and one-third, that is sixteen, should be appointed by the Irish members of Parliament. Those appointments would most likely be made from among their own number. The non-elected members would be absent, in attendance on their parlia-

mentary duties, for more than six months in the year ; and the Council would then practically be in the hands of Davitt, or the Revolutionists. Moreover, Davitt and his friends would be able, without difficulty, to influence the constituencies against those members of Parliament who should refuse to go far enough to please the Fenian Society. In every way, the game was therefore placed in their hands.

Mr. Parnell, even, was called a "Conservative," at the Convention. This was an earnest of the deposition and ignominy in store for him ; a fate which he knew could be averted only by zeal in obtaining further "concessions" from the Government. Thus the extreme element would become a lever, in the hands of the moderate element, to make the Government give way to the extreme element ; or at least, to furnish an excuse for Mr. Gladstone in doing those acts which he might call compulsory concessions.

They were astute intellects who had brought about such a situation. The intrigue had been well planned, and deftly worked. That Mr. Gladstone knew the secret, became apparent from the cue which was given to Mr. Gladstone's organ, *The Daily News*, on Oct. 18. It said that all the articles which defined the aims of the "Irish National League," excepting one, must "command a very large amount of sympathy from Liberal politicians in all three divisions of the United Kingdom." It added a regret that Ireland should, for another year, engross the attention of the Legislature, because of the "impossibility of objecting to the greater part of the measures for which it is now proposed to agitate."

The revolutionary propaganda seemed to be flourishing in that unhappy country. The *Times* of Oct. 21 showed, if any one could be found to doubt it, that Mr. Parnell's movement in Ireland was essentially a Roman Catholic movement, and was regarded as such by the people themselves. Say rather, a Jesuit movement ; for the Jesuits of these days have revived the scheme which was planned by

the Jesuits in the days of Tyrconnel and James II. It is well known that the Jesuits were expelled from every country of Europe, and even put under the ban of the Pope, and dissolved by Papal bull, on account of their restless intrigues in every country, their nefarious and immoral policy, and their audacious crimes. In 1814, they were reinstated. Then again they sowed the wind in every State; and the Roman Church, who has nurtured them in her bosom, is about to reap the whirlwind. The first mutterings of the approaching tornado were heard in Rome on Oct. 18, and narrated in the Pope's organ, the *Journal de Rome*. In its leader, it complained that the Irish Roman Catholic University had "actually ceased to exist." It had been instituted (it said) by the National Synod of Thurles, in 1850, and was founded by the Apostolic letters of March 23, 1852. In May, 1854, it was solemnly inaugurated. No less than £280,000 were subscribed for its maintenance, during the space of 23 years. A few days previously to this article in the *Journal de Rome*, all the bishops of Ireland in Synod resolved that the subscriptions from all the Papal sees of Ireland should cease. The Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, McCabe, alone stood out, and determined to try to carry it on himself. Gallant McCabe endeavoured to do what he thought right, and therefore stood alone. He was always deserted by all the Romanist Hierarchy. Had then the other Romanist bishops left the Roman Church for the Fenian agitation which they had fomented? or had that Fenian agitation alienated their flocks, and dried up all their subscriptions?

The storm continued to approach, in its terrible grandeur, for those who watched the signs of the times, and could see its effects; it approached from the Hand of the Judge and Ruler of the whole earth. It shook all things; it shook the Roman Church in Ireland, and blew away, like dust, its dry and selfish religious opinions. Listen to some of the gusts, as they moaned through the corridors of the

public journals. But we must distinguish. It was the intention, and part of the Jesuit plot, to dry up the resources of the Protestant Church, which Gladstone had disestablished. It was the wrath of God, which burned up the pabulum of the Romanist Church. The *Times* of Oct. 20 said: "The Disestablished Protestant Church, as a working system, has been gravely affected already, and more seriously threatened in the future, by the pecuniary losses inflicted on the Irish landlords, and the disruption of private and public ties in many parts of the country. . . . During the past three years the landlords, and all those whose interests were bound up with them, have been driven into desperate straits, and the operation of the Land Act must apparently effect a large permanent reduction in their incomes. . . . The Land Act, whatever else it may have done or failed to do, has effectually severed the sentimental connection between the landlord, reduced to the position of a rent-charger, and the soil.

"In a very different manner, but not less significantly, has the influence of the Roman Catholic Church been affected by the events of the past three years. The Church of Rome, not merely as an aggressive, but even as a defensive power, is becoming daily weakened by the agrarian movement. . . . The fact remains indisputable. The power for good and for evil of the Roman Catholic Church and priesthood over the Irish masses has been broken, and it is scarcely possible to conceive how the moral miracle of its restoration can be hoped for by rational men. Fifty years, thirty years, twenty years, even ten years ago, those who knew Ireland best would have pronounced the destruction of the power of the priesthood an impossibility. Nor, in all probability, would it have been destroyed if those who wielded it had been faithful to their trust. Unfortunately, in the effort to retain their influence undiminished, and to put pressure upon the Imperial Government, the heads of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland allowed their subordinates to temporize and play with the agrarian movement. . . .

"Those prelates and clergymen who dared to withstand, even partially, the popular demands were insulted and threatened. The highest ecclesiastical rank, the most faithful services to the people, did not secure their names against contumely. . . . Such is the present position of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, after three years of agitation which a resolute policy might have curbed in the beginning. . . . It would be rash to forecast the development of this change, but those who might have prevented it may now reflect with impotent regret on the folly of playing with the flames of revolutionary passion."

But very few days after this, a telegram from Rome informed us, on very good authority, that Mr. Parnell's speeches and programme, and the speeches of the prominent Land Leaguers, had been carefully studied at the Vatican, and that the Pope had become frightened at the storm; he was in terror, and perplexed at the strong atheistical and communistical tendency of the movement; and was anxious, by a strenuous mandate, to recall the bishops and priests from it. At the same time, there arrived a letter from a Roman Catholic gentleman in Dublin, who corroborated the position of the Roman University in Ireland. He said: "The (Roman) Catholic University is now merged in the Royal University, and the Catholic professors have got fellowships in it. As a matter of fact, save as to the medical school, *it has been closed for years*. The professors exceeded the number of students."

The statement regarding the Roman Catholic University was more than borne out by the Romanist *Tablet* (of the 21st and 28th). It admitted that the university had collapsed, because twenty-eight Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland had withdrawn their subscriptions; and the reason assigned for their act was, that the funds they had been accustomed to receive from their flocks had fallen very short, and they had not the money to give.

No. LXXXIV.

ON the 5th of November, 1882, a very curious event perplexed the inquiring. An Encyclical letter of Pope Leo XIII., addressed to "*The Patriarchs, Primates, Arch-bishops and Bishops of the Catholic world in grace and communion with the Apostolic See,*" was published in the *Times*, and read in all the Roman Catholic churches; and yet the Pope's organs, which professed to publish all public documents that emanated from the Curia at Rome—such as the *Journal de Rome* and the *Moniteur de Rome*—did not make the slightest allusion to it. In this document the Pope began by heaping encomiums on the twelfth century—which was indeed the highest *acmé* of the Papacy, and was distinguished by the lowest depth and degradation of morals; or, as the Pope expressed it, "licentiousness had greatly impaired popular morality." The Pope then laid down this infallible proposition in morals: "*the perfection of Christian virtue lies in that disposition of the soul which dares all that is arduous and difficult.*" Some might say that virtue, being enduring, is a quality; while a disposition is passing. Others might call that quality courage; others again, observing that all things difficult, without distinction, are to be dared or discarded, would term it foolhardiness or rashness. The philosopher, on the other hand, would object to virtue being defined as a disposition, instead of a habit of the soul. But the Pope was speaking *ex cathedra*, on morals, to the whole Roman Catholic Church, and therefore his dictum was infallible! The Irish patriots were no doubt encouraged and stimulated by the Pope's Tel-el-Kebir kind of religion.

The Pope then sketched the life of St. Francis of Assisi, and ended by announcing the remedy for all the social evils of the world; namely, the institution and spread, among the laity, of the Third Order of St. Francis, which had been suppressed and strictly forbidden by the Canon Law, which

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the Pope had sworn to observe! That document was therefore suppressed by all the Papal newspapers.

On the 22nd of November, the British Government was warned by the *Journal de Rome*, that "never will the English Government succeed in pacifying Ireland, except by the assistance of the Catholic Church." Three days after, the influence of the two Papal utterances was seen in the daring murder of Detective Cox, in one of the main thoroughfares of Dublin, and in broad daylight. That was the Christian virtue that dared something arduous. On the 27th, the *Times* remarked that: "An organization of resolute and audacious anarchists, habitually in possession of arms in defiance of the law, is maintained under the very walls of the Castle. . . . The theory that Irish disorders are merely the fruit of an unsatisfactory system of land tenure, is practically refuted by the threatening organization of crime in Dublin and the other large towns. . . . It is not amiss to observe that the ratepayers of Dublin have declared themselves strongly, at the recent municipal elections, in favour of extreme Nationalist views. Town Councils and Boards of Guardians throughout the country have in the same way purged themselves of their loyal members. A measure of local self-government, such as was demanded by the Dublin Conference, would throw uncontrolled power almost everywhere into the hands of the avowed enemies of the British connection, and the sympathisers with attacks on law and order, as strongholds of British influence."

The crime was, indeed, but part of a larger plot, to assassinate the Lord Chancellor and all the Judges, in Sackville Street, the chief street of Dublin. The following was the account of it given by the *Times*, on November 28: "The objects of the attack were a number of Her Majesty's Judges who, it was known, were dining at Judge Harrison's in Mountjoy Square, and must return through Sackville Street. Their lordships passed the corner of Abbey Street at a quarter-past eleven o'clock, a few minutes after

"the assassination was committed. It is believed that the presence of the half-dozen detectives at the corner of Abbey Street had the effect of frustrating the plot, and that, maddened by the close surveillance of the police, they directed their attack against them. The Judges included the Lord Chancellor and Mr. Justice O'Brien."

Two days afterwards, the murder of Mr. Field was attempted in Dublin, because he was one of the jury at the trial of Walsh for the murder of Constable Kavanagh. But Mr. Field recovered of his serious wounds, although he had been first knocked down, and then stabbed repeatedly, and that in the presence of more than twenty bystanders. Mallins was also stabbed in Gardiner Street, Dublin. The effect of the attempted murder of Mr. Field was thus narrated by the *Times* of November 29: "The special jurors of Dublin, who belong chiefly to the most respectable commercial classes, are deeply concerned at the position in which they find themselves, with secret assassins prowling about and ready to take vengeance upon them if they assist the authorities in enforcing the law, or even obey it themselves."

The same newspaper contained the report of a speech, at Navan, by Davitt. He, too, was desirous of evincing the Pope's chief virtue of daring. His speech was couched in language "not calculated to promote the security of life and property in Ireland." But "he was received, with every mark of honour, in the town," by Dr. Nulty, Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath; who "paid him the marked attention of sending his carriage to convey him from the railway station to the place of meeting." He spoke of "the necessity" of the people "marching down to take possession of the rich soil in the plains"; and added: "If the people of Ireland, if the tenant-farmers of the West will pay rent that should go to feed their children, then let them die, and Ireland and humanity are well rid of such a coward race." He inculcated the virtue of daring. Archbishop Hughes declared, in 1848, that a man in

"danger of death by hunger would be justified before God
"in seizing upon the bread on the sacrificial altar. *How*
"*much more justifiable, then, for our people to seize upon what*
"*landlordism steals from them and their children every year !*
". . . "Perpetuating landlordism by fixing rents ! Oh,
"no ! from the homes of 200,000 starving people ; from the
"graves of millions of our race ; from the depths of the
"wide Atlantic ; from the shades of murdered landlords, as
"well as from those of their famished victims—ay, from the
"regions of the damned, where souls are expiating the
"crimes that were born of Irish landlordism, come shrieks
"of supplicating agony demanding the destruction of Irish
"landlordism. Let it perish, then, while the execrations of
"the damned form its fitting requiem, and may the hate
"and vengeance that have been born of its accursed acts,
"and that have defamed the character of this old Christian
"land, sink with it into the depths of an infamous and ever-
"lasting oblivion !" Thus said Dr. Nulty.

At Cork on the 21st of November, Mr. Redmond had already spoken as follows : "The teaching of the Land
"League was that if any man was untrue to the cause he
"should be boycotted. Now, he said to them, if there was
"a farmer present, he advised him that, reduction or no
"reduction, he should not part with one cent of rent until
"he saw that himself and his family had all that was
"necessary for them. Consequently, he advised those
"present, and those whom his words might reach, to use
"moderately and wisely the expedient weapon of boycot-
"ting towards every man who betrayed the national cause.
". . . He, as a Nationalist, yearned to see *Ireland a free*
"*nation, untrammelled by any shadow of British law ;* but
"he would say to them that no league would do that ; it
"could only be accomplished by the swords and united
"arms of the Irish people. . . . It was the duty of
"every man, not only in rebel Cork, but in Ireland, to pre-
"pare for that revolution." He again inculcated the Pope's
chief virtue of daring.

Those firebrand speeches received no notice from the authorities. The Government allowed the agitation to proceed untrammelled, yet they must have known, by experience oft-repeated, that crime and outrage always follow such speeches, as surely as Gladstone's shadow follows Gladstone. All men of sense and loyalty cried shame on the Government for such supineness. But those who were somewhat behind the scenes, divined, in the inflammatory speeches of men who spoke with impunity, without being either prosecuted or imprisoned as suspects, they divined the initiative of the Government. They knew that the landlords had not been utterly ruined as yet, and guessed that the seditious speeches had been encouraged in order to deal them another and fatal blow. They were aware that, while the Land Act was passing through the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone, who was so particular in defining everything else, had steadily refused to define the term "a fair rent." This expression was left to the perverted sense or cunning ingenuity of any Commissioner to decide, in each case, as he might choose. The consequence was that there were thousands of appeals. Seventeen valuers were appointed at the desire of the Commissioners; and their character and bias may be guessed from the fact that the landlords, in despair, always dropped their appeals.

This ambiguity of term in the Act; this refusal of the Government to prosecute Davitt and the others for their seditious speeches; and those crimes and outrages which always went along with the agitation, were naturally put together in men's minds. They remembered the agitation and the outrages which preceded the Irish rising in 1806; they recalled the murders and outrages between 1820 and 1829: the atrocious crimes; the awful massacres; the case of the Sheas in the South, and the burning of Wildgoose Lodge in the County Louth; they perceived that all the outrages and agitation were directed to the attainment of some Roman Catholic end; they saw in them a similarity of conduct and character, a common origin and a common

aim ; the secret Jesuitical conclave for origin, and the increase of the power of the Roman Catholic Church for aim ; and men connected them with the *Pétroleuses* of Paris, the Socialists of Germany, and the Nihilists of Russia.

Yet all that Mr. Trevelyan, the Chief Secretary, had to say, when questioned by Sir W. Hart-Dyke, on November 30, in regard to the speeches of Davitt and Redmond, was : " The conclusion of the Government is, that if such speeches "*continue* to be made, there is no hope for peace and order " in Ireland ; and that it is impossible to keep crime in " check by any system of punishment, as long as these " speeches, which experience tells us lead to crime, are " freely and generally uttered." For all that, he had been " recommended not to prosecute." Mr. Healy also made a similar speech. But none of them were prosecuted. The Government said they would bind them over to keep the peace ; but Davitt announced that he would refuse to be bound over ; and the Government dropped the matter altogether, and did not even rescind his ticket of leave !

The matter was, indeed, brought before the Queen's Bench Division on December 5 ; but the Attorney-General commenced his day's work by walking up to the prisoner, Healy, and shaking hands with him ! He also acted as legal adviser to Davitt !¹ Two persons (one of them a ticket-of-leave man) who had made incendiary speeches, and then defied the Government of the Queen. Yet the Queen's Attorney-General, forgetting to act his part, and putting on a show of prosecuting, shook hands with the one, and chatted with him pleasantly, while he acted as counsel for the other ! Who could any longer doubt the complicity of the Government !

But perhaps those incendiary speeches—the continuance of which would destroy the peace of Ireland, kindle revolution, and incite to crime—were at least put a stop to ? Mr. Parnell made a speech at Cork on the 17th of December. He clearly intimated that the agitation should not

¹ See the *Times* and *St. James's Gazette*.

cease. Why should it, when it had hitherto been the means of obtaining for Ireland almost all that Ireland had been taught to desire? Yet Mr. Parnell's speech was not stopped. Mr. Parnell further congratulated himself on his "No Rent Manifesto." It had fulfilled its object. It had been the engine which had excused Mr. Gladstone in proposing terms of surrender, and had coerced the landlords into accepting them. Moreover, he advised that the Land League should be further supported. In fourteen months the Land Act had reduced rents by only £70,000; while the Land League, by its agitation, had diminished rents by £3,000,000 (another £3,000,000 having been wiped out by the Arrears Act). Wherefore it was clear that the agitation should be continued, and the organization perfected, until everything should have been obtained. Let them, therefore, subscribe to the funds for evicted tenants; let them support the National League, and show the British that they were fully determined to have their rights. Mr. Forster had, in a recent speech, denied that Parliament had passed the Land Act in consequence of the Land League agitation; but Mr. Parnell challenged him and the English Parliament to show, next session, that they were strong enough to legislate for Ireland without such things; that is, without the agitation outside, which Mr. Chamberlain had welcomed.

Was not that another incendiary speech? Did it not incite the agitation to be more exacting? Did it not stimulate the hatred of race against race? Did it not nourish the party of sedition, and depress the party of order? Nor was that the only speech likely to destroy the peace of Ireland. On December 20, Michael Davitt was at it again. He spoke at Batley, and said¹ that "the agitation on the land question would be the means of obtaining Home Rule, and if they abandoned it, they abandoned one of the most powerful levers yet handled for the overthrow of alien rule in Ireland." Yet Davitt was not locked up.

¹ *Times*, December 21.

Nor was that the only incendiary speech tending to destroy the peace of Ireland. On Monday, the 18th, Mr. Biggar, M.P., spoke at Waterford, and said:¹ "To show how the Ministers of the English Government in Irèland acted when they were not bound by the strong force of public opinion, he might refer to the case of Francis Hynes. The jury in that case were allowed to disperse, and the conviction by them was illegal according to British law. That fact was known to Lord Spencer, that bloodthirsty English peer. . . . He allowed that young man to be hanged. If he was amenable to public opinion in Ireland, he would not do that. . . . Then there was the case of Myles Joyce. He made his last confession and protested his innocence, and they, as Catholics, would believe that. The Government knew that he was innocent, and he (Mr. Biggar) believed that Lord Spencer sacrificed that man's life for the sake of an appearance of consistency before the English people. Again, there was the case of Walsh, hanged at Galway. He declared his innocence on the gallows, and yet he was hanged. No one in Ireland should support the Whig party. Lord Spencer let Myles Joyce be hanged, though Joyce protested, with his dying breath, that he was innocent."

On December 22, 1882, Michael Davitt enjoyed the use of the Town-hall in Bermondsey for a speech, and said: "It was necessary that he should allude to his speech at Navan on the 26th of November—a speech which in English opinion was *not calculated to produce peace in Ireland*. . . . Advocating Home Rule in Ireland, he said he should, *as an Irishman and a Catholic*, repudiate the idea that a local parliament in Dublin would mean Catholic political ascendancy. *The situation in Ireland was comparable to that in England when it drove James II. from the throne.*" That speech was not calculated to produce peace in Ireland; and Michael Davitt was not locked up.

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, December 21.

Oh, no! On Sunday, December 24, Michael Davitt was honoured by being allowed to address an audience on the land question at Wolverhampton, although the Chief Secretary had said, but a short while before, that "if such speeches were continued, there was no hope for peace and order in Ireland, and that it would be impossible to keep crime in check by any system of punishment." As the Government allowed such speeches to be continued, of course they desired that there should be no peace or order in Ireland, and that crime should not be checked.

Here are some extracts from Davitt's speech at Wolverhampton: "Lord Derby and that poor disgraced coercionist, Mr. Forster, declared that the famines which recurred in Ireland every ten or fifteen years, were due to periodic visitations of Providence, and to over-population; but the real cause was the system of land laws in that country—a system which was robbing the soil as well as the people who cultivated it, restricting cultivation, and paralyzing industry. . . . The land had been wrested from its rightful purpose, inasmuch as it was created by God for the beneficent purpose of sustaining man, who could not live without the soil. He maintained that the Government, which had brought about the starvation on the west coast of Ireland, was bound to maintain the people during such a calamity. . . . He did not speak in the language of ambiguous cant, and he would repeat, that landlordism was a system of robbery and plunder, and as long as the Government and the English people allowed such a system to rule in Ireland, it would be the father of agrarian crime and the source of famine and discontent. . . . They would have to apply the lancet to the seat of the evil, and cut out the corrupting body of Irish landlordism from the social life of the people. Abolition, complete and total, was the only remedy of the Irish social evil, was the only way in which the settlement of the Irish land question could be effected; and, *notwithstanding Lord Derby's declaration*

"that no more legislation on the question would take place for some time, he maintained that Lord Derby knew nothing of the question. He (the speaker) did, however. The remedies for Irish famine and Irish discontent and English coercion, he believed to be the abolition of Irish landlordism, and the grant of Irish self-government."

Still such speeches continued to be made. On December 28, the Burdett Hall, in Limehouse, was placed at Michael Davitt's disposal. He spoke on "the condition of Ireland," and said: "Unless Earl Spencer changed his tactics of vindictiveness and coercion, the time would come when even Englishmen would demand, in the interests of the peace of Ireland, the recall of the present Lord Lieutenant. But when Earl Spencer ceased to rigorously apply coercion, and endeavoured to reform any department of Ireland, he would be thwarted by that policy through which every past Government had mismanaged the affairs of Ireland. . . . Ireland would have to be governed according to Irish ideas, and Irish ideas were better understood by Irishmen than by Englishmen. . . . In Ireland, from the highest to the meanest justice of the peace, every one was a politician, and belonged to the landlord class. . . . Ninety-eight per cent. of the magistrates belonged to the most pernicious class in the country—the landlords; and out of these at least eighty per cent. belonged to a religion against which he had nothing to say, but it was not the religion of the majority of the people of Ireland. If there was power in truth—and he believed there was—and a determination in the character of the Irish people—which he knew existed—to persevere in a just cause, Irish landlordism would yet be abolished in the not distant future, and England would resort to effectual justice, which alone could solve the problem of Irish poverty and Irish discontent."

That was not enough for the Government. Ireland was still too peaceful. Crime was not rampant enough. Yet

another speech, therefore, must be made. On January 4, 1883, the Albert Hall, in Leeds, was secured for Michael Davitt, to make another speech in condemnation of Dublin Castle rule, and of Irish landlords. He said, alluding to the promised County Franchise Bill for England: "No-thing of the sort would be conceded to Ireland. That would only be another illustration to the Irish people that *nothing could be got from England unless wrung from English statesmen by the power of Irish agitation and the determination of the Irish movement. . . . The Irish element, together with the English Radical element, would bring about that, in a few years' time, other people than there were at present would be found representing the constituencies in the House of Commons. Whether those measures were extended to Ireland or not, it would make no difference to the present Irish movement. It could not alter their resolution that Castle rule and Irish landlordism must be abolished.*"

Yet another speech, on January 10, because Ireland was not yet excited enough for the purposes of the Government. On that day, Michael Davitt received an honourable entertainment at Birkenhead, for a speech on "distress in Ireland." He said: "The distress was caused by the people being compelled, by English laws, to part with their earnings for the support of an idle, hostile, useless class. This class, numbering from 15,000 to 20,000, had extracted from the poorest country in Europe the enormous sum of from 15 to 18 million pounds. *Ireland had had enough of futile agitations and semi-insurrections, and they were going to fight it out this time.*"

At Liverpool, on January 12, Michael Davitt said, on the same subject, in reference to the Land League funds: "Those funds were forwarded from America for the removal of landlordism, which was the cause of the famine, and landlordism must be sent out of Ireland bag and baggage. Dublin Castle had committed the seven deadly sins which would inevitably damn it. When England

"was engaged in war with a powerful foe, then, perhaps, "would be Ireland's opportunity."

It appears, therefore, that the Government, who had declared, through the responsible Minister, that it would be impossible to maintain order in Ireland if such speeches should be made, and impossible to restrain the commission of crimes,—so far from stopping the speeches, had evidently allowed Davitt to make a pleasant tour of agitation; and to procure the Town-halls in the large towns to make his incendiary speeches in. Nor was it only the ticket-of-leave man who was employed in this way. Archbishop Croke acted similarly. The Solicitor-General for Ireland, Mr. Naish, was standing for Mallow;¹ and O'Brien, the editor of *United Ireland*, against whom a prosecution was pending for seditious writings, was also contesting the borough. Dr. Croke, the Archbishop of Cashel, then wrote the following letter to the constituency: "Were I connected with the borough, either as an elector "or a non-elect, I should most assuredly exercise every "legitimate influence that I possessed to secure the triumphant return to Parliament of the gifted, fearless, patriotic, and uncompromising editor of *United Ireland*." This John O'Brien, together with Richard Hodnett and James Gillooly, were being tried at Bantry, at this very time; and on January 9, O'Brien and Hodnett were sentenced to two months', and Gillooly to three months' imprisonment with hard labour. The justice, in passing sentence, thus expressed himself: "They had to ask themselves, were landlords and farmers alike to be denounced "in a manner which might excite fear and panic? . . . "The first of the speakers said the Land League had "been only nominally suppressed. The people were "exhorted not to forget the teachings they had received "for the last two years. Now, if there was anything "which it would be desirable for them to forget, it was "those teachings. . . . Whiteboyism had been rampant

¹ *Times*, January 8.

“in the country for the last two years. The country had been saturated with the blood of its inhabitants. Jurors were afraid to find verdicts, and witnesses were afraid to give evidence. Judges on the bench had been assailed, and an attempt made to slaughter a juror who had given a verdict according to his conscience. In these circumstances, they had a number of persons deliberately and designedly called together by placards of a strong character, meeting on a common platform, and indulging in language calculated to excite panic and terror, to drive those people out of the country who had the means to go. They could not come to any other conclusion than that the speeches delivered by the defendants were calculated to have that effect.”

This very O'Brien was, on January 9, allowed to be in Mallow, and made a speech in which he said: “Naish was an enemy. Mr. Naish came there as the champion and the apologist of jury-packing, witness-bribery, the gag, the rope, and the plank bed. He came there to try to make Mallow an accomplice in one of the most hateful systems of suppression and repression that was ever invented in the bloodstained torture chambers of English rule in Ireland—a system, he would say it deliberately, which in the most crimeless country in Europe was calculated to drive sober and freedom-loving people to madness and despair.” That was the O'Brien whom Dr. Croke publicly supported! and whom Mr. Gladstone's Government allowed to appear on the platform!

No. LXXXV.

THE substance of the speech by Mr. Forster, to which Mr. Parnell made allusion, was thus given by the *Times* of December 16, 1882: “Mr. Forster expressed himself with much-needed plainness when he said that ‘*Nothing can be more unpatriotic and more foolish than any concession to*

"*'Irish disorder, or any compromise with Irish disloyalty.'*
 ". . . The want of moral courage in dealing with Irish
 "affairs *encourages everything that is turbulent, foolish, and*
 "*impracticable*; and it discourages all who are wise enough
 "to understand wherein lie the true interests of Ireland. The
 "orderly classes in Ireland can allege that *the Government*
 "*of this country, whether composed of Whigs or Tories, has,*
 "*time and again, shirked plain but disagreeable duties, and*
 "*condescended to compromises and concessions which come*
 "*within the scope of Mr. Forster's condemnation.* Clamour
 "has been yielded to, and 'Irish ideas' have been counten-
 "anced, though well known to run clean counter to natural
 "laws, which no legislature or nation can defy with im-
 "punity. At the same time, *the true remedies have been*
 "*overlooked until things became desperate.*"

Did the evils which afflicted Ireland "depend upon
 "Governments and Administrations"? Were they not
 fomented by the Government which permitted Davitt to
 roam over the country making incendiary speeches, after
 the Chief Secretary had deliberately stated to the House
 of Commons that, if such speeches should continue to be
 made, it would be impossible to maintain order in Ireland,
 and impossible to restrain the multiplication of crimes?
 Was all this the work of that dark and malign Society or
 Jesuits, who have been plotting to bring about, by the
 means they have so often employed, the independence and
 autonomy of Ireland as a Roman Catholic country, and
 the destruction of the Empire of Great Britain and all her
 ancient liberties?

That this has been the aim of the "victorious struggles,"
 namely, "to conquer the liberty of the (Roman) Catholic
 "worship," was sufficiently shown by the leading article in
 the Pope's organ, the *Journal de Rome*, of December 6,
 1882: "M. de Giers, the Minister of Russia, was this
 "morning received by His Holiness. It is, indeed, not
 "useless to take advantage of this fact to remind the
 "European Governments which do not form part of

“the Church, what assistance they may expect, in their
“embarrassments and difficulties, from the pacifying in-
“fluence of the Holy See. A terrible revolution is, at
“this moment, desolating Ireland. As in Russia, so
“also in Ireland, assassination, that weapon more formid-
“able than an *émeute*, has been the means employed by
“the rebels to upset and destroy the institutions of their
“country. . . . In vain will England try to pacify Ireland
“by means of Land Acts. *All her concessions only serve*
“*to encourage the revolt.* . . . Well; in that country,
“still vibrating with the victorious struggles which she
“has maintained for vindicating the liberty of (Roman)
“Catholic worship, the revolution would have continued
“without intermission and without end, if the bishops had
“not recalled the Irish Catholics to the law of the Gospel
“and to their duty as citizens; if the bishops had not
“spoken to them of the horrors of sedition. . . .
“Russia, too, might bear in mind that she likewise incor-
“porated, in her vast empire, a Catholic nation, as unhappy
“and miserable as is the Irish nation, and, like Ireland,
“also very imperfectly pacified.” That is to say, the
assassinations in Ireland were deliberately planned and
executed, in order to vindicate, for the Roman Catholics,
full liberty for that religion which permits, nay, even sug-
gests and encourages, the use of such bloody means. As
in Ireland, so in Poland—both Roman Catholic countries—
the knife and the rifle, revolution and dynamite, have
been employed for the destruction of the institutions of
the two empires, in order to procure liberty for the religion
that moulds such assassins!

Such a scheme is so diabolical, that it would be hard to
believe that the Jesuit Society could have been guilty of
it, were it not that history indubitably points, with steady
and unerring finger, to many Jesuit conspiracies and many
machinations as diabolical in former years. But how is it,
then, that the Pope did not denounce and banish them, as
Pope Ganganelli did before (1774), with scathing language

of bitter denunciation? Can it be that the Papal Court, whose battle the Jesuits pretend to be fighting, is really in league with the Jesuits? or can it be that the Jesuit Society has a power at the Papal Court which Popes have learned to fear? We remember how Pio Nono, when warned that the Jesuits were about to poison him, replied that it had not yet got the length of deeds—so far it was only an intention: "*non è che un pio desiderio.*" Yet the Papal organ, the *Journal de Rome*, of Dec. 31, 1882, could vaunt itself on the number of Jesuits who were employed by the British Government, mentioning Father Alphonse Rénard, Father Stephen Perry, Father Stephenson, Father James Stephenson, Father McSweeney, and others.

On the 23rd of January, 1883, there was published a letter of the Pope to Cardinal McCabe and the Irish Roman Catholic bishops, on the affairs of Ireland. It was "better late than never"; if indeed any effect could be expected to flow from it. The practical effect of Lord Spencer's vigorous measures, of the acute inquiries by the army of detectives, of the prompt hangings in Galway and the South, of the Fenian informations, and of the Dublin prosecutions, was doubtless great; and the Pope was anxious to reap that sowing, and to induce persons to attribute, to his benign influence, the lessened number and ferocity of the cattle-mutilations, women-cardings, and pot-shots at landlords from behind walls. If he had the power to put a stop to those horrors, why did he not do it before? Why did he not, before that time, forbid priests from making inflammatory speeches at seditious meetings? Why did he not shut Dr. Croke's mouth, and forbid him from eulogising the Land Leaguers and canonizing Michael Davitt and John Devoy? He did not do so. But he sought to gain the credit for Lord Spencer's energy, as soon as the Gladstonian Cabinet permitted the Viceroy to act against the agitation. The Pope's letter was dated Jan. 1, 1883. In that letter he rightly exhorted Roman Catholics "not to permit their efforts to transgress the limits of duty and

"religion. . . . It is just and legitimate for those who "are suffering to seek to defend their rights by means "permitted by the law ; but it is not permissible to have "recourse to crime in order to obtain redress for wrongs "undergone." This exhortation, unhappily, passed unheeded. Did Dr. Croke cease to regard Davitt and Devoy as heroes and patriots, and to hold them up to his flocks as objects for imitation? Did Dr. Nulty repudiate his doctrines of socialism and revolution? The Pope's newspapers refrained from publishing that letter of the Pope, until they had seen it in the *Times* on Jan. 23 ; then only they printed it, on Jan. 26. Those newspapers, the *Journal de Rome* and the *Moniteur de Rome*, probably found the Christian exhortation to be eminently distasteful. Distasteful it probably was to the priesthood of Ireland, if we may judge by a paragraph in the *Melbourne Age*¹: "Among "the passengers by the *Austral*, lately arrived in our port, "were twenty-two Roman Catholic priests, including a "bishop and his chaplain. The conduct of the clergy, "with the exception of the bishop, was most distasteful to "the other passengers, and also to the crew of the vessel. "Upon any toast being drunk to the health of Her Majesty "the Queen, the most marked disrespect was shown by the "Catholic priests referred to, who would remain seated and "covered. The same course was also pursued when the "National Anthem was being played."

It struck many persons as a most marvellous and incredible fact, that, as early as the year 1879, before Mr. Gladstone returned to power, Mr. Parnell could accurately predict the effect of Mr. Gladstone's legislation ; while Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Forster, the Irish Secretary, Lord Chancellor Selborne, and another member of the Cabinet, —Lord Carlingford, were utterly wrong in 1881, in their predictions of the probable effect of their Land Act. The Ministers ascribed to it the very contrary effect to that which it accomplished. Did that arise from want of fore-

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, Jan. 26, 1883.

sight, or want of candour? From an absence of sagacity, or an absence of veracity? Did they know and deny? or did one of them assert what he knew to be false, while the others, parrot-like, repeated what he had said? Be that as it may, nevertheless the fact is undoubted that Mr. Parnell, who had been persuaded to conduct the agitation, knew perfectly well the effects of his action; while Mr. Gladstone's predictions were utterly falsified.

At Tipperary, on Sep. 27, 1879,¹ Mr. Parnell said: "But if the right of being a landlord becomes an undesirable thing—as I am sure after this winter, and perhaps during this winter, it will become—you will find *there will be none of those landlord purchases of Irish land, and that then the landlord will be glad enough to facilitate the obtaining by purchase of the farms by the tenants who occupy them.*"

At Newry, on Oct. 16, 1879: "One of the consequences of the agitation they are carrying on, and which they intended to stick to—which he believed would be one of the most successful agitations that had ever taken place in this or any other country—would be that *the market for land would be restricted to the tenants. When an estate of an encumbered landlord was put into the market, there would be no buyers, because it would not be such a pleasant or profitable thing to be an Irish landlord as it used to be.* The tenants then would have an opportunity of purchasing their holdings under the Bright clauses."

Now compare with those predictions, the asseverations in 1881 of the Ministers who were supposed to have devised, and who carried the Land Act.

Mr. Gladstone said: "I have heard the argument used many times in these discussions, that after this Bill passes, *there will be no purchasers of land in Ireland but the State. I do not believe that at all;* but this I must say, that this proposition, that the State is to buy nothing except within the limit of *twenty years' purchase* (of the judicial

¹ *Freeman's Journal.*

"rent), is in my opinion most unjust. The Government "thought of introducing a limit of value; but I am bound "to say that, adverting to the average sales that have "taken place, *we placed the limit at seven years higher* "(*twenty-seven years' purchase*) *than my honourable friend* "*proposes.*" (*Hansard*, cclxiii. 387.)

"In a moderate, but at the same time a perfectly "appreciable degree, the effect of the legislation then "(1870) proposed, has been *to raise the capital value of* "*estates in Ireland, as far as the landlords are concerned.* "I may repeat that Her Majesty's Government entertain "the same hope so far as this Bill is concerned." (*Hansard*, cclxiii. 1696.)

"Rents have increased under the action of the Land "Act of 1870. I am not now speaking of undue increase. "Upon the increased rents, a larger number of years' purchase has been obtained where the property has come "into the market, and that, sir, was the end of the charge "of confiscation with respect to the Land Act." (*Hansard*, cclxi. 586.)

Mr. Forster, the Chief Secretary for Ireland: "My firm "belief is that no damage can be proved. On the other "hand, if the landlord were compensated, you would compensate him for conferring on him a benefit." (*Hansard*, ccix. 1166.)

Lord Selborne, the Lord High Chancellor, told the Lords: "I deny that it will diminish, in any degree whatever, the rights of the landlord or the value of the interest "he possesses. I never should agree to such a proposal." (*Hansard*, cclxiv. 532.)

Lord Carlingford, the Lord Privy Seal, and formerly Irish Secretary, said: "My Lords, I maintain that the "provisions of the Bill will cause the landlord no money "loss whatever." (*Hansard*, cclxiv. 252.)

Now as to the facts: The Land Commissioners fixed the rents as "fair rents," and asserted that "the tenants "will pay to the day," and "the rents will be paid like

"dividends at the Bank of Ireland, or nearly so." Yet the rents are and have, ever since the passing of the Act, been worse paid than before ; and land will not sell at all, not even at ten years' purchase.

Let it not be supposed that the agitators were more far-seeing than Mr. Gladstone or Lord Selborne. Yet it may be asserted that the dark and secret conclave which devised both the agitation and the policy, was more far-seeing than either the legislators or the agitators ; while both agitators and legislators apparently followed the lead or obeyed the commands of the secret conclave.

NO. LXXXVI.

I PRESUME that, on consideration of all these facts, there is no one so foolish as to suppose that the agitation in Ireland was due, in the first place, to Irish patriots or Nationalists. No one supposes that the great secret power that worked it was confined and limited to Irish aspirations. If there be any one so foolish, let him reflect on what happened in India at the beginning of the year 1883. A recent convert to Romanism, an obedient son of the Jesuits, and therefore their tool, was appointed by Mr. Gladstone to the post of Governor-General of India. At once we found the great secret power at work in that distant land, with exactly the same aims that they evinced in Ireland. As was said at the time, they were "creating a second Ireland in India." Lord Ripon began by "creating an Indian public opinion." That was a circumlocution for "political agitation." Lord Ripon was the Parnell of India—"the pioneer of a Home Rule party in India." He educated them to ask for, and they did ask for, "A free and united India, ruled by its natives. . . . We have the vision of an approaching time when, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, a free, educated, and united country will cease to be the plunder-ground of

"aliens." Thus wrote a native Indian, in a magazine called *Progress*. But there are two Indias: the one deluded by the Jesuits, and the other not; just as there are two Irelands.

The upper classes, and most of the middle classes in Ireland, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, were indignant with the English Government for their numerous "concessions to the Nationalists." They were anxious that the Government should put down the outrages and anarchy, by means of an energetic policy. Those classes, however, were but a small portion of the Irish population, and could be safely ignored. All the small shopkeepers, all the small farmers, all the artisans, and all the labourers, were enemies to order and hated the British Government. The Roman Catholic priests were the causes of this bitter and seditious feeling. "Some of them abused their sacred office to concoct false declarations of innocence by dying criminals, with the design of casting discredit on the law."¹

Davitt was the tool of the sacerdotal agitators, and a very able one too. It was his business to declare their thoughts and utter their prophecies. On Feb. 7, 1883, he thus performed his rôle:—"A system that cannot defend itself in the political arena, except by the imprisonment of its opponents, is fast marching to its doom. The spirit of the Land League, together with the rapid spread of advanced land reform principles in Great Britain as in Ireland, will soon complete the overthrow of land monopoly in these countries. I expect to see in a few years' time—that is, after the enfranchisement of the industrial classes—the land recognised as national property, the farmer, with State security, enjoying the right to occupancy of his holding without fear of disturbance or interference with his capital in the same, and the unearned increment of the national property appropriated to the benefit of the whole community.

¹ *Times*, Feb. 7.

"No other settlement of the land question will meet the exigencies of impending social upheavals consequent upon the spread of popular education and the accumulating wrongs of labour; and it should be the duty of present statesmanship to look ahead so as to stem the tide of the advancing social revolution by just concessions rather than resort to the old methods of exasperation and futile repression."

Let us, however, call into court an exceptional witness, who knew nothing of the conspiracy in high places, and hear his testimony as to the effects of Mr. Gladstone's legislation. Are not the conclusions to which that statesman arrived, the same as those to which any one, who assumes Mr. Gladstone's complicity with the priesthood and agitators, would arrive? Lord Cranbrook said at Maidstone, on February 9: "Has it ever struck you what has been done in Ireland, and how the country has been treated? I will venture to say that no country in the world has, for the last fifty or sixty years, had more reason to say that England was disposed to redress its real grievances, to foster everything that was good within it, with the view of bringing it out to the advantage of the country. It sometimes grieves me to think that fifty years of national education should have been bestowed upon Ireland, and that the country should now prove to be a country of traitors in the main, who have been the teachers in the schools of the country in which the children have been brought up for the last fifty years with national money taken out of our pockets. How is it we find, at the end of that time, that the population in the greater part of Ireland, I will not say is actually committed to violence and crime, but is to a great extent concurring with it? Surely the crimes of Ireland might account for some of the distress and troubles which have fallen in judgment upon that unhappy country. It is said that the evil deeds of a man bring with them condign punishment; and if that is so, the people in Ireland, in their distress, must know that,

“ from every part of their country, with small exception,
“ the blood of the innocent men has been crying to the
“ heavens for vengeance, year after year, and age after age,
“ without redress. At last we find that the law is being
“ enforced, and that agrarian crime is diminishing. But,
“ gentlemen, *is there one of you who can help asking, why is*
“ *it that this law was not put in operation before?* Why is
“ it that, when this Government entered into office with
“ distinct warnings contained in the celebrated letter of
“ Lord Beaconsfield, and with the warnings given them by
“ the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from his place in Parlia-
“ ment, with all the documents in their possession showing
“ what was brewing beneath the surface in that country,
“ that they declared that they would not take exceptional
“ measures, but would govern according to the ordinary
“ laws? . . . *As the Clerkenwell explosion had brought about*
“ *the destruction of the Church ; as the outrages and crimes in*
“ *Ireland brought in the Land Act of 1880 ; so it was that*
“ the Irish people, believing the Government amenable to
“ this tremendous pressure, came to the conclusion that *if*
“ *their crimes were deep enough, if blood flowed freely enough,*
“ *they would be able to attain their further desires.* They
“ were silent while the Conservatives were in power, be-
“ cause they knew that outrages would at once be put
“ down with a firm hand ; and therefore it was not until *the*
“ *Liberals came into office that the flood-gates were loosened*
“ *and the evils sent forth which have been desolating Ireland for*
“ *the last two years.* . . . Lord Hartington says it would
“ be absurd to give local government to Ireland until we
“ have an assurance that a proper use will be made of it ;
“ but *Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Courtney say that, when local*
“ *government is extended to England, it should also be given*
“ *to Ireland.* They are, they say, against Home Rule ; but
“ by the plan they propose they would establish a com-
“ mittee of sedition in every village and town. There
“ would be an army of Land League associations in every
“ union, in a position to take the public money from its

"proper uses, and foster with it a revolution in the country. ' Yet these people say they are firmly opposed to a separation of England and Ireland. But if they are guilty of "the wickedness and crime of giving Ireland local government while it is in such a state as this, if they are guilty "of the folly of treating Irishmen as Englishmen in this "matter, then *in fact they are furthering the separation of "the two countries, and while saying they never would consent, "were in fact consenting in detail. . . .* Gentlemen, I say "*if there was an agreement with these people, who were supposed to know all about the organization, that they should "be let out of prison, in order to control it for a time, when "we know that these men were pledged to their very lips to go "in for Home Rule, then that agreement must be borne in "mind.*"

On the 9th of February, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Trevelyan, made a speech, from which any man of sense would have supposed that his Government—the Government of Mr. Gladstone—had for two years been in conspiracy with the Home Rulers and Fenians to produce the very state of things which Mr. Trevelyan so graphically described. An ultra-Tory ex-Cabinet Minister, and an ultra-Liberal Chief Secretary, arrived at the same conclusions, without assuming that the Prime Minister was the chief actor in the deplorable evils of the country. Neither of them could account for the facts. They were puzzled. Yet an easy explanation was at hand. If the Prime Minister had been assumed to have been in the intrigue, the puzzle would have been solved, and all the results would have been plainly accounted for. Discontent is one thing; organized murder and outrage is another. Poor peasants and Government officials had been murdered. Labourers and gentlemen who refused to aid, or who threatened to divulge the conspiracy, had been systematically outraged. Could this be justified, could it even be accounted for, on the ground of bad legislation centuries ago? If not, why be so insane as to suppose that "re-

"medial legislation" would put an end to the assassinations and outrages? No; the anarchy and crimes had another cause. They stood on another basis. If the lower classes were those who supported the conspiracy, would the lowering of the franchise (as Mr. Gladstone proposed), and the increase of the power of those classes (by Mr. Gladstone's policy of constructing County Boards), lessen or increase the evil? Which? It was not discontent at some laws which caused the agitation, and no legislation would remove it as long as the aim of the agitation was separation from Protestant England, and the autonomy of Roman Catholic Ireland.

Directly after the Phoenix Park murders the *Times* could see this, and wrote: "*The policy of conciliation was founded on a combination of credulity and malice. The Cabinet was induced to run open-mouthed to the representatives of Irish disaffection with offers of surrender. Mr. Forster, who knew by a hard experience what the Irish question really meant, and who manfully stood by his convictions, was deserted by his colleagues and left no choice but to resign. The history of this transaction, though its details may be decorously veiled, is perfectly understood by the public. Mr. Forster was the victim of an intrigue which was worked from within the Cabinet, and which was industriously developed outside through 'organs' and organizations. The personality and the policy of the Chief Secretary were alike assailed unscrupulously and unsparingly; and a sham crisis was got up, to precipitate his enforced resignation, precisely at the time when, as he stated in Parliament, his measures might have been made successful by persistence and courage.*"

Was that true, or was it not true? If true, why did Mr. Gladstone act, or permit others in the Cabinet to act, in the way described? Why did he remove Mr. Forster just when he was about succeeding in putting down the crime and calming the agitation?

Above all, where was Mr. Gladstone all the time that the

police were unravelling the tangled web of the conspiracy in Dublin? Lord Cowper, Mr. Forster, Mr. Burke, the judges, the juries, did their duty in the midst of the conspirators, and did not shirk it, although the fear of a violent death was ever before them. Mr. Gladstone escaped to Cannes for his health, and enjoyed himself, pelting sugar-plums in the Carnival.

The Cabinet met on February 6, amid a crowd of "extra police." The *Times* narrated that: "Shortly after two o'clock Earl Spencer, who had been some time engaged in the Privy Council Office, of which he is President, walked through the private passage into the Cabinet Chamber. He was guarded by two Irish detectives, who followed his Excellency in all his movements. Lord Hartington, who was also accompanied by a detective, walked over from the War Office into Downing Street. . . . The detective, who yesterday even entered into the Premier's official residence with the Marquis, is the same person who so zealously guarded Mr. Gladstone previous to his departure for Cannes. Sir William Harcourt has now a detective sleeping in his house in Grafton Street."

Of course Mr. Gladstone hurried home to share the danger, and to guide the helm of the State? On the contrary, the 10th of Feb. brought the intelligence that "Mr. Gladstone will prolong his visit to Cannes." He will not preside at his full-dress dinner. He will not be present at the opening of Parliament! How very unaccountable! Surely Mr. Gladstone cannot be averse to the present state of anarchy! Perhaps he fears to do his duty? On the 21st the public learned that he was "quite well again," and enjoying his walks. But, to lull suspicion, we were informed that: "Orders have been issued that the guard of police on duty at the Château Scott is to be doubled, and that a strict watch is to be maintained during the night." As if Mr. Gladstone could really be in danger from his Irish allies! unless, indeed,

he thought he had gone far enough, and had refused to go forward at their bidding, and, therefore, stopped away at Cannes, and was guarded by French police?

Mr. Trevelyan, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, in addressing his constituents, asserted that the Land League was still alive, and was indeed thriving. It had changed its name, and removed its offices, but had preserved its old staff, its old objects, and its old tactics. Its aims were: the destruction of landlordism, the subdivision of grass-farms, and, above all, separation from England. The means used to attain these ends was, rewarding its friends, and signally punishing all who thwarted it. Its rewards were money, power, and place. Was Mr. Trevelyan, while uttering these words, thinking of the numerous places which Mr. Gladstone had given to the Land League agitators?—Its punishments were commercial ruin, social ostracism, robbery, maimings, cardings, and death.

It was on the 15th of February that Parliament met after the adjournment. On that day, Lord Salisbury explained the position of affairs to the House of Peers. In reading an extract from his speech, let us bear in mind that the disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church, and the destruction of the Protestant landlords of Ireland, were both means towards the establishment of Ireland as an independent, autonomous Romanist State. Lord Salisbury said: "To a great extent, *the Government of Ireland is gone. You formerly had the landowners of Ireland between you and the rest of the population. You have shattered their power, and they are now perfectly useless for the purpose of protecting the English Government or of maintaining the connection between the two countries. . . .* Unfortunately, we have not had many utterances from Mr. Gladstone in this recess. His constituents in Midlothian have, to their great grief, failed to receive a defence of his policy; but we progress rapidly, and new ways of communication are constantly discovered by distinguished men. Mr. Gladstone, having abandoned the senate and

"the platform, has taken refuge behind the tea-table, and
"there he informs M. Clémenceau, that *the 'curse of Ire-*
"*land is centralisation.*' 'We have,' he adds, 'dis-
"established the Church, and have relieved the tenant
"class of many grievances, and are now going to produce
"a state of things which will make the humblest Irishman
"realize that he is a governing agency, and that the
"government is to be carried on for him and by him.'
"I do not like the idea of the humblest Irishman as a
"governing agency. What does Lord Hartington say?
"He says, 'It is supposed by some, that by changes in
"the system of local self-government we can restore con-
"tentment to the country. It would be madness, in my
"opinion, to give Ireland more extended self-government,
"unless we can receive from the Irish people some assur-
"ance that this boon would not be used for the purpose
"of agitation.'"

Lord Salisbury emphasized Mr. Gladstone's conversation with M. Clémenceau, and the authenticity of it was never denied. Lord Salisbury clearly expected Mr. Gladstone to grant autonomy to Ireland, and gave the reasons for his expectation.

The Dublin detectives, according to the *Times* of Feb. 18, made important discoveries: "Among the disclosures made by Carey, not the least significant is the intimate connection established between the 'Irish Invincibles,' the Land League, and the Fenians. It is now shown that the secretary of the Land League, the correspondent of the *Irish World*, an authoritative speaker at meetings which inflamed the fierce passions of the people and incited them to crime and outrage, Mr. Thomas Brennan, who sat at the council table with Mr. Parnell and the other leaders, was a centre of the Fenian conspiracy; and that Mr. Sheridan, a brother councillor and trusty agent of the League, whose services Mr. Parnell promised to enlist on the side of the Government in their efforts to protect life and property, was enrolled in the assassination

“ society. . . . Its executive, which for a time usurped
“ the functions of the Government, did not trouble itself
“ about the means and instruments employed to enforce
“ the unwritten law. It was enough for the chiefs to be
“ able to boast that, while the law of the land was defied,
“ theirs was implicitly obeyed ; and this was done, if not
“ through the willing submission of the people to the *régime*
“ of their *de facto* rulers, at least through the fear of swift
“ and signal punishment. The League, so far from extin-
“ guishing secret societies, as its advocates professed to
“ believe, revived and stimulated their dormant energies
“ and brought them for the first time into effective combina-
“ tion. . . . It may be remembered that a statement
“ which appeared in the *Times* before Mr. Parnell’s arrest,
“ to the effect that there was reason to believe that the
“ Ribbon and other societies of the same character were
“ affiliated with the League, caused a great outcry and in-
“ dignant repudiations ; but there can be little doubt that
“ the authorities are in possession of information to prove
“ the connection of Ribbonism as well as Fenianism with
“ this revolutionary movement.”

James Carey was a Town Councillor of the Dublin Corporation, a member of the Land League, a Fenian since 1861, treasurer to the Fenian Society, and cognisant of their plots. He was also an ardent and devout Roman Catholic, a member of a religious confraternity, and a constant communicant in the Jesuits’ Church in Dublin. He revealed the identity or close connection of the Land League with the Fenians and the Ribbon Society, and left it to be inferred that they all sprang from the Jesuit Society. What a light did that evidence cast on the mystery called “the Kilmainham Treaty,” in which Mr. Gladstone was the prime mover ! Carey was one of the band of assassins ; and was intimate with Thomas Brennan, a Fenian chief, the paid secretary of the Land League, the companion of Mr. Parnell on his American tour, and the colleague of Parnell, Sexton, and the rest of the Land League execu-

tive. Another Land League organizer was P. J. Sheridan, who was concerned in spreading the assassination organization in the provinces, and, with that object, went about in the garb of a priest. He too was on the executive of the Land League; and his services were offered to, and accepted by the Government, at the time of the Kilmainham Treaty! But the most important revelation of all was that Fenianism, Ribbonism, the Land League, and the "Irish Invincibles," were branches growing out of one stem, and springing from one diabolical root. That stem was consistent with a fervent devotion in Romanism, with attending mass every morning, with frequent confession and communion, and with being a prominent member of a Roman Catholic confraternity. Mr. O'Donnell, M.P., was another fervent Papist. What did the *Times* of February 19 say of him? "Among the possible 'surprises' to which 'the Crown counsel alluded on Saturday, *there may be other identifications of a startling kind.* Mr. O'Donnell, *whose prescience is remarkable in these matters,* and who "sounded a note of warning before the Phoenix Park "tragedy, insisted so strongly last week on the danger of "admitting informer's evidence, that it was impossible not "to be impressed with the conviction that the secrets of "the prison-house were on the point of being let loose." It was also made public that Captain McCafferty, a noted Fenian, was tried and convicted for the raid on Chester Castle in February, 1867, and was sentenced to death. But "the good-hearted Premier of England" (Lord Beaconsfield) had the sentence commuted into a short period of penal servitude, and McCafferty was very soon amnestied with his fellows.¹

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, Feb. 19, 1883.

No. LXXXVII.

ON the last day of February, Frank Byrne was arrested in Paris, for his complicity in the Phoenix Park assassinations. The Ultramontane, or Jesuit organ, the *Univers*, was exasperated, as were also all the Revolutionary organs. On the 4th of March, the *Times* said: "The moderate Republican *National* rebuked the Revolutionist organs for "treating Byrne as a martyr, without waiting for his exculpation, a doctrine under which murder entitles the "murderer to canonization. The Clerical *Univers* insisted "that Byrne was innocent." The *Univers* continued to write in favour of Byrne.

The *Voltaire*, on the 3rd of March, remarked that the Land Leaguers were "elegant gentlemen, but slightly "tainted with religiosity. M. Egan had a priest constantly "living with him, 'Brother' Sheehy, who was also affiliated "to the Land League, of which he was in some sort the "pontiff. . . . They are leavened with fanaticism." It then quoted Mr. Egan's exposition of the policy and composition of the Land League, as communicated by that gentleman in the course of a conversation two years before. "They (the members of the League) have a political and a "religious administrative organization," were Mr. Egan's concluding words. "Behind their chiefs they have their "agents, their bankers, *their bishops, and their priests.*"

In the midst of the panic occasioned by the conspiracy and the murders, the voice of a Roman Catholic bishop was heard from across the Irish Channel. Was it the voice of one who preached "repentance and forgiveness of sins"? Was it the voice of one who said: "Love one another"? Was it the voice of a peacemaker, and of one who "made men of "one mind in a house"? No; Archbishop Croke and Dr. Nulty found an ally and imitator in their brother, the Bishop of Raphoe. He wrote: "The policy of the Government is "evidently a policy of extermination. The easiest way of

"governing a people is evidently to get rid of them. The "resources of a country may remain undeveloped ; but "they will give less trouble in that state. Such is the "policy which the Chief Secretary has built up on a four "hours' visit to Glencolumkill." Nothing had ever been done more calculated to exasperate the people against the law, than the publications of the declarations of innocence said to have been made by some of the condemned men. Those declarations, it was known, were procured by the influence of some of the innumerable priests or chaplains who had identified themselves with the Land League. In the well-known Castleisland case, the use of almost identical expressions in confessions, said to have been made independently by the two men, revealed clearly enough the prompting. Yet the poor criminals did not think that they were speaking a lie at the moment they were going to be hurled before the judgment seat of their Maker. For, by the Roman Catholic catechism, they were taught that, after confession and absolution, a man is "as innocent "as the babe just born."

On the 7th of March, an Irish member, named Dawson, introduced a Bill for the assimilation of the Irish Franchise to the English. A Bill, in other words, to confer an overwhelming power on those classes in Ireland who supported the Land League, who carried on the agitation, and who sheltered the Moonlighters and assassins of the "Irish "Invincibles Society." That measure was supported by Mr. Trevelyan, on the part of Mr. Gladstone's Government! The *Times*, the next morning, reflected the indignation of England : "The Chief Secretary yesterday announced, in "the brief and broken debate on the second reading of Mr. "Dawson's Irish Borough Franchise Bill, that the Ministry "intended to support that measure. We presume the "promised support will be of a strictly 'platonic' character. The Government would find it difficult to justify "any rearrangement of public business for the purpose of "*allowing this part of the Land League policy to be pushed*

"forward. . . . The election of Carey as a Town Councillor of Dublin ought to be a warning against the madness of going down still deeper among the Irish masses for political mandates and ideas. . . . Can any intelligent man doubt that the reduction of the franchise in Ireland would be immediately injurious? If this be so, is there any justification for swamping the orderly and loyal classes in a sea of passionate and ignorant antipathy to order and law?" There seemed to remain but one step more to crown the nefarious conspiracy,—namely, Revolution in Ireland, and separation from England.

The news from Paris of an *émeute* on March 10 (known in England on March 12), which "both the Bonapartist and the Clerical parties were doing their best to keep up," was connected in men's minds with the simmering embers of rebellion in Ireland. The same fire had evidently kindled both. In Paris, the "Reactionary" or Ultramontane organs encouraged the movement, just as they were also busy in finding excuses for the Irish murderers, and in encouraging the Land League agitators. In Paris, the Ultramontane deputies argued in favour of the rebels; just as members of high position in Westminster excused the agitators in Ireland. The *émeute* in Paris was on March 10. On the 15th of March, London was panic-stricken by the attempt to blow up the Local Government offices in Westminster, and to destroy the *Times* office in Play-house Yard. The *Daily Express*, of Dublin, in its remarks of March 19, came very near the truth: "While all eyes are angrily turned upon the Irish party, the person whom we believe to be chiefly responsible for these and such like outrages, escapes. The whole political career of Mr. Gladstone has been one standing argument to the Irish democrats that, if they would bend him to their purpose, they must have recourse to some such tactics. Mr. Gladstone's declaration that the Clerkenwell explosion brought the land question and the Church question within a

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"measurable distance of practical politics, has been ever since the charter and justification of all such ruffianism. *He has taught, not only by his acts but by his words, that if the extreme Irish party desire his assistance in carrying out their revolutionary designs, they must seek it by assassination, outrage, and diabolical wickedness. When this wickedness has reached some superlative and theatrical point, then he steps into the arena, and strikes with his legislative weapons upon the same side.* This is the lesson he has taught to his Irish pupils, and they have not been slow to profit by it. *Thus, Mr. Gladstone has done more to foster and cherish Irish Nihilism than any promoter of disorder with whom we are acquainted, not excepting Mr. Parnell or the editor of the Irish World.*"

Immediately after those explosions in London, by the Irish gang, Dr. Croke, the Archbishop of Cashel, with characteristic haste, at once (on March 19) wrote to the *Freeman's Journal*, enclosing £50 for the "Parnell Testimonial Fund," and announcing that the list of subscribers to that fund would be a correct test of loyalty to the Irish "National" party. The Roman Catholic Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Butler, did the same. Archbishop Croke followed up his letter by ordering a collection to be made in all the churches of the Sees of Cashel and Emly for the Parnell Testimonial Fund.¹ Cardinal McCloskey, in the United States, proved to be much of the same kidney; for he graciously received Sullivan, the president of the Irish National League, and expressed his approval of the proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention. Such, indeed, were nearly all the Roman Catholic prelates. On the 17th of March, those bishops published a correspondence with the Lord Lieutenant, on the distress in Ireland; wherein incentives to crime were mantled under the cloak of charity to the poor. The Government had devised a plan for assisting the poor to emigrate. The bishops strenuously resisted it; was it that they did not wish

¹ *Times*, April 6.

to lose the tools by which they promoted rebellion? They asked instead for loans, and pressed for out-door relief. The Government demurred, and the bishops assembled and passed resolutions: "That to refuse relief to house-holders and landholders, until they become inmates of a workhouse, is, in their judgment, an outrage on humanity and a violation of one of the first duties of a Government; and they say that it is a covert, indirect system, not now used for the first time, of *exterminating the native race of Ireland*. As fathers and protectors of the poor, they deplored and utterly condemned the resolution come to by the Government, and so heartlessly avowed in Parliament, of *sweeping away from a land, by the slow but sure death process of the workhouse* or by wholesale emigration, the labourers and small tenant class, whose holdings are judged insufficient for their entire support." Such resolutions as these, which were passed by bishops, and sent broadcast through the land, were sufficient of themselves to light the flames of rebellion, were it not that fear held back those who were deaf to the moral voice which should have deterred.

On March 26, the Right Hon. W. H. Smith addressed a letter to the *Times*, in which he spoke what nearly every Englishman felt:—

"The Secretary of State is very angry because I connect 'the state of disturbance, of repression, of anxiety, of alarm, and of destruction of property' with a Liberal Government—with the existing Government; and he is angry, not because I said this, but because he knows very well that the great majority of the people of England are of the same mind with me. . . .

"Mr. Gladstone, some time ago, announced publicly that the Clerkenwell explosion first brought the question of the abolition of the Irish Church within the range of practical politics, and it is notorious that this declaration has been referred to over and over again, by Land League and Home Rule speakers, as a warrant for an agitation

" which is certainly inseparably connected with disturbance, anxiety, alarm, and destruction of life and property.

" Mr. Chamberlain, not long ago, declared that the Land League ought not to have been suppressed before it was, because, without its aid, the Land Act could not have been passed.

" Only last May, members of Parliament, who a few days before had been denounced by the Irish Attorney-General as 'steeped to the lips in treason,' were released from prison, in order, apparently, that their assistance might be afforded to the Government in 'tranquillising' Ireland, and in promoting the interests of the Liberal party; and, in order to carry out this transaction, Mr. Forster and Lord Cowper were got rid of.

" Am I very far wrong in suggesting that a policy which recognises agitation and crime as factors in politics with which it is right to deal—a policy which is appealed to by the agitators themselves as a direct incentive to a fresh agitation, 'a renewal of the war'—is responsible for much of the insecurity of life and property which prevails? . . ."

Two days afterwards, Lord Salisbury said, in a speech at Birmingham :—

" You know, at the first, not only that force was not effectively applied, but that *the sympathies of the Government were freely given to the authors of disorder and conspiracy in Ireland.* Those men who contrived the Land League, those men with whom the Kilmainham Treaty was concluded, those men who were in close communication with the leaders of conspiracy and assassination, and who, by credible evidence, at all events are said to have asserted that they could cause assassination to cease—those men, you must never forget, had received *a helping hand and a sympathetic word* from the Radical party in the Government of this country. . . . By the application of a most rigorous coercion law, order has been restored. If that coercion is maintained, if there be a firm and just administration of power, if Government can be counted

"on, we all of us hope for the gradual improvement of the
"state of Ireland and the temper of the Irish people
"towards the Government of this country ; but *yet this is*
"*certain, as the result of the policy which the Government*
"*have pursued, that the feeling against England in that*
"*country is deeper, more extended, more emphatic now than it*
"*has ever been since Parliamentary government began in this*
"*country. . . .* The Upas-tree (of Protestant ascendancy)
"has been cut down ; and Ireland has been governed
"according to Irish ideas."

At the beginning of April, the police, with great prudence and wise abstention, succeeded in making the arrest of Whitehead and many others who, with consummate brutality, had devised a plot for the destruction, not of public characters, but of the general public. It was proposed to place, in various parts of London, in lodgings, in hotels, and coffee-houses, large quantities of nitro-glycerine ; and, on an appointed day and hour, the machinery was to be set in motion in all those places, and the criminals were to escape, while the whole of London was to be reduced to ruins. The populace was panic-struck at these revelations. Public opinion loudly demanded—and the fire of the people's indignation would brook no delay—a strenuous measure of suppression adequate to such enormity of crime. On April 9, the Explosives Bill was hurried through the two Houses of Parliament, and received the royal assent on the 10th. It was but one hour running through all its stages in the House of Commons, and less time was found necessary in the Lords.

It was instructive to observe the attitude of the Irish papers on the receipt of that astounding intelligence. On April 14, the *Irish World* said : "The dynamite scare has thrown England into a veritable spasm of terror. If the enemy be panic-stricken by *one* attempt at skirmishing, what will be his alarm when, not only London, but *every* large English city, is the scene of dozens of explosions ? The men who have resolved to fight England with

"dynamite, know the risks they run. They have made up their minds to incur those risks, and it is not to be supposed that they will be deterred by an Act of Parliament. If the Government arrests every dynamite soldier on English soil, what guarantee has it that their places will not be taken by others equally fearless and resolute in self-defence? England will be compelled to loosen her grasp on Ireland." The *Nation*, edited by John Devoy, disclaimed sympathy with the "child's play" of dynamite, which had brought contempt upon the Irish race. The first duty was to send the "toyshop dynamiters" about their business, and establish a central authority and a general plan, to avoid random work. The question of dynamite or torpedo force, as well as the method or place of using them, were merely questions of expediency and opportunity. "If English mobs should take to murdering our people," it said, "let the punishment be such as will startle the world, and teach a lesson that will be remembered for all time. If our people are butchered in England, let there be no impotent indignation meetings and high-sounding resolutions in America. Crimes of blood are not punished by words in any civilized community. Our power of punishing murder is as boundless as the atrocity of the race that holds us down." The comments of the *Boston Pilot* upon this point were identical in spirit.

The connection between the Fenians and Roman Catholics was well known. Yet, when Whitehead was apprehended, with the nitro-glycerine which he had manufactured in Birmingham, it was not at first suspected that he was a devout Roman Catholic. Such he was, however; and his devoutness in Romanism did not interfere with his ferocity in planning wholesale murders.¹ On the trial of Brady, it appeared that James Carey, the Irish Invincible, and then informer, was also a devout Roman Catholic, and one of the chief officers of a religious confraternity.

¹ *St James's Gazette*, April 12.

He added, in his evidence, "The confraternity met once "a month, and the rule was that the members should "receive the communion once a month." He was also a Fenian, and had sat on "a court-martial of the society." He was also "principal paymaster of the club of assassins"; and held up the white handkerchief as the signal for Mr. Burke's murder in the Phoenix Park. He was also a member of the Dublin Corporation; and although he had been, and was, planning a number of assassinations, he twice proposed resolutions condemning the murders; and received holy communion as a devout Roman Catholic and member of a religious confraternity. Brady himself, the convict, was a devout Roman Catholic,² and was so highly esteemed by the priests, that he was office-bearer in Anne Street Roman Catholic Chapel, in Dublin. For nine years he held that office, and made all the collections. And he was an Irish Invincible!

How was it that Roman Catholicism and assassination went together? We doubtless remember the Jesuit doctrines, so often proclaimed by Mariana, Suarez, and indeed all the Casuists, that it is lawful, and even praiseworthy, to remove "tyrants"; and that all who oppose the Roman Catholic religion are *ipso facto* tyrants? At the trial of Curley, that assassin, before sentence was passed, made a speech, in which he admitted his participation in the murders, and the plots to murder; and yet he denied all guilt, because "they were clean crimes." He spoke of himself as an honest man, although he had admitted that he was steeped in the blood of his neighbours; and he said: "I admit that I am a member of the Invincible "society, unhesitatingly; no man will ever be able to point "the finger of scorn at me, and *say a word against my character, moral or otherwise.*" On the trial of Timothy Kelly, on April 23, Carey denied that "murder" was one of the objects of the secret society of Invincibles; he persisted in calling it the "removal" of obnoxious persons; and he

² *Times*, April 20.

denominated the whole system of terrorism and murder, a "warfare"; adding, with a sardonic smile, "all is fair in "love and war." At the trial of Michael Fagan, on the 25th, James Carey said, in the witness-box, "He was "aware that there was a commandment: Thou shalt not "kill; but he did not consider the *removal of tyrants* was "murder in this sense. He did not even consider it a sin, "at the time he was engaged with the Invincibles. He "simply considered it justifiable warfare." On the 7th of May, at the Dublin murder trials, Timothy Kelly was in the dock, and James Carey gave the following evidence: "*The only source of regret* he now experienced in regard "to his connection with all this crime was, he confessed, "that it had been the means of placing him in his present "position. The late Chief Secretary, Mr. Forster, was, in "his opinion, a decidedly obnoxious person. This was "'the most polite term' he could call him by. 'He was "'to be *removed* out of town.' He would not call it "slaughter—*removal* was, in his opinion, the correct term. "There were so many ways, he smilingly added, of killing "a dog, besides choking him, that he would not call it "murder. He would not admit that word, although he "would go the length of the expression 'depriving him "'of life.' *He had not yet discovered it to be a sin to be "engaged in this.* All was fair in warfare—political war—fare—and it was not alone the opinion of the four on the "executive of this conspiracy, but it was the opinion of "the majority of their countrymen, that this *removal* was "no sin."

On April 20, the Pope's organ, the *Journal de Rome*, gave the following warning, in allusion to these murders, which was noteworthy: "Let no one deceive himself; the "discoveries, which are being made, almost daily, by the "police, are but the smallest incidents (*minimes détails*) "of a gigantic action, which will burst out everywhere at "once, at the appointed day and hour."

During the night before the 20th, the Parliament House

at Quebec was burned down by the Fenians. The same day, the authorities discovered a plot to destroy Windsor Castle, and other places. They also learned that the armoury at Richmond was to be attacked ; as also the armoury at Romford.

NO. LXXXVIII.

ON April 26, 1883, the Irish Convention was held in Philadelphia. Father Walsh was the treasurer. Father O'Reilly reported the "platform." Father McKenna, and Father Connerty, and numerous other Roman Catholic priests, took part in the proceedings. Thomas Brennan spoke and said : " It has created a spirit in Ireland which " laughs at gaols and Coercion Acts, and which will free it " from the power of landlordism which England exercises " over the country. The object of the League was to " obtain the land of the country for the rightful owners, " the people. The name of the League may be changed, " but its object must remain the same. The war must con- " tinue till every shred of landlordism has been swept out." Mr. Alexander Sullivan then took up the parable : " It was " the noble boast of a young patriot about to ascend the " scaffold, that he wished to procure for his country the " guarantee which Washington had procured for America. " In the spirit in which Emmett died, we live ; in his words, " we are determined to deliver our native country from the " yoke of foreign and unrelenting tyranny, and to place " her *independence* beyond the reach of any power on " earth."

The objects of the " Irish National League of America," were : " earnestly and actively to sustain the Irish National " League in Ireland, with moral and material aid, in " achieving self-government for Ireland ; . . . to hurt " the enemy where he will feel it most, by refusing to " purchase English manufactures ; to abolish Irish sectional " feeling, animosities of province and creed, and to keep

"alive the holy flame of Irish nationality, while performing faithfully the duties of American citizenship."

Then they "Resolved,—That as the manufactures of Great Britain are the chief source of her material greatness, already declining under the influence of American competition, we earnestly counsel our countrymen in Ireland to buy nothing in England which they can produce in Ireland, or procure from America or France.

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"Resolved by the Irish-American people, in Convention assembled,—That the English Government in Ireland, originating in usurpation, and perpetuated by force, having failed to discharge any duties of Government, and never having acquired the consent of the governed, has no moral right whatever to exist in Ireland; and that it is the duty of the Irish race throughout the world to sustain the Irish people in the employment of all legitimate means to substitute for it *national self-government*.

"Resolved,—That we pledge our unqualified, constant support, moral and material, to our countrymen in Ireland, in their efforts to recover national self-government."

The *New York Times* and other newspapers were indignant with the Convention, and with all the reverend gentlemen who guided its deliberations, for "its failure to employ even the mildest form of censure of the deeds of violence and mischief to which certain Irishmen resorted in their attempts to secure freedom and equal rights in Ireland"; whereby "the Convention has disappointed many whose hearty sympathies were heretofore enlisted in the struggles of the Irish people. This omission, which was clearly intentional, will have the immediate effect of creating in the public mind a suspicion," etc.

During the conspiracy of persons in high position in the State, with the Jesuits and Roman Catholic dignitaries, to bring about the independence of Ireland as a Roman Catholic State, Russia saw that her interests lay in the same direction, and was tempted to join in the conspiracy.

The *St. Petersburg Gazette* thus sounded the preparatory note:¹ "Like all the European States, Russia has been the enemy of every other country, and may be so again; but she has only two enemies with whom she will inevitably have to enter into a struggle for life or death. These are Germany and England. The conflict between the Slavs and the Germans is a historical and unavoidable necessity. . . . As to the coming struggle with England, Russia should prepare herself for it by a *rapprochement* with Ireland. The United States of America were able to gain their freedom without foreign help; and the liberation of Ireland is only a question of time. . . . *Ireland's victory will be made the more certain and speedy by the fact that the majority in England, as well as in Ireland, will certainly demand before long the establishment of a separate national Parliament in Dublin. Whether the result will be the autonomy or the complete independence of Ireland, England will in either case be COMPLETELY PARALYSED AS REGARDS HER ACTION ABROAD. It is, therefore, undoubtedly the direct interest of Russia that Ireland should come victorious out of the struggle in which she is at present engaged. We need not openly assist her; this would be useless, and, indeed, impossible. But it is our duty to enter into friendly relations with Ireland, which would be the more advantageous to us inasmuch as they would improve our relations with the Catholics generally.*"

The policy of the Ultramontanes had been revealed eight days previously in the following terms: "The isolation of Italy, after the occupation of Tunis by the French, raised the hopes of the Ultramontane faction at the Vatican, which has been untiring in its efforts to compel Leo XIII. to assume a hostile attitude to Italian nationality. The blow inflicted on Italian prestige, after the occupation of Tunis, was considered a favourable opportunity for initiating a campaign in favour of a Papal restoration. The simultaneous despatch to Rome of a

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, April 28.

“ Russian, a Prussian, and an English representative to
“ re-establish diplomatic relations between St. Petersburg
“ and Berlin, and *Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet* and the Curia,
“ very naturally contributed, to a great extent, to foster the
“ hopes of the Papal partisans. Leo. XIII., who since his
“ accession to power had wisely used a very moderate
“ language when speaking of Italian affairs, assumed at
“ once a violent and aggressive tone; and the clerical
“ journals of Rome, France, Austria, and Germany,
“ answering to a watchword, advocated the necessity of
“ Europe interfering in favour of at least a partial restora-
“ tion of the temporal power. Cardinal Czaki, then the
“ Papal Nuncio at Paris, was one of the most active pro-
“ moters of an anti-Italian league; and *his friendship with*
“ *M. Gambetta* naturally aroused the suspicions of the
“ Italian Cabinet. The situation was critical. Italy, an
“ eminently Conservative nation, found herself abandoned
“ by the Conservative Powers of Europe; *clerical influences*
“ *provoked the Italian Irredenta movements and fostered*
“ *anti-French feeling, for no other object in the world but to*
“ *isolate Italy—nay, to surround her by enemies.*”

That astute diplomatic scheme was frustrated in all save one particular. Relations were for a time partially established between Russia and the Vatican; but the people of England would not hear of diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the Court of St. James; so that Mr. Gladstone had to give up his part in the programme, and be content with rewarding Mr. Errington with a baronetcy. Above all, the alliance, offensive and defensive, between Germany, Austria, and Italy, put an end, for the present, to the Papal scheme. It was expressly intended by Prince Bismarck to do so.

At the same time as the Convention was held in Philadelphia, the Land League agitation was revived at the Ballinacurra racecourse, where priests of the names of Browne, Humphreys, and Kennedy made inflammatory speeches. There were also meetings at Duncannon, Co.

Wexford, and at Maryborough. The Roman Catholic Canon Doyle presided over the meeting at Duncannon. Outrages were at the same time reported from places which until that time had been absolutely crimeless. But the Pope, on the 11th of May, despatched an Encyclical to each of the Irish bishops, in which he said : "It is therefore the duty of all the clergy, and especially of the bishops, to curb the excited feelings of the multitude, and to take every opportunity, with timely exhortations, to recall them to the justice and moderation which are necessary in all things, that so they may not be led away by greed of gain to mistake evil for good, or to place their hopes of public prosperity in the shame of criminal acts. Hence it follows that it is not permitted to any of the clergy to depart from these rules themselves, or to take part in, or in any way promote, movements inconsistent with prudence and with the duty of calming men's minds. . . . In these circumstances it must be evident to your lordship that the collection called the 'Parnell 'Testimonial Fund' cannot be approved by this Sacred Congregation."

The Pope might have found out, what other men had before perceived, that if the Roman Catholic Church went hand in hand with the revolution in Ireland, the day would come when the Roman Catholic priests would have to pull up ; and then the one party would hate her for having gone so far, while the other party would despise her for refusing to go further. On the 23rd, an acute politician in an official position wrote from Rome : "His Holiness, following the example set him from Downing Street, has waited too long ; nor do I think the form of the letter a very happy one. . . . The letter should have condemned the political action of the bishops and priests, and forbidden all collections save for religious purposes. Instead of this, it singled out Parnell, and pointed at his subscriptions, *and gave life to what was dead or dying*. Parnell has gained in money," etc. Again, on the 29th of May :

"I remember very distinctly that you made to me (at the end of 1874) the observation you wrote to Father —; viz., 'The day will come when the revolution will go further than you dare to go; then some will despise you, because you advance no further; while the rest will hate you, because you have gone so far.'"

On April 27, the world learned, through the Pope's organ, the *Journal de Rome*, that Archbishop Croke had been summoned to Rome "to confer with the Pope on Irish matters." But a telegram was, on that day, sent from Rome to the *Times*, announcing that the Pope was displeased with Dr. Croke, "the leader of the revolutionary party in the Irish Church," and that the Pope had already administered "sharp reprimands to him, which had remained unheeded; and he had therefore been summoned to Rome *ad audiendum verbum*;" which meant, to hear a word or two from an aggrieved Holiness. On May 1, Dr. Croke arrived in Rome. On May 11 the Pope's circular letter was sent off, and Dr. Croke suddenly left Rome on the morning of May 12, although the Pope had expressed a desire to see him again.¹ Directly afterwards, we heard of Dr. Croke receiving an ovation at the Irish College in Paris²: "The Archbishop was cheered again and again by the young men. His lordship acknowledged the compliment paid him, in a short, pithy speech, in which he said: 'I come back from Rome as I went to Rome—unchangeable and unchanged;' a sentiment which seemed to approve itself to the minds of his audience, judging by the applause with which it was received. Afterwards, Dr. Croke said that many of the statements in regard to him were false. 'They asserted,' he remarked, 'that I was received coldly at Rome, when the fact is I was never received there more warmly in my life. I was not summoned to Rome *ad audiendum verbum*. I was rebuked neither by the Supreme Pontiff nor by any member of the College of Cardinals. In my

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, May 21.

² *St. James's*, May 21.

“‘interview with Pope Leo, I simply explained the Irish
“‘question in all its varying phases, and my explanations
“‘were listened to with respect.’”

On May 24, we heard that he had received another ovation ; while a third was in store for him : “Archbishop Croke, on returning from Rome, was last night serenaded “at his hotel, at Kingstown. Replying to an address, he “said he had been summoned to Rome to give his views “on the state of Ireland, and he had no reason to be “dissatisfied with the result. Many reports had been “spread during his absence, but they were perfectly false.”

At Thurles he received the most significant ovation of all. As a prophet is always without honour in his own country, it was clear that Dr. Croke participated not at all in the prophetic character—nor yet in the apostolic.

On May 16, a meeting of the Land League was held to consider the Pope’s circular letter ; when Mr. Mayne, M.P., speaking as a Roman Catholic, said : that “*the first article “in every Irishman’s creed was the independence of Ireland.*” They regarded the Pope as the head of the Catholic “Church, and Parnell as the head of their political Church.” Mr. Kenny, M.P., called the Pope’s letter “a shameful insult “to the priests and people of Ireland, as the national “movement was not divorced from their religion, but was “*in intimate alliance with their religion.*” Davitt and Mr. Healy, M.P., wrote to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, expressing, in strong language, their condemnation of the Papal circular. The result of the expression of these opinions was, that *the Government at once rescinded the permission, which they had given those gentlemen, to visit Parnell and Co. in prison.*

The *Times* of May 19 announced that, as had been calculated and expected, the Pope’s circular had given an increased impulse to the Parnell Testimonial Fund. It also informed us that masses for the repose of the soul of Curley, the murderer of Lord F. Cavendish and Mr. Burke, had been said in the Roman Catholic churches of

Liverpool, while all who attended those masses were tokens of mourning. Throughout Ireland, also, the priests reminded their congregations, from the altars, of the duty of subscribing to the Parnell Testimonial Fund; and after mass, the priest stood by the collector at the church door to receive the subscriptions from the people as they left the church. That was the effect of the Papal circular. Patrick Egan, the treasurer of the Land League, went further, in his intimate knowledge of the Nationalists, priests, and Revolutionists, and said that the Papal circular was calculated to unite the Orangemen with the Papists and Fenians, against their common enemy England.¹ The Irish newspapers made a curious revelation, which astonished no one acquainted with the Jesuits' mode of action. They asserted that, with the circular of May 11, the Pope had sent out another letter to all the bishops, marked: *Reservatissimo*, in which he gave *very secret instructions* how they were to act; while he said that the circular of May 11 contained only the ostensible instructions, to beguile the Protestant people of England. On May 24, at all events, the following intelligence was conveyed through the *Times*: "The Parnell Fund now amounts to £10,195 4s. 2d. Further contributions 'from the priests and people' of different places are acknowledged to-day. It might be supposed, from such acknowledgment, that the circular is a dead letter; but this would be inconsistent with the practice of submission to authority in the Church and the declarations made as to the document itself, that the bishops would subordinate their work to that of the sovereign Pontiff. *There is no hurry to testify their humility and obedience, as on other occasions, when similar communications were addressed to them; and it is a remarkable fact, that none of the prelates, whose names appear upon the committee for collecting the fund, have written to have them withdrawn.*"

¹ *Standard*, May 22, 1883.

If the prelates and priests were submissive and obedient to the Pope's commands, His Holiness' real commands must have been contained in a secret circular, while the one that was published was but a cloak and pretext. On the 13th of November, a letter from Rome, which appeared in the *Times*, informed us that, when it was *supposed* that the Parnell Testimonial Fund was condemned by the Pope, it amounted to only £5,000. At the beginning of November it was £30,000. The writer added: "The Irish bishops and priests, with few exceptions, now patronise 'the Parnellite candidates, and promote the establishment 'of branches of the Irish National League. That rebel-lion in Ireland is not foreign to the views of the Leaguers, 'is evident from the language of the speakers at public "meetings of the League."

NO. LXXXIX.

THE *Times* of August 20, 1883, remarked that "the limited "time which remained for completing the business of the "session, has been devoted exclusively to Irish Bills," and "they contain great concessions, not only political but "financial." In the Tramways Bill, the Government "waived their own fixed principle, and consented to apply "another principle, which has been pressed upon them.' By this wonderful and even outrageous attempt at conciliation, as the *Times* remarked, the "Nationalists felt "elated at success, and became confident in their power to "obtain the full measure of their demands, by pursuing, "with persistent energy, the course of action which had "proved so far successful." It continued: "But this "measure is not the only part of the proceedings of the "House of Commons on Friday night which is regarded "with satisfaction. *A glimmer of Home Rule* is discovered "in the declaration which Mr. Chamberlain is reported to "have made—that: 'It is the earnest desire of the Govern- "ment that Ireland should have a larger measure of self-

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“government; I trust that Parliament will not separate
“‘without giving it.’ . . . That desire for local self-
“government is the settled passion of the Irish heart. *This*
“*so-called passion was, until the concessions of the last few*
“*years were made, a hopeless if not a hollow sentiment, and*
“*whatever strength and stability it may now have is entirely*
“*due to the policy adopted by successive Governments.*”

Lord Salisbury, on the other hand, thus explained the position of affairs at Reading, on October 30: “I am told
“that such a strange coincidence of opinion threatens to
“happen again, and that there will be an irresistible desire
“on the part of Mr. Parnell to vote for the Government in
“all critical divisions; and, on the other side, by a strange
“coincidence, there will be an irresistible desire on the part
“of the Government to yield a portion of Home Rule to
“Mr. Parnell. But this portion of Home Rule, if rumour
“is correct, *will be ingeniously veiled. It will be called a*
“*system of county government.* You will observe that if the
“power of taxation and of local government is conceded
“to those who are hostile to the connection with England,
“it requires no great foresight to predict that the time
“must come when the pressure of their action, as against
“those with whom they differ in their own country, and as
“against the Government of England, will make the rela-
“tions between the two countries almost intolerable, and,
“at all events, will give enormous advantage to the clamour
“for Home Rule. . . . I look upon the matter with some
“apprehension, because *I do not know who it is that is*
“*governing us in this matter.* I know that Lord Hartington
“has said that it would be madness—madness, mind—to
“give an extension of local government to Ireland, until
“Ireland has given pledges that she would not use it to
“weaken the connection between her and this country.”

That same evening there was published a letter of Michael Davitt to the Canadians, dated September 15, suggesting to them the propriety of not allowing the Governor-General (Lord Lansdowne) to “come back to

"Erin in a hurry." The same evening, also, there occurred, at eight p.m., the explosions, by dynamite, on two parts of the Underground Railway. These were warnings to a reluctant British nation that, if they should refuse to grant the utmost demands of the Irish, London would be wrecked, and a destructive panic caused in all our great towns. The *Times* of "All Saints' Day" aptly expressed the indignation of the English people: "The guilt of "agrarian or political murder, deep as it is, pales beside "the cruelty and baseness of attempts to strike terror into "a nation by spreading indiscriminate ruin among masses "of innocent and irresponsible people."

More intimately connected with that subject than appeared on the surface, was the announcement, on Nov. 8, 1883, that Cardinal McCabe and the Irish bishops had "handed over to the Jesuit body the direction of the "Catholic University in Stephen's Green," which was to be re-opened under their control on the succeeding Monday. The notice continued: "Some of the most eminent Jesuits "in Ireland will be associated with the college, the teaching "of which will be *of a decidedly NATIONAL character*." It will be remembered that Mr. Forster, in the previous August, stated that "the Government intend to encourage "the training, by help of Government money, of the Roman "Catholic teachers, even though the training will have to "be conducted, to a great extent, under the superintendence of the Roman Catholic clergy and bishops."

Would you know the effect of that teaching? Bear in mind the advice of the Jesuit Rector to a Conservative member of Parliament, to make the amnesty of the Fenian prisoners part of his platform. Consider also the meaning of this remarkable fact, which occurred on Nov. 25: "At "St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, and at all, or very "nearly all, the Roman Catholic churches in London, "masses were said for the repose of the souls of Allen, "Larkin, and O'Brien, who were executed at Manchester on "the 23rd of November, 1867, for complicity in the murder

"of Sergeant Brett, during the rescue of the Fenian leaders Kelly and Deasy from the police van. Masses were offered in several Roman Catholic churches throughout the country with the same object." Or consider the character of the riots at Wexford :¹ "A mob attacked the theatre, where an evangelistic service had been held. They broke open the door, burned the Bibles and all the other books, and attempted to burn the building. They then took possession of the town, wrecking two Protestant churches and a Methodist chapel, and breaking the windows of the houses of nearly all the Protestant inhabitants. Women, who attended the meeting, had their dresses torn off, and men were beaten and stoned, several being severely wounded. The Protestant shopkeepers were also boycotted." The "serious riots" at Newry, on Dec. 2, bore the same character: "Mobs paraded the streets, stoning and otherwise maltreating Protestants. One man was stabbed, and several persons were badly cut about the head. Many windows were smashed, and the disturbance continued till a late hour."

That the Government were not averse to such proceedings, appeared from the account of the rival meetings, Nationalist and Loyalist, at Dromore, County Fermanagh, in the *Times* of Jan. 1, 1884. "The protest, registered in the names of 10,000 or 12,000 yeomen of the premier province, against any attempt to foist the doctrines of the self-styled Nationalists on the men of Ulster, is emphatic and unmistakable; nay, more, it carries with it the warning that a feeble and vacillating Government may connive at an objectionable policy being carried to dangerous extremes. Most men who believe in equal justice for all, will say with good reason that the Government are openly coquetting with the Irish agitators when they suppress a loyal procession in Derry, and not only sanction, but send vast forces of troops to protect, a disloyal meeting in Tyrone."

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, Dec. 3, 1883.

The Hon. Col. Knox took the chair at the Loyalist meeting, and said: "Lord Spencer, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, allowed sedition on the hill opposite, where a meeting was announced simply to allow the member for the county, Mr. Biggar, to speak. Why did the Lord Lieutenant allow sedition in Dromore, while not allowing it in other places? Again, at Derry, when the peaceable apprentice boys and Protestants met together the other day to attend the worship of their God and to celebrate the shutting of the gates, they were prevented. . . . They should remember that Mr. Gladstone told them he would *cut down the Upas-tree of Protestantism*. He had fulfilled part of his promise, and he was carrying it out further in trying to reduce the franchise, so as to hand over the Loyalists body and soul to the rebels."

The result of the rival meetings on the first day of the New Year, was "serious disturbances." There were in the town one thousand soldiers, and police innumerable, and, in addition, detachments of infantry and cavalry. Police were also stationed at various points in the county." Nevertheless, a collision took place between the rival parties. The "Hussars and Lancers" obeyed their orders and charged the Loyalists, "wounding several. . . . Three Nationalists were arrested for having arms, and were afterwards discharged." The police also wounded "two Protestants," and the police "were blamed for using such violence." But they were under orders, and obeyed the commands *of the Government*.

Mr. Gladstone's "remedial legislation," and his numerous concessions to the Roman Catholics, and his ruining of the Protestant landlords, did not, then, after all, pacify Ireland. We passed his Land Bill, because he urged that no price was too great to pay for a contented, happy, peaceful, and loyal Ireland. But where is the content? where the happiness and peace? where the loyalty? Are Phoenix Park murders, and riots at Wexford, Newry, and Dromore the signs thereof? If more than a thousand soldiers,

Besides outlying detachments of infantry and cavalry, and numerous police, were unable to prevent a collision, was Ireland peaceful? or was it in a state of civil war? If the Legislature had known that this would have been the result, would they have agreed to Mr. Gladstone's "remedial legislation"? No; and, as the *St. James's Gazette* remarked: these facts "proved that the persuasions and "prophecies, by which Mr. Gladstone moved an unwilling "Legislature to pass his Land Bills, were either senseless "or *insincere*. . . . The argument is, that a man of "Mr. Gladstone's genius could never be so grossly mistaken "as our theory would make him out to have been; while "it does happen that *men of his kind of genius do sometimes "think themselves entitled to use a little guile*." The guile, on that occasion, resulted in the spoliation of the Protestant landlords, according to Tyrconnel's programme. But what shall we say of the guile which "openly coquetted "with the Irish agitators, when the Government suppressed "a loyal procession in Derry, and sent strong bodies of "troops to protect a disloyal meeting in Tyrone"? Was not that a guile which pandered to the men who were designated in the House of Commons, by a law-officer of the Crown, as "the associates of murder, and steeped to the "lips in treason"? For a century we have had experience of concessions made to the Irish Romanists. Pitt's concession to them, to form volunteer corps, was rewarded by the rebellion of 1798, as a direct result. Then there was an agitation for some years, which, in 1829, ended in the grant of "Catholic Emancipation." That naturally led to O'Connell's agitation for the repeal of the Union of Ireland and England. The sweeping concessions of Mr. Gladstone have led—to what? Not to content and loyalty. While the unhappy agreement of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury, to increase the Parnellite party to ninety members, will lead, most probably, to the loss of Ireland, and the creation of a hostile bulwark on the flank of England.

The Pope identified himself with the aggressive move-

ment of the Repealers in Ireland. A telegram from Rome on January 7, 1884, in the *Times*, gave the following intelligence: "Canon Brosnan, the parish priest of Cahirciveen, in Ireland, the birth-place of Daniel O'Connell, "who has raised a considerable sum of money, with the "object of erecting a church dedicated to the Holy Cross "and in commemoration of O'Connell's services to Ireland, "was recently received in audience by the Pope. His "Holiness, it is said, warmly praised the project, and spoke "very highly of the great agitator, whom he had seen at a "sitting of the House of Commons in 1848. It is further "reported that the Pope subsequently transmitted to Canon "Brosnan his written approval and benediction of the work "he had undertaken, and alluded to O'Connell as '*Re-* "*ligionis Catholicæ strenuus vindex.*' His Holiness, more- "over, it is said, gave his blessing to all the contributors to "the fund for the building of the church, promising himself "to furnish the first stone and to depute *the Archbishop of* "*Cashel* to perform the ceremony of laying it."

On the same day, Davitt received an Address from the Mayor, Aldermen, and Town Councillors of Newport, County Tipperary, in which they promised to use every effort to obtain independence for Ireland. Davitt said in reply that the work of his life had been "to end a detest- "able alien rule in Ireland, and make Ireland the mistress "of her own destinies." At Clonmel, he asked: "What "do we mean by self-government for Ireland? Laws made "in Ireland by Irishmen for Irishmen; laws made to be "observed, and not to be despised or condemned." That was the aim of Davitt, the right-hand man of Parnell; and such, too, was the ultimate end of Parnell and the Irish party, as it has been, for two centuries, the aim of the Jesuit Society.

On the 14th of January, 1884, the *Philadelphia Times* reported an interview with Monsignor Corcoran, who had just returned from Rome, and said that "Mr. Parnell was "regarded without any disfavour at Rome; and that it was

"well understood that the Pope's circular had been intended solely for the clergy." The Pope's newspaper, the *Journal de Rome*, of December 7, 1883, had gone further; for, quoting from the *United Irishman* without a word of reprobation, it said: "Our friends in London are requested to furnish us with the names and addresses, as well as biographies, of the jury empanelled to try O'Donnell (the murderer of Carey), so that we may be in a position to prepare their obituary notices!"

Is it not very manifest that the whole evil has sprung from the Romanist system? The murderers have been taught to regard themselves as heroes, who were fighting for the independence of their country, some of whom were wounded and fell in the struggle. Whenever a landlord or an official of the Government was killed, they exulted in what they deemed the success of a righteous act; the "removal" of a tyrant. Any other murder, or any other crime, was similarly rejoiced in; and the murderer, having gone to confession and received absolution, died with a lie in his mouth, vowing that he was "innocent of the crime." In the middle of January, 1884, Lord Allington touched upon this fact in his speech at Dorchester. He said that "the murderers of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke said, 'We have nothing to ask forgiveness for. You English people send your soldiers into the field, and they die in battle, and you call them heroes. We consider you tyrants, and we die for our country, and have nothing to ask forgiveness for.' Now mark this; if this sentiment were confined to those four men, it would not signify; but I know, and Her Majesty's Government know, at this moment, there are tens and hundreds of thousands who are imbued with these feelings, and who would to-morrow hear with exultation of the murder of another representative of the Queen's Government in Ireland. I ask if these people are to be trusted? Is it right at this moment to lower the franchise in Ireland?"

No. XC.

AT the beginning of March, 1884, the *Times* admitted that, in Ireland, there were "no buyers of land, either in "the Landed Estates Court, or by private contract." No capitalist would invest in a security which was continually threatened with unjust interference. Lord Devon's liberal offer proved that the tenants would not come forward to buy land which they were taught to believe they would soon have for nothing. Davitt told them not to buy, even when the landlords should come to them, hat in hand, begging of them to take the land on their own terms; and he promised them that when the Democracy should have the power, which they would under the promised Reform Bill, they would have it all their own way. The result of this was that the landlords were grievously impoverished; their land was unsaleable; while the tenant's interest in the land was continually rising in value. The tenant's interest in farms sold for 26 years' purchase, and in some cases as high as 35 years' purchase of the rent; while the fee-simple would not bring, to the landlord, 11 years' purchase. That was the result of a measure which Ministers had declared would not injure the property of the landlord! Yet it was openly proclaimed, on March 7, that the party of Parnell were preparing for another great agitation in Ireland, in order to reopen the land question!

We imagined that Mr. Gladstone was fully cognisant of the move. The Rev. Father Hogan, Professor of Theology at St. Sulpice, declared that "Mr. Gladstone has promised "this much (Home Rule), and he is engaged on *further* "plans, which are to work in the same direction." He also counted on Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Trevelyan, as well as Mr. Gladstone, as "friends of Ireland."¹ Tynan, the famous "No 1," made also the following statement.²

¹ *Times*, April 21, 1884.

² *St. James's Gazette*, April 28.

"Behind me there is a force, before which England will one day tremble. *There are men, in our movement, of high position, intellectually as well as socially, conspirators whose left hands will not know what their right hands are doing; and daring soldiers, who are prepared to lay down their lives chivalrously for the cause of the Fatherland.*"

At the close of the sitting of May 27, 1884, Mr. Trevelyan, the Chief Secretary for Ireland, laid upon the Table, his scheme for the purchase, by the tenants, of the lands of Ireland. The annual sales in the Landed Estates Court from 1859 to 1879, averaged £1,500,000. The average annual sales of 1881, 1882, and 1883, were £250,000, of which a large proportion was urban property, outside the operation of the Land Act; and the Chief Secretary said that three such years worked as wide a ruin as there was in 1849. The Land Commissioners, Mr. Trevelyan proposed, shall in each case satisfy themselves that "the price is fair," and that "the transaction is one which will benefit *the tenant.*" Yet one of the Commissioners, Mr. Gray had said, at a public meeting:¹ "If Griffith's valuation of a farm be 20s. an acre, and the taxes 3s., then 8s. 6d. would be a fair rent." That is to say, subtract the amount of taxes from Griffith's valuation, and halve the remainder to find the fair rent! It was, presumed, on that principle that the Commissioners had reduced a rent of £23 16s. 3d. to £13 15s.; and £13 5s. to £4 10s.; and £42 9s. 10d. to £29. There was also another principle on which they always acted: they always reduced rents by about 25 per cent., whether they were high or low. Yet Michael Davitt published a Declaration, which appeared in the *Times* of June 3, in which he said: "Landlordism is not yet abolished—not by a long way. *Some hundreds of landlords have been impoverished, it is true; a few hundreds more are threatened with bankruptcy; and these, with others who are heavily encumbered, are agitating for laws which will enable them to sell portions of their*

¹ *Times*, June 2.

"estates to the tenants thereon ; but not more than 50 per cent. of the landlords have suffered more than a 20 per cent. reduction of rack-rents, while but one estate in the whole of Ireland has yet been disposed of to the tenants "as a direct result of the land agitation."

On June 8, the Nationalist party proposed to hold a "demonstration," or meeting, in Newry ; and the Loyalists intended to make a counter demonstration. On June 7, the Lord Lieutenant issued a proclamation prohibiting the Loyalist demonstration, but not forbidding the Nationalist meeting,—to the great delight and triumph of the rebels. Nevertheless, a riot took place after the meeting. The Nationalists threw stones at the Orange Hall, and the Orangemen retaliated. The police interfered for the protection of the Nationalist procession. In half an hour the procession returned, and, in passing the Orange Hall, a priest, who was in a break, stood up and made gestures, when volleys of stones were thrown at the Hall, breaking every window in it, and wounding many persons inside. Some shots were then fired by the processionists, and replied to from the Hall ; then the police burst into the Hall and made sixty-seven arrests ; while, to maintain the appearance of impartiality, they took up two Nationalists. But the police had to obey the orders of the Government.

On the 16th of June, the Duke of Argyll raised a debate on the Land Act, in the House of Lords, which he did, as usual, in a speech of logical argument and powerful eloquence, delivered in his very effective manner. Lord Carlingford admitted that the position of affairs was intolerable ; and it was shown that, while the Irish farmer had improved from 1849 to 1869, he was annually and daily becoming less prosperous and less improved from 1870, the date of Mr. Gladstone's first Land Act ; the acreage under crops had diminished, and the numbers of live stock had fallen off. Landlords, who had been deprived of the major part of their interest in their estates, had ceased to effect improvements ; and the tenants had done absolutely nothing

to supply the want. The incomes of the landlords had been seriously reduced, while the price of the tenant-right had risen enormously. Occupancy was at its full value, ownership was destroyed, and capital fled. Worse than all, according to the Duke of Argyll, "the fundamental ideas of property had been uprooted from the minds of men."

Nevertheless, at the beginning of August, we learned from the *Times*¹ that almost all the Roman Catholic prelates had given in their adhesion to the Land League. In France, Ultramontanism kept alive the feelings of revenge against Germany, while it strove to unite France to Spain. In Austria, it took the part of Slavism against the Empire. In Prussian Poland, it excited rebellion. In Alsace-Lorraine, it worked hard to prevent union with Germany. In Germany, it fomented anti-national aims, under pretence of protecting the Roman Catholic "conscience." The *Kulturkampf* was Prince Bismarck's attempt to stamp out Ultramontanism; so the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam trumped up some evidence against the finding of the jury, the decision of the judge, and the judgment of all honest men in the Maamtrasna case, by means of a public declaration extorted from two of the witnesses, Thomas Casey and Philbin, that they had sworn falsely at the trial; and the Archbishop, in an address from the steps of the altar, assumed the truth of the statements of men who had professed themselves to be perjurers. As Myles Joyce had been hung, what other object could he have had, than to discredit the administration of justice, and overturn the Government in Ireland? The Lord Lieutenant furnished the Archbishop with overwhelming evidence of the falsehood of the extorted statements of Casey and Philbin, and yet the Archbishop persisted in his demand for a new inquiry and for ripping up the whole case.² According to the *Times*, "this trumped-up story was a part of a determined plot to discredit the administration of

¹ August 11.

² *Times*, Aug. 26.

“justice throughout Ireland. The men who are organizing and working that plot, are men who stick at nothing. They will compass their end if they can; the means do not matter. They wish to ruin the reputation of one official after another.” Yes; because they are those who hold the principles that the end justifies the means; and that every end is good which is done for the glorification or magnification of the Roman Catholic Church.

On September 25, we learned that similar attempts were being made to discredit other trials. A number of priests of Westmeath published a declaration of Patrick Cole, a witness in the trial of the Barbavilla tragedy, that he too had perjured himself. The object was to inspire a general disbelief in the forms of English justice, and to reconstitute the bishops and priests as judges even in civil affairs. In December,¹ a curious confirmation of this conclusion was given in the House of Commons.

“Mr. Onslow asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was it true that there were parties who were not acting in accordance with the principles and doctrines of the National League called up before the committees of branches of that association at Timahoe, and other places in Queen’s County, when the Rev. Mr. Phelan, P.P., and Messrs Dugin and Ryan, C.C.’s, were the presiding members; were these parties interrogated by those gentlemen and others as to their connection and dealings with landlords and persons in charge of farms from which persons had been evicted, and made to promise through fear that they would cease to have anything to do or say with them for the future; if such courts had been held, had the facts been reported and brought under the notice of the Government or their law officers; and, if so, had any proceedings been instituted against the offending parties; and was it the fact that the Rev. Mr. Ryan, at Timahoe, had been previously moved by his bishop from the County Carlow to his present parish, on representa-

¹ December 1, 1884.

"tions made by the authorities as to his acts and conduct in connection with certain landlords in that county?"

Mr. Campbell-Bannerman: "It is believed that persons who had acted in a way obnoxious to the National League, have been summoned before branches or committees of that body at Timahoe and elsewhere, and that one, at least, of the clergymen named in the question has presided on such occasions, when the persons summoned were interrogated, and subjected to intimidation, and forced to give promises of the kind indicated by the hon. member. Reports to this effect have been made to the Government, and accounts of these proceedings have been published in local newspapers which are the organs of the National League."

The Rev. Michael Duggan, a Romish priest of the County Kerry, had curious ideas of his judicial capacity,¹ which seems to have been very general among the priests of Ireland. At one of these National League courts he said, as president: "He would not recommend any honest, upright man to be a bailiff or a local agent, because the spirit of the times was now such that any honest, upright man would not look apathetically and see his neighbours and his fellow-countrymen downtrodden and walked upon. He could not, of course, recommend them to boycott them, because the Crimes Act was in being now; but he would tell them what they could do—they were not bound to walk with them or to marry them—but he would tell them that they were bound in charity—they were bound to bury them."

An awful suggestion was contained in the last words: "they were bound to bury them." Similar to that was Mr. Parnell's attitude very soon after the devastating explosions which occurred in the House of Commons and Westminster Hall on January 25, 1885. Speaking at Miltown Malbay, in Clare, on January 27, when he must have been informed of the occurrences by the Dublin

¹ *Times*, November 29.

papers, Mr. Parnell had not a word of reprobation for those dynamite outrages. But he could harangue about "the most vicious, cowardly, and cruel system of misrule under which a country has ever laboured"; by which he denoted the British Government. Then he perorated thus: "During many centuries, you have baffled and defeated the attempts of the English enemy to drive you from the soil of sacred Ireland, and I believe that it is for you and the men of this west coast of our country, to show such an example to the Irish race as will enable us to stand shoulder to shoulder, to march from the west to the east, and to recover, inch by inch, slowly but surely, every rood of land which has been robbed from us."

One of Mr. Parnell's lieutenants, Mr. W. Redmond, M.P., uttered at Newtown Barry, on Feb. 3, 1885, words which clearly manifested the spirit and intentions of the party: "One of the principal rules of the Land League—and if that rule was broken that agitation could not possibly succeed—was boycotting. He said, boycott any man who was false to the League; but *above all, boycott without fear, without mercy*, that man who grabbed the land from which people had been unjustly evicted. I tell you, if you do not put down land-grabbing, you may cease this agitation altogether. If you do not put down land-grabbing, you will have landlordism in Ireland for time eternal, as long as Ireland lasts. But, on the contrary, if you put down land-grabbing, by boycotting the man who takes the evicted farm, you will be striking the greatest blow at landlordism in your power. Therefore I ask you, in the name of God, to put down land-grabbing in this district."

To that party, in the previous autumn, Archbishop Croke and the Romanist bishops of Ireland formally, by resolution unanimously carried, entrusted the question of Roman Catholic education! For that party, the Papal organ, the *Moniteur de Rome*, sacrificed its principles to offer apologies. On that party, and Parnell its leader, the *Moniteur de Rome* could only write in words of praise.

Portions of Parnell's speeches were reproduced, and it openly approved of the passages which advocated the separation of Ireland from England. In the year 1885, indeed, Mr. Parnell spoke with the Franchise Act at his back ; and he shrank not from admitting that his march lay "through rapine to dismemberment." He knew that Mr. Gladstone, by the Franchise Act, had annihilated the power of the middle classes, as that of the landlords had been destroyed by the Ballot Act, and still more by the Land Act. He was aware that the representation of Ireland had, by statute, been vested in himself, and his allies the priests. He was conscious that the spirit of the Land League was still alive ; and therefore he could openly speak of rapine and dismemberment.

The Pope and Roman Catholic Hierarchy fully supported him in his views. If any sign of that were wanting, it was furnished in the fact that, on Feb. 8, Michael Davitt was assigned a prominent place in the Sixtine Chapel, during the requiem mass for the repose of the soul of Pius IX., (for which tickets are scarcely ever given,) and that he received marked attention from one of the Pope's Chamberlains. If a reason for that conduct of the Pope is desired, it is found in the Canon Law of Rome. The Bull *Urbem Antibarem* declares that property taken by heretics from Roman Catholics, whether lay or ecclesiastical, is not to be protected by any covenant or prescription, but it is to be restored to its original possessors. The Bull *Apostolicæ Sedis*, of Pius IX., excommunicates all who retain properties or revenues of the Church, or of ecclesiastical, or of conventual institutions. Such claims have been fully asserted by the Irish prelates. The Rev. Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry, stated : "There has been no concordat "ceding the property of the Catholic Church to the British "Crown, or sanctioning its secularisation. The Church does "not allow a statute of limitations to bar our claim. Our "right is in abeyance ; it is unimpaired." ¹

¹ *Tablet*, March 30, 1867.

In addressing the German Parliament on the 5th December, 1874, Prince Bismarck said that, in a conversation which passed between the Minister of Wurtemberg and the Nuncio, the latter said "*The Roman Church has to look to revolution as the sole means of securing her rightful position.*"¹

In that scheme Mr. Gladstone seems to have concurred, and the Irish apparently knew it. At a Land League meeting on March 1, Mr. W. O'Brien, M.P., the editor of *United Ireland*, described the relations between England and Ireland as "simply the relations of civil war, tempered "by scarcity of fire-arms"; and declared that: "there "were half a dozen Englishmen in the Commons, for whom "he and every member of the Irish party had a deep "respect and a sincere respect; and he had no hesitation in "placing Mr. Gladstone first on the list." On the 17th of March, "Mr. Gladstone figured on the triumphal arches of "the Nationalists of Derry, playing on the uncrowned "harp." At a meeting in Killarney, called by Dr. Higgins, the Romanist Bishop of Kerry, to vote an address to the Prince of Wales on his visit there, the Bishop extracted nothing but vehement cheers for Gladstone and Parnell. In May there were whispers of a secret agreement between Gladstone and Parnell, and it was announced² that Mr. Gladstone had drawn up a scheme of very extensive and democratic local government for Ireland; that is, *Home Rule*.

No. XCI.

IT was on the 1st of November, 1881, that we learned with astonishment from the *Times*, that Mr. Errington, the Home Rule member for Longford, had been sent to Rome to establish diplomatic communications between the British Government and the Vatican, with the hopes that the

¹ *Times*, Dec. 7, 1874.

² *Standard*, May 7.

Pope would promote peace between the British Government and the Irish people. We learned, too, that Consul White had arrived in Rome, and been received in private audience by Pope Leo XIII. "The conduct of a part of "the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, during the last "two years, necessitated the presence, in Rome, of a British "representative." Much excitement was then aroused by the mysterious telegrams, on this subject, from the Roman correspondents of two leading newspapers. On the 12th of November there appeared Mr. Gladstone's public denial of Mr. Errington's mission. The Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Jacobini, was very indignant at the denial; and the Pope was much annoyed. The Government then admitted that Mr. Errington had been employed by them to promote diplomatic relations between the Vatican and the British Government.¹ On the 19th, information was received that the preliminary stage of the negotiations was past; and that Mr. Errington was returning to England to confer with Lord Granville, while the Pope would consult Archbishop McCabe.

The Papal newspaper, the *Voce della Verità*, then thought it necessary, on November 20, to utter a warning to British statesmen: "The Irish question is fraught with tempests, "which must increase in number and gravity, whenever an "accord with Papal Rome is deficient; but they will be at "least partially dispelled whenever that accord shall be "re-established." In other words, the Pope's adherents make all the difficulties in Ireland, until you do as the Pope desires. So matters remained until the middle of December, when Mr. Gladstone's secretary wrote a disclaimer, asserting, in Mr. Gladstone's name, that no mission at all had been sent to the Vatican. Dr. Vaughan, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Salford, at once indignantly replied in a long and important speech, which was published, *in extenso*, in the Pope's organ, the *Journal de Rome*. He said: "Mr. Errington is in Rome. He has, *strictly*

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, Nov. 17.

"*speaking*, no mission from the English Government. But "he holds what is called a letter of confidence, so that he "may be a medium of direct communication between the "British Government and the Holy See; without, however, "any regular official position, and without salary."

Parliament met in February, 1882; and on the 8th, Sir Henry Wolff, following in the line of Bishop Vaughan, asked the Government to produce any papers relative to Mr. Errington's mission. Sir Charles Dilke said that there were no papers; that Mr. Errington had not been sent out by the Government, and had no appointment, and no salary; and that "there had not been in any sense a "mission sent out by the Government;" nevertheless, he admitted that Mr. Errington had been a means of communication between Lord Granville and the Vatican. Two days afterwards, Sir H. Wolff asked what was the subject of those communications, and whether they had been recorded, in compliance with the Constitution, so as to be accessible to Parliament? Sir C. Dilke answered: "Sir "A. Paget is accredited to the King of Italy, not to the "Vatican. The Pope is the head of the Roman Catholic "Church, but has ceased to exercise temporal power. . . . "Mr. Errington was not asked to go to Rome. He has "received no appointment, and no remuneration. . . . "The information could not be transmitted through Sir "A. Paget; as the Pope has an objection to intercourse "with those representatives of foreign powers who are "accredited to the King of Italy." Sir G. Campbell asked whether the policy of abstention from intercourse with "the "Ecclesiastic who lives at the Vatican," had in any way been modified? and Sir C. Dilke said: "There has been "no appointment and no salary." On the 15th of February, Sir H. Wolff asked whether Lord Granville had given Mr. Errington a "letter of confidence" to show to Cardinal Jacobini; and whether the Cardinal had declared himself ready to confer with Mr. Errington, as the "recommended "agent" of the British Government; and whether he had

been, ever since that time, the channel of communication between the British Government and the Vatican; and whether, in accordance with the Constitutional practice, such communications would be placed on record in the Foreign Office? Mr. Gladstone, in a very verbose and confused answer, said that the communications between Lord Granville and Mr. Errington "had been exclusively "with reference to his being a channel or medium of information. . . . The purpose has been to convey "information upon subjects interesting to the Roman "Catholic subjects of Her Majesty, and, as connected with "them, to the public at large. That is the purpose, aim, "and limit of those communications." The contrast between the simplicity of the questions, and the tumid, tortuous character of the reply, was so great, that a feeling of uneasiness and suspicion was engendered in the House and the country. There was evidently something behind and beyond the "letter of confidence" (which he admitted), that Mr. Gladstone was most anxious to conceal. The House and country learned that Mr. Errington was a "recommended agent" of the British Government, and that his business was to re-establish diplomatic relations with the Holy See. Beyond that, all was dark and uncertain. So great was the uneasiness, that a debate arose upon the subject the next day, and was protracted until a late hour of the night. Sir H. Wolff charged the Government with an illegal conspiracy: "It was a deliberate attempt "on the part of Her Majesty's Government, to conduct "negotiations with the Vatican in an unconstitutional "manner, and to keep those communications secret from "Parliament." He further asserted that: "the first result "of Mr. Errington's communications with Rome was that "two secret circulars were issued from the Propaganda by "Cardinal Jacobini" to the Irish bishops. It appeared that, in the previous September (1881), Mr. Errington had received a despatch from Cardinal Jacobini, which he took with him to Lord Granville at Walmer Castle; "there

“ Mr. Errington was informed of the great difficulties that
“ existed in establishing direct diplomatic relations with
“ Rome ; and Lord Granville intimated that *considerable pre-
“ judice might be created with the Dissenting supporters of the
“ Government*, if direct relations with the Roman See were
“ established. Mr. Errington communicated this to Car-
“ dinal Jacobini, who informed him that he was willing to
“ receive him as the recommended agent of the British
“ Government. Then Lord Granville twice gave Mr. Erring-
“ ton a letter recommending him in that capacity to the
“ Holy See. . . . Mr. Errington's mission had a much
“ more formal character than Her Majesty's Government
“ chose to admit.” A great deal of quibbling then took place,
on the question whether Mr. Errington's expenses had been
paid out of the secret service fund ; the answer of the
Government being always, that he had received neither
a salary nor remuneration from them.

In 1848 an Act had been passed to enable the Govern-
ment to hold relations with “ the Sovereign of the Roman
“ States,” provided that no Envoy or other officer of the
Court of Rome should attend the Court of Her Majesty.
It was very necessary to pass such an Act, because the
Earl of Castlemaine, in the reign of King James II., was
tried and committed to the Tower for consenting to go as
an ambassador to Rome in 1687 ; and even the Lord
Chancellor Jeffreys regarded that step as “ high treason.”¹
Yet the Act of 1848 (11, 12 Vict. cap. 108) carefully avoided
mentioning the Bishop of Rome or Sovereign Pontiff. It
permitted relations only with the Sovereign of the Roman
States. On Oct. 2, 1870, the Pope ceased to be “ Sovereign
“ of the Roman States.” From that day the law which
committed Lord Castlemaine for high treason remained in
full force. In 1875, Mr. D'Israeli therefore repealed, as
useless and obsolete, the Act of 1848.²

The next day (Feb. 16, 1882), Lord Balfour raised the

¹ State Trials, xii. 598.

² By the Statute Law Revision Act.

question in the House of Lords. He stated that one of the effects of Mr. Errington's mission had been that "a Jesuit priest had been accredited, by the Vatican, to the Viceroy of India (Lord Ripon)." Lord Granville said, in reply, that "Mr. Errington had the whole confidence of Her Majesty's Government, and therefore was in a position to give authentic information, on matters of interest, to the Vatican." Of course the Pope's organ, the *Journal de Rome*, of Feb. 25, alluded to these debates. Sir H. Wolff was therein accused of inconsistency, *because the Member for Portsmouth had passed for one of the most fervent admirers of the policy of Lord Beaconsfield. Yet it is an open secret that that great man was not only in favour of re-establishing diplomatic relations with the Holy See, but also anxious to re-establish the temporal power of the Pope. . . .* However, the gist of Sir H. Wolff's speech was, not that he objected to the renewal of diplomatic relations with the Pope, nor yet to the selection of Mr. Errington for that post; he merely found fault with the absence of any official character to mark the negotiations."

According to a telegram from Rome of March 13, it appeared that the Pope was much annoyed at the shuffling, the evasion, and the quibbling of the Government. "Of what use," asked the Pope, "was the mission of Mr. Errington, if it is to be denied? The denial may be true *in an official sense*; but they had been led to hope that the mission would be established in regular form; and the proofs of the wish of the English Cabinet to establish such a mission are in the Secretary's Office of the Vatican."

In the debate which occurred on the 18th of April, Mr. Gladstone said: "The British Government has known, for a very long time, that the Pope *is a great social power in every country*, and perhaps in Ireland more than in any other country, where the great mass of the people are Roman Catholics; and therefore in time of great social

"disturbance, Lord Granville desired that the Pope should "be well informed as to the state of that country." That was Mr. Gladstone's excuse for Mr. Errington's mission! The Pope has an enormous power as an *Imperium in Imperio*, and therefore we must inform him diplomatically of our views and wishes! Thereupon Cardinal Jacobini¹ let it be known that he "would strongly object to the publication of all the ideas of Irish affairs which had been "exchanged between the English Government and the "Holy See." There, again, was another proof that a regular mission had been established. A few days after, Cardinal Jacobini said that if, as the British Government chose to assert, Mr. Errington had no mission, yet at least "he foreshadowed a mission."¹ If any further proof were, however, required as to the reality of his mission, it is to be found in a telegram from Rome, in the *Standard*, dated May 11, 1882: "It is within my knowledge that Mr. "Errington submitted to the Vatican the secret reports "on the state of Ireland, which were presented by the "police to the English Government." Reports which were not submitted to Parliament were sent to the Pope! On the same day the Papal newspaper, the *Journal de Rome*, wrote: "The negotiations with England are very "delicate and difficult, because the genuine statesmen who "appreciate the political and moral importance, especially "in the case of Ireland, of putting on an official basis the "perfect accord which already exists, de facto, between the "English Government and the Holy See,—those veritable "statesmen are surrounded by ultra-Protestants, who, indeed, become fewer and fewer every year; and by those "who are indifferent towards all religions; and these two "classes make frequent interpellations in Parliament in "opposition to all direct representation between Great "Britain and the Holy See. . . . Mr. Gladstone, it "appears, does not dream of abandoning his post, but will "try to carry out his programme, shaping it according to

¹ *Standard*, April 24, 1882.² *Standard*, April 29.

"the necessities of the situation. . . . The *Lega della Democrazia* perceives in the state of Ireland an announcement of a Federal Constitution, by which Ireland will be federated to Great Britain; and it says that the only thing which has prevented Mr. Gladstone from introducing his Federal Constitution before now, is the proverbial hatred which the English entertain for the Irish. . . . Mr. Gladstone has, however, taken the first steps towards a realization of his policy. All he has to do is to *put the principal offices in the hands of Irishmen and make the Irish responsible for the conduct of their affairs*. Ireland will then be quickly pacified, and *the programme of Home Rule will be realized*; that is to say, the Federal principle realized by a process of evolution rather than by revolution; and that victory will be the crowning of the triumphant career of Gladstone." In the spring of 1882 the Vatican was perfectly well aware of Mr. Gladstone's intention to give Home Rule to Ireland.

NO. XCII.

IN spite of Mr. Errington's mission to Rome, to "afford true information to the Pope;" or perhaps in consequence of the establishment of that mission, Cardinal Howard and Monsignor Stonor were sent to England, according to the *Journal de Rome*, to study both the Irish question and the action of the Irish bishops. On the 13th of October, 1882, the *Journal de Rome* announced their return to Rome, after a residence of three months in England, during which Cardinal Howard, according to the Papal organ "treated of various questions with the Government of Queen Victoria; and had various official interviews with Lord Granville, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He had even been received, in private audience, by Her Majesty the Queen herself." Immediately on his Eminence's return

to Rome, he hurried to a private audience of His Holiness Pope Leo XIII. The same Papal organ announced Mr. Errington's presence in Rome. Two days after (October 15), the same journal contained the following official paragraph: "*All the Catholic bishops of Ireland, with the exception of the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin, have given permission to the priests in their dioceses to associate themselves with the movement inaugurated at the Dublin Mansion House, for the relief of evicted farmers; and also to join the new League founded by Mr. Parnell and his friends.* Many of the dignitaries of the Catholic Church in Ireland have been elected Presidents of the various branches of this League, and will, in this character, take part in a meeting to be shortly held in Dublin." From this *communiqué*, it would appear that Cardinal Howard had informed His Holiness of the sentiment of the Irish clergy in favour of sedition; and had arranged with some members of the English Government, the means of bringing about the legislative separation of Ireland. At all events, the Pope was well pleased with the result of Cardinal Howard's interviews with the English Government; for the Press Association,¹ announced that the Pope had entrusted Mr. Errington with an autograph letter to the Queen, in which letter, according to the *Journal de Rome* of November 7, the Pope thanked the Queen "*affectueusement.*" Mr. Errington, we learn by the *Times* and the *Journal de Rome*, was to present that letter to the Queen "at a personal audience." We were also told that Mr. Errington brought, from the Pope, various presents for the Queen—whether relics, crucifixes and rosaries, or not, we were not informed;—and that Mr. Errington was to be back again in Rome "before Christmas."

Mr. Errington returned to Rome, to fulfil the duties of his mission; and the *Standard* of January 3, 1883, published despatches between Cardinal McCabe and Cardinal

¹ *Times*, November 2.

Jacobini (dated Dec. 20 and Dec. 24, 1882), agreeing that the Minister of England to the Papal Court should have "the same attributes as the Minister of Prussia." Cardinal McCabe had afterwards to deny his despatch; but its authenticity was proved beyond question. A telegram from Rome, in the *Morning Post*, of January 4, announced that "notwithstanding official and semi-official contradictions, Mr. Errington arrived in Rome in time to be present "at the Vatican on the first of the year, and the Papal "Gendarmerie within the walls of the Vatican, in spite "of Mr. Gladstone's contradictions, saluted him, when "descending from his elegant brougham, as *Ministro "d'Inghilterra*." The *Moniteur de Rome*, another Papal organ, contained an article announcing that *all* the Governments of Europe, with the exception of Belgium alone, had established relations with the Papacy. It added these words: "It is truly a consoling spectacle to see Govern- "ments, once so hostile as those of France, Russia, Prussia, "and England, bending before this Supreme Influence (the "Papacy)." The correspondent of the *Morning Post* showed this article to "a Cardinal intimately connected "with the Pope," from whom he learned that "up to the "end of 1880 (*i.e.* while Mr. D'Israeli was Prime Minister), "Cardinal Manning and Cardinal Howard had been the "intermediaries between the Vatican and the English "Government." In 1880, when the Italian Government threatened to confiscate the College *de Propagandâ fide*, Cardinal Manning broached the subject to Lord Granville. Later in the year, when the Irish bishops saw the Pope and "misrepresented the state of Ireland," "Cardinal Pecci, "the Pope's brother," informed the mediator that "if "the English Government, instead of employing indirect "agents, would appoint a semi-official one, *the state of "affairs in Ireland would benefit by it*." That therefore was done. Mr. Errington was sent, and "a secret circular was "despatched by the College of the Propaganda to the "bishops in Ireland, reminding them of their duty to

"abstain from interfering in political matters." The Cardinal said that Mr. Errington "had ever since represented, in a semi-official character, the English Government," and was delighted that "*England was submitting to the Vatican*;" and the clericals held that thereby "a severe blow had been inflicted on Italian unity and independence."

The revolutionary movement in Ireland, inaugurated, fostered, and blessed by archbishops and priests, resulted in lessening the religious influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood. The Irish had become more thoroughly anti-English, and more narrowly national; and they had also become more dishonest, more criminal, and more irreligious. Their intensely "national" feeling made them dislike being governed from Rome, as much as being governed by England. As early as October 15, 1882, Davitt addressed a meeting at Edgeworthstown, and asked "whether the altered attitude in the Irish bishops had anything to do with Mr. Errington's visit to Rome? The people (he said) want no interference from abroad; and they must show the little clique of English ecclesiastics in Rome, and Mr. Errington, that they in Ireland could read the weaving of their intrigues, and that they defy their hostility." While their nationality made them refuse to be governed from Rome, their recently excited cupidity and covetousness made them seek to evade paying the "priests' dues." The priests in Ireland are merely peasants in *soutanes*, and were glad of this excuse to go heart and soul into the peasants' revolutionary movement. On January 5, indeed, the *Times* printed what seemed to be an official *communiqué*, in which it said: "*It is undoubtedly true that the influence of the Vatican has not been used, as it might have been, to aid in the suppression of lawlessness in Ireland*;" and the default has, perhaps, been due, as is "alleged, to the absence of proper information." Then, alluding to Mr. Errington's mission, it added: "It is notorious that almost all the Roman Catholics of Ire-

"land—except a small minority of the better classes, and "some ecclesiastics of the higher grades—as well as their "co-religionists, of Irish origin, in this country, would view "the arrangement with intense dislike." The same paper contained an obscure denial of Mr. Errington's mission ; and the Liberal organ, the *Daily News*, had a somewhat more explicit denial.

But as Mr. Gladstone had just denied, most emphatically, the very distinct and practical transaction called the "Kilmainham Treaty," his confused denial in this case failed to convince men's minds. This feeling of scepticism was strengthened the next day (Jan. 6) by a telegram from Rome, in the *Morning Post*, that "Mr. "Errington had been clearly informed that, if the English "Government, which has availed itself so far of the services "of the (Roman) Church in Ireland, should publicly deny "the pending negotiations, the whole matter will be exposed to the public, as was the case with the Belgian "controversy with M. Frère Orban." What negotiations were pending ? Mr. Errington was already in Rome as an officious agent. What further negotiations were pending ? The *Journal de Rome* gave us a hint : "SO LONG AS THE "ENGLISH SOVEREIGN SHALL NOT HAVE ABDICATED THE "RELIGIOUS SUPREMACY USURPED BY HENRY VIII., so "long as the Anglican Church lasts, England can have only "an officious agent at the Vatican." On January 10, 1883. the *Journal de Rome* published an article on the reply which Mr. Gladstone had sent, a little time previously, to Dr. Badenoch ; viz., "that he had no knowledge of any "intention of Her Majesty's Government to renew diplomatic relations with the Holy See," and said that this denial would have been true if he had said : "he no longer "entertained any such intention ; because, five weeks ago, "the British Government did seriously entertain that intention. The true word of the situation has been given "in the *Daily News*, the official organ of a certain member "of the Cabinet ; namely, the moment is *inopportune* for

"re-establishing those relations. . . . We repeat that, "a few weeks ago, the British Government was resolved on "taking that step; but on very energetic remonstrances, "having been addressed by certain friends, it had to be "given up." On January 8, a telegram from Rome, in the *Morning Post*, had informed us that "negotiations had so "far proceeded that the English Government saw no objection to the Vatican designating Cardinal McCabe to "be Papal delegate, virtually acting, though in an unofficial "form, as Papal Nuncio."

On January 11, a telegram from Rome, in the *Morning Post*, showed how anxious the Pope was to push on the negotiations: "The Vatican is determined to give publicity to the whole affair if the negotiations should fail;" then, rehearsing, the Pope's words in public, that "a "triumph was approaching for the (Roman) Catholic "Church," he explained it by saying, "a semi-official "agent of the Gladstone Administration is leading "Cardinal Jacobini to rely on the support of England in "the event of the Roman question being brought before "a Conference (*i.e.* the question of the Pope's temporal "dominions)." He added: "Negotiations continue, and "the name of Mr. Plunket is spoken of, at the Vatican, as "the possible permanent English agent there. Mr. Plunket "is a Catholic and an Irishman." The *Standard* then confirmed the report that the Vatican intended to publish the whole correspondence, and an account of the negotiations, if the British Government should attempt to back out of them. On January 13, the *Journal de Rome* was able to announce that "the Cabinet of St. James has a "strong desire to re-enter into direct relations with the "Vatican; and the Vatican itself has no less such a desire; "but circumstances render it difficult to attain to the "desired result. . . . *Yet the question must be adjourned "for a time;* because some letters appeared, in which it "was insinuated that the Holy See, out of deference to "England, had exerted a pressure on the Irish Episcopate,

"in order to get them to use their influence in favour of "the British Government."

Nevertheless, it appears that the negotiations were continued ; for, on March 9, Mr. Errington went in state to the Vatican, on the Pope's birthday and Coronation day, to "present the congratulations of the English Government, and was received at the Vatican with the same honours as M. Boutineff, the Russian envoy." This gave rise to questionings in the House of Commons ; but Lord E. Fitzmaurice, on March 19, assured the House that the Government had "never proposed a scheme for establishing a British resident at the Vatican." This assertion he repeated on the 24th, adding that "Mr. Errington had not "been a channel of communication between the Foreign "Office and the Vatican." Later in the evening, however, Mr. Gladstone admitted that Mr. Errington held an accrediting letter to Cardinal Jacobini. Then a great deal more of the usual quibbling on the subject was resorted to, in which Mr. Gladstone did not display his usual dexterity ; and he came out of it very badly.

It is not in reference to good and praiseworthy acts that men quibble. When they have done a good deed, they do not usually deny it. Yet, on this matter, we have had repeated exhibitions of evasion and equivocation on the one side ; and suspicion, well or ill-founded, on the other. The earliest inquiries received for answer, that the Government knew nothing whatsoever about Mr. Errington, he having gone to Rome entirely on his own business. Thereupon came indignant remonstrances from the Vatican : What meant those denials and equivocations ? Was his Holiness being trifled with ? Then we were informed that Mr. Errington had gone to Rome with the sanction of the Government, but only to discuss, with Cardinal Jacobini, the Catholic Vicariates in India ! Still, however, he remained in Rome, while his co-religionist, Lord Ripon, created entanglements in India. The Vicariates had been disposed of, and yet Mr. Errington only came to England

to hurry back to Rome ; and came and went again. Why was that? Next it leaked out that Mr. Errington had been furnished with a letter of credence. Still he remained in Rome, "to discuss the Vicariates of India," forsooth. In May (25th and 29th), suspicious questions again arose, and were met again by most unworthy quibblings ; until at last, on May 31, the pent-up indignation burst out in torrents of abuse and recriminations, which lasted to the small hours in the morning, and called forth a liberal exercise of all the arts of evasion, circumlocution, and equivocation in order to mislead and conceal. At last (June 1), a communication appeared in Mr. Gladstone's organ, the *Daily News*, admitting that "Mr. Errington had "acted as a channel of communication between the Holy "See and Her Majesty's Government, *on various questions "besides those relating to Ireland.*" He had busied himself in relation to the Mahdi, and enabled Vicar-Apostolic Sojaro to go to Khartoum ! At length, on June 7, the Government found themselves compelled to admit that Mr. Errington had gone to Rome with credentials from Lord Granville ; and that he had *negotiated with the Pope concerning the government of Ireland* ; and that official records of the transactions had been preserved in the Archives of the Foreign Office. Thus ended a long tissue of evasions, false statements, and misleading protestations, which had been resorted to in order to conceal a conspiracy to establish diplomatic relations with the Pope, against the law of the land.

No. XCIII.

EARLY in November, 1883, the organ of the Government, the *Daily News*, stated that Mr. Errington was to negotiate with the Pope on various subjects, "the chief of which was "the subject of Irish emigration to America ; for the Vatican is averse to such a solution of the Irish difficulty

“ . . . On this matter, it is stated that the Pope will “hold a consultation next Tuesday, with Mr. Errington. “Cardinal Manning, and several American bishops. “ . . . Another subject which is reported to be exercising the mind of His Holiness, is *the Orange agitation “in the north of Ireland. He is said to be incensed against “the British Government for not putting it down with a “strong hand.”* That was a revelation to make to a British public! The question of Irish emigration to America was to be discussed and settled, not by English Ministers in Downing Street, but by papal bishops in the Vatican! And the Pope was wroth with his naughty children, the British Cabinet, for not putting down the loyal Orange protests, in the north of Ireland, “with a strong hand!” We have indeed got very far. The Pope must be the real ruler of the British Empire! The British Government had devised a plan for the emigration of the Irish; and the Earl of Derby had argued, with his usual force and perspicuity, in favour of it. But the Pope, after consultation with some bishops, dissented. Then Mr. Trevelyan, the Irish Secretary, announced that “nothing whatever had been done on “the part of the Government about Irish emigration.” For Dr. Croke, the Romish Archbishop of Tuam, and his clergy, and various other ecclesiastics, had got up meetings and protests and “indignant remonstrances,” to back up the Government in giving way, or to terrify them if they should prove recalcitrant.

On the 14th of November, however, the Rev. “Edward “Redmond, D.D., Priest of the Diocese of Westminster,” one of Cardinal Manning’s priests, anticipated Dr. Nulty, the Romanist Bishop of Meath, in a letter to the *Freeman’s Journal*, on Mr. Errington’s mission, and warned the Pope that the Roman “Curia, if it judges the case adversely to “the Irish people, on an *ex parte* statement, will run the “risk of dealing a blow that may prove mortal to the “Catholic Church throughout the English-speaking world.” The *Times* of the 27th also stated that “the American

"bishops in Rome, most of whom are Irishmen by birth or descent, are strongly opposed to Mr. Errington's alleged object of obtaining still further Papal condemnation of the Irish political movements." Here were apparent contradictions and intricacies in a tortuous policy, which greatly confused men's minds as to the real aim of Mr. Errington's negotiations, until the two Papal organs, the *Osservatore Romano* and the *Moniteur de Rome*, somewhat lifted the veil. These were the words of the latter newspaper: "Certain persons, while rendering due homage to the Holy See, fear that Leo XIII. will avail himself of these embassies (Mr. Errington and the others) as an instrument against Italy. *These apprehensions have again appeared during the late negotiations with England.* "What seems to give these doubts a certain appearance of truth, is the fact that Leo XIII. never ceases to raise his voice against the Italian Government."

On both sides it was a tortuous policy. The Pope had issued circulars to the Irish bishops, as if he desired to allay the Irish movement; and all the bishops except Archbishop McCabe, and nearly all the priests of Ireland, were openly active in promoting it. The Pope condemned the "Parnell Testimonial Fund"; and the Roman Catholic bishops and priests and newspapers suppressed the condemnation, and promoted subscriptions to the fund, and were active in advancing "the Parnellite or so-called National League." Monsignor Concoran, Archbishop of Philadelphia, moreover, on his return from Rome,¹ said that "Mr. Parnell is regarded without any disfavour in Rome; and it was well understood that the Papal letter was intended solely for the clergy. . . . A proper agitation might proceed, as it had done before, and the extent of the participation of the priests would depend upon their bishops;" and yet the Pope pretended to censure Dr. Croke, the Archbishop of Cashel. But, on the other hand, he blessed those who should aid in building a church in memory of

¹ *St. James's Gazette*, Jan. 14, 1884.

O'Connell, at Cahirciveen, and promised to furnish the first stone and depute the Archbishop of Cashel to lay it for him.

In the Papal organ of April 11, 1884, the *Journal de Rome*, there appeared a very long article on "England and the Holy See," in which it said: "*The chiefs of the two great political parties in England entertain no objection to the re-establishment of direct relations with the Holy See. They have often and often had recourse, indirectly, to the intervention of the Pope; and generally addressed themselves to him through the Nuncios of Paris or Brussels. . . . But, latterly, Mr. Errington has been charged with missions which were at first denied, but afterwards acknowledged. As we have already said, the leaders of both parties desire nothing more than to enter into relations with the Pope, and all they are afraid of is, the opposition of their extreme supporters—the Radicals on the side of the Liberals, and the Orangemen who belong to the Conservative party. . . . Pope Leo XIII. has, since youth, been studying assiduously the history of Ireland, and he knows very well that the present Prime Minister of England fervently hopes to make reparation for all the crimes and errors of his predecessors; and the Pope is ready to assist him in his endeavours; . . . but to this end, the re-establishment of direct diplomatic relations is necessary.*" On the 14th of May, the same journal returned to the subject, and wrote: "BEACONSFIELD AND GLADSTONE both understood perfectly that it was their interest to utilize the tremendous power (of the Papacy); and therefore *they neglected nothing in endeavouring to renew and draw closer official diplomatic relations with the Pope, . . . and MAKE AN ANGLO-ROMAN ALLIANCE.*" . . . Mr. Errington was charged with the negotiations relative to this *rapprochement*, and had a long interview with Cardinal Jacobini before he last left Rome for England. He has now returned, bringing with him explicit declarations of the concessions which can be

"made to the Holy See towards the attainment of the "desired end."

At the end of the year 1884 (Dec. 31), Mr. Errington returned to Rome to discuss questions relating to the English Colonies; and in January, he was busy on the question whether the Irish bishops were to follow the lead of Archbishop Croke and Mr. Parnell, or adopt the more suave line of Cardinal McCabe. Cardinal McCabe then died, very opportunely for all the Irish bishops and Monsignor Kirby, who strongly opposed him. The priests of the diocese chose Dr. Walsh, a Nationalist of the type of Archbishop Croke, as *dignissimus*; and Dr. Donnelly, who followed Cardinal McCabe, as *dignior*. The contest promised to be a hot one; and it was given out that Mr. Errington was to support the latter. That was the news of April 24, 1885. It must be remembered that, on the death of Cardinal McCabe, the Queen sent the expressions of her sympathy to the Chapter of Dublin; and Dr. Walsh energetically opposed any address of thanks being sent to the Queen, or any notice being taken of her message. On the 28th of April, however, Lord E. Fitzmaurice denied that any instructions had been sent to Mr. Errington on the subject. This denial was repeated on the last of April. On the 11th of May it was announced that Dr. Walsh had been made Archbishop of Dublin.

On May 17, 1885, the Papal organ, the *Moniteur de Rome*, replied that "Mr. Errington will return to Rome in the "capacity of British Ambassador to the Holy See." This would be nothing less than a violation of the Constitution; for, by the Act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession to the Crown (1689. 1. W. & M.), it is part of the fundamental law of the Church and State, that "every person or persons that is, are, or "shall be reconciled to, or *shall hold Communion with the "See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the Popish religion, "shall be excluded, and for ever be incapable to inherit, "possess, or enjoy the Crown and Government of this*

"realm and Ireland and the dominions thereunto belonging, or any part of the same ; or to have, use, or exercise any royal power, authority, or jurisdiction within the same."

Neither will this be the end of Mr. Errington's mission ; nor may we look upon it as an isolated transaction. It is part of the intrigue which has lit the flames of agitation, and even revolution in Ireland ; the intrigue which has filled that fertile land with unsightly ruins, to which no history is attached, and which no pleasant memories embellish. Such ruins are monuments of ignoble statesmen, who have ruled and legislated by means of panic and passion. There we see the ruins of an "alien Church," despoiled without advantage to religion, and with a manifest diminution of godliness. There we see sumptuous mansions of indulgent landlords deserted, and their broad acres either abandoned or subdivided among bankrupt and indolent tenants. Here we see statesmen in the white shroud, holding the extinguished candle, and doing a theatrical penance, in abject hypocrisy, for the acts of retaliation which were committed, by English Parliaments, three centuries ago. Here we see Birmingham politicians uniting with Jesuits and Socialists, to rob the landlords of 1881, by way of making amends for the selfishness of tradesmen and manufacturers in 1688. There we find "messages of peace" acquired by violence, and sent to reward the Irish agitators for their disaffection, and feed the horse-leeches which have been sucking out the life-blood of England. There we find communistic ideas, and socialistic principles sowed up and down the land by a religious order of that so-called "Holy Church," which has overridden the populace of Ireland, and has professed to stem the roaring tide of Communism. There we find outrages encouraged, and revolution fomented by those wolves in the clothing of "the Lamb that was slain," while they boast that they are the Church whose principle it is to inculcate gentleness, to deprecate retaliation, and to con-

demn sedition. Outrage engenders outrage ; and "the still small voice" is unheard amid the clangour and strident shouts of political maniacs ; while the Land Acts, so far from being "messages of peace," or stilling the excitement, have been as the taste of blood to the young tiger that has been fondled and brought up on milk.

Turning our eyes from the ruins that have been wrought at home, what do we see abroad ? During the five years of Mr. Gladstone's Government, we find not one glorious deed to relieve the dull monotony of ignominy and disgrace : General Gordon shamefully abandoned. Those who trusted to us in Khartoum, all massacred. The Soudan deserted, and the friendly tribes delivered to the avenger's hand. In Africa the same dishonour was incurred ; our duty forsaken, and our allies left for vengeance. In Afghanistan, nought but dishonour and disgrace. Everywhere our flag has been hauled down, and our prestige is gone. So is our power ; for at the first shot of a continental war, the French Romanists of Canada will rise in rebellion, and call on France to help them. The Romanists in Ireland also will rebel, and the French will "deliver" them from the grasp of England. In our colonies, too, we may have trouble from the Romanists, whom we have nursed and dandled, and to whom we have given all that they asked, and more than they could justly claim, ruining the landlords, and robbing the Protestant Church to please them. Truly it is heartbreaking to think of the dishonour attached to the name of England, in every quarter of the globe ; the unity of our Empire endangered, our commercial prosperity well-nigh shattered, and our race persistently humiliated ; while Ireland has been turned into a Pandemonium by a Romanizing policy, which has been carried out by conspirators who have simulated Protestantism and pretended an honest desire to make their fellow-citizens contented, while their real aim has been to extend the power of the Pope.

In former years millions of men looked upon Mr. Gladstone as the wisest man, the most accomplished orator, and the greatest statesman of his age. Was the common voice so utterly in error? Even now, after we have winced, year by year, under the humiliations and slights, the loss of power and loss of prestige which he has made us undergo, many thousands still look on him as by far the most capable Minister, and his Cabinet as the Ministry of all the talents. How is it, then, that the kingdom of England, the Empire of Her Majesty, has been so often and so deeply humbled? How is it that we have been made to submit to so many indignities? How have we so often suffered in dignity and honour? How is it that the minds of Englishmen have become so subdued and broken, that we scarcely dare to raise our voices against such a ruinous, such a perfidious policy, as that of the last few years? How is it that we speak in whispers, and with bated breath, instead of bracing our minds for one supreme effort to rid us of the horrid incubus? How is it, I say? Has such a talented, such a capable, such an all-wise Minister really fallen into so many blunders?

We do not call that a blunder which has been done with a set purpose, and which has met with all the success that was desired. The policy of Mr. Gladstone was a series of blunders, if his aim was the grandeur and magnification of the Empire. But what if he had some other end in view? and what if all his acts have been carefully planned to attain that end (which they must have been if he is really intelligent and prudent)? You ask me what that end can be. I tell you to see what end the acts of the most intellectual and prudent Minister have brought us to. I ask you to consider whither all the acts of that Heaven-born Minister, without exception, have consistently tended; and whether all his policy has been successfully directed to one end? Then grant me the postulate that that was really the aim of the Heaven-born Minister. What was it? The same as that of his great friend and adviser, Cardinal Manning:

“to subjugate and subdue, to conquer and rule an imperial
“race ;—to bend or else break that will which nations and
“kingdoms have found invincible and inflexible ;” because
that “if Protestantism is conquered in England, it will be
“conquered throughout the world.”

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